



MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

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DDC:**Katubi**

TARA MITI TOMI NUKU: MERAWAT TOLERANSI DALAM TRADISI DI ALOR, NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 1–16

ABSTRAK

Meningkatnya intoleransi beragama di Indonesia akhir-akhir ini menjadi masalah serius dalam konstruksi kehidupan multikultur. Akan tetapi, ada beberapa wilayah di Indonesia yang dianggap berhasil dalam menjaga toleransi, misalnya di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur, terutama di Pulau Alor-Pantar. Bahkan, ketika konflik dahsyat dengan isu agama melanda sebagian wilayah Indonesia bagian timur pasca-runtuhnya Orde Baru, solidaritas komunitas lokal orang Alor-Pantar mampu membuat mereka terhindar dari konflik dahsyat tersebut. Hal itu karena sejak dulu orang-orang di tiap kampung di Pulau Alor-Pantar mengembangkan cara untuk menghindari konflik, termasuk konflik yang bernuansa agama, berbasis tradisi. Oleh karena itu, kehidupan beragama masyarakat di Kepulauan Alor-Pantar dan hubungannya dengan adat banyak mengundang minat para akademisi untuk membahasnya. Berbeda dengan berbagai tulisan para akademisi sebelumnya, tulisan ini membahas tradisi komunitas Muslim dan Kristiani di Alor dalam menata kehidupan mereka melalui nilai kebudayaan dengan memberikan penghormatan khusus pada tradisi lokal, yakni semboyan Tara miti Tomi nuku, yang artinya 'berbeda-beda tetapi satu bersaudara.' Untuk membahas persoalan itu, tradisi lisan lego-lego menjadi titik tekan pembahasan. Tulisan ini berdasar penelitian lapangan dengan metode etnografi. Berdasar analisis pelaksanaan tradisi lisan lego-lego dan lirik lego-lego, tulisan ini memaparkan dua hal, yaitu 1) praktik sosial-budaya yang telah dilakukan antarkelompok beragama yang berbeda dalam menjaga toleransi, 2) cara berbagai kelompok etnis di Alor mengajarkan pentingnya saling menghargai antarumat beragama melalui tradisi lisan lego-lego, terutama melalui lirik lagunya.

Kata kunci: toleransi beragama, tara miti tomi nuku, lego-lego, tradisi lisan, Alor, multikulturalisme

DDC:**Ahrie Sonta**

ETHICAL CULTURE STRENGTHENING MODEL AT RESORT POLICE AS PART OF POLICE REFORM: A BOURDIEU'S HABITUS BASED APPROACH

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 17–35

ABSTRACT

This research emerged from concerns over cultural reform within the Indonesian Police, which has yet to show expected results, compared to successfully materialized structural and instrumental changes within the frame of Police Reform in the past two decades. Ethical culture, in this research, is believed as 'organizational capital' that is needed by the Police to facilitate cultural change. Inquiry into police habitus at the Sidoarjo Resort Police as this research's object, revealed some problems hindering institutional integrity, i.e.: reminders of paramilitary culture, police doxa as crime-fighter, insufficient and partial development of internal oversight system, absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure, and deontologic or rule-based definition of ethical approach. In

the time being, on personel integrity aspect, there found the following problems: limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct, absence of training on ethics in police education, absence of supporting symbolic capitals, and weaknesses within recruitment and socialization system for newly recruited officers. A model of ethical culture strengthening is thus developed to overcome the problems on institutional and personel integrity, particularly at the resort level police organization.

Keywords: *Public Ethics, Ethical Culture, Sidoarjo City Resort Police, Structure-Agent*

DDC:

Abd. Rahman

WARISAN KOLONIAL DAN MARGINALISASI ORANG LOLODA DI PANTAI BARAT HALMAHERA

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 36–47

ABSTRAK

Paper ini bertujuan membahas secara singkat mengenai situasi keterpinggiran Loloda di Pesisir Pantai Barat Halmahera dalam segala sektor pembangunan dibandingkan daerah-daerah lainnya di Maluku Utara. Berbicara mengenai Maluku Utara, tidaklah lengkap apabila tidak membicarakan Loloda, sebagai bagian integral dari dunia Maluku. Informasi sezaman menyatakan bahwa Loloda merupakan bekas kerajaan tertua Maluku (Moloku Loloda) di pesisir pantai barat laut Halmahera, Kawasan Laut dan Kepulauan Maluku. Loloda merupakan bagian utama dari sejarah dan kebudayaan “dunia Maluku” sejak berdirinya pada abad ke-13 Masehi. Upaya mempertahankan dan melestarikan adat dan tradisi Kerajaan Loloda terus berlagsung hingga kini, meskipun sejak periode orde lama (1950-1969) seluruh daerah di Indonesia yang dahulunya berbasis kerajaan atau Kesultanan telah dihapuskan. Daerah-daerah itu diintegrasikan ke dalam nomenklatur sistem administrasi pemerintahan daerah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia. Pengintegrasian itu merupakan restrukturisasi Pemerintahan Republik Indonesia ke dalam bentuknya yang baru dan resmi, selama lebih dari dua dekade masa kemerdekaan Indonesia. Pertanyaannya adalah apakah masih ada kekuatan hegemonik Ternate sebagai Warisan Kolonial Hindia Belanda atas Loloda, sehingga daerah bekas kerajaan Maluku tertua ini masih terpinggirkan dari pembangunan daerah dan nasional? Penulisan ini menggunakan metode dan metodologi sejarah, melalui studi-studi kepustakaan, kearsipan, dan pengamatan di lapangan, serta wawancara lisan dengan informan-informan terpilih.

Kata Kunci: *Loloda, Halmahera, Warisan, Kolonial, Marginalisasi.*

DDC:

Ganesh Cintika Putri

SENI UNTUK DAMAI: UPAYA REKONSILIASI AKAR RUMPUT PASCA TRAGEDI 1965

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 48–59

ABSTRAK

Pembunuhan massal dan penghilangan paksa yang terjadi pasca tragedi 1965 menyisakan konflik berkepanjangan hingga kini. Narasi sejarah yang dibentuk pemerintah menempatkan sekelompok orang yang diduga berkaitan dengan PKI mengalami stigmatisasi dan ketidakadilan hingga 40 tahun setelahnya. Tulisan ini bermaksud menganalisis strategi yang dilakukan masyarakat akar rumput untuk menciptakan narasi alternatif sebagai bagian dari upaya rekonsiliasi. Secara khusus, tulisan ini akan menganalisis narasi sejarah alternatif yang disuguhkan lewat pementasan teater Gejolak Makam Keramat pada 13 Juli 2017 di Yogyakarta. Pementasan ini dipilih karena proses pembuatan naskah, latihan, pemilihan metode bertutur, serta pelibatan penonton yang mampu menarasikan sejarah alternatif di tengah narasi dominan yang menghambat upaya rekonsiliasi. Tulisan ini ingin mengatakan bahwa Teater Gejolak Makam Keramat memberikan ruang bagi narasi sejarah alternatif sebagai bagian dari upaya rekonsiliasi akar rumput. Paling tidak terdapat tiga strategi yang dilakukan untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut yaitu: pengemasan narasi alternatif dalam objek seni yang lebih aman dari persekusi; partisipasi penyintas sebagai subjek dari narasi, serta; pelibatan audience dalam proses penyajian narasi.

Kata kunci: *seni, teater, rekonsiliasi, narasi alternatif*

DDC:

Dhimas Langgeng Gumelar, Natasha Devanand Dhanwani
LAPISAN MARGINALISASI DAN KONSTRUKSI ILEGALITAS DALAM
MASYARAKAT PERBATASAN DI PERBATASAN INDONESIA FILIPINA

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 60–75

ABSTRAK

Studi marginal mendekati fokus kajian sering pada identitas suatu komunitas tempatan, tanpa di sadari, pandangan tersebut mengkonstruksi dimensi marginal yang anakronistik. Studi tersebut menjerumuskan masyarakat di perbatasan Indonesia-Filipina, dan memunculkan romantisme. Studi yang dilakukan di Kepulauan Sangihe, berdasar pada fakta-fakta etnografis dan historis, serta observasi yang dilakukan selama bulan Juli-Agustus 2018. Kami menggunkan hubungan relasional untuk menangkap plot transformasi pada catatan Eropa serta kajian historis yang sudah diterbitkan. Hubungan tersebut pada dasarnya mendeskripsikan kelompok pejuang yaitu buruh paksa yang dijadikan budak. Transformasi tidak meninggalkan dimensi tradisional, khususnya adalah bagaimana penguasaan selama ini dilakukan oleh sistem ekonomi Feodalisme hingga Kapitalisme. Di wilayah perbatasan, Orang Sangir yang tinggal dekat dengan laut melakukan mobilisasi sebelum orang-orang Eropa datang, dan dimensi tradisional tersebut masih dilakukan, tetapi dibawah kuasa baru, yaitu negara modern. Mendasarkan diri pada isu transnasionalisme dan sekuritas, Indonesia dan Filipina membuat regulasi yang mengatur mobilitas migran. Pada akhirnya, Orang Sangir tersebut merasa selalu menjadi kriminal, disematkan stigma ilegal, tereksklusi dari kepulauannya sendiri di mana masyarakat yang tidak tinggal di Sangihe Besar mengklaim dirinya sebagai *Orang Pulo*. Kami melihat bahwa wilayah perbatasan Indonesia-Filipina sebagai wilayah abu-abu, cair, dan laboratorium kreatif.

Keywords: Marginal, Hubungan Relasional, Legal-Ilegal, Orang Sangir

DDC:

Nabilla Nailur Rohmah
BERDAMPINGAN DENGAN LELUHUR DI MASA DEPAN: HISTORISITAS,
LANSKAP, DAN ARTIKULASI IDENTITAS MASYARAKAT TENGGER SENDURO

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 76–87

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengkaji signifikansi historis ajaran leluhur dan lanskap Puncak Songolukur bagi masyarakat Tengger di Senduro dan bagaimana historisitas tersebut dimaknai, direpresentasikan, dan direkonstruksi dalam konteks sejarah masa kini. Dalam tulisan ini, cerita rakyat Tengger tentang “Joko Seger dan Roro Anteng” tidak dikaji sebagai legenda ataupun mitos, melainkan sebagai sejarah publik yang memiliki relevansi dengan realita sosial masa kini. Bagi orang Tengger, cerita mengenai asal-usul leluhurnya menyangkut keseluruhan kerangka teologis yang mendasari tatanan sosial dan praktik kultural dalam kehidupan kesehariannya. Kebijakan Lima Agama Mayoritas rezim Orde Baru telah menyebabkan Hinduisasi dan Islamisasi besar-besaran, yang juga berpengaruh besar terhadap tatanan sosial dan kultural masyarakat Tengger. Terlebih lagi, penerapan kebijakan Taman Nasional dan Pariwisata di ruang hidup mereka telah melahirkan tantangan yang lebih besar, yang memanasifasikan tatanan kehidupan yang semakin kapitalistik dan profan. Dalam kondisi ini, Puncak Songolukur menghadirkan dan merawat narasi historis mengenai leluhur masyarakat Tengger di Senduro, sebagaimana pula merawat nilai-nilai spiritual, tatanan sosial, praktik budaya, dan keseluruhan cara hidup yang menyertainya. Namun, pengembangan destinasi wisata “Puncak B29” di lanskap Puncak Songolukur sejak 2013 menjadi tantangan sekaligus peluang bagi narasi sejarah masyarakat Tengger Senduro. Dalam tulisan ini akan ditunjukkan bagaimana pengembangan pariwisata dapat berpeluang menjaga sekaligus mengkontestasikan historisitas Puncak Songolukur. Pembahasan tersebut menyangkut bagaimana masyarakat Tengger di Senduro menegaskan, menegosiasikan, dan mengartikulasikan kembali identitasnya dalam konteks sejarah hari ini.

Kata kunci: Tengger Senduro, Puncak B29, Puncak Songolukur, Historisitas, Artikulasi

DDC:
Suroyo

RINGKASAN DISERTASI:
RITUAL *BEDEKEH* SUKU AKIT DI PULAU RUPAT
KABUPATEN BENGKALIS PROVINSI RIAU PADA ERA GLOBAL

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 88–97

ABSTRAK

Ritual *bedekeh* sangat erat kaitannya dengan tradisi dan adat istiadat masyarakat suku Akit. Suku Akit menggunakan sistem pengetahuan, kepercayaan persepsi sebagai bagian dari kebudayaan dan tradisi mereka terhadap konsep sehat dan sakit serta penyebab sakit tersebut. Suku Akit dan masyarakat pendukungnya telah memiliki pengetahuan lokal (*local knowlegde*) dan kearifan lokal (*local wisdom*) dalam mengatasi masalah kesehatan dan cara mengobatinya apabila masyarakat mengalami gangguan kesehatan. Penelitian ini membahas tradisi ritual *bedekeh* suku Akit di Pulau Rumat Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau. Tradisi ini masih tetap dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat suku Akit, tetapi keberadaan sekarang semakin terpinggirkan oleh faktor intern dan ekstern. Pelaksanaan ritual *bedikie* banyak mengandung kearifan lokal, simbol, nilai, dan dampak bagi kehidupan masyarakat pendukungnya. Penelitian ritual *bedekeh* oleh *bomoh* pada suku Akit di Pulau Rumat Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau dirancang sesuai dengan paradigma keilmuan kajian budaya (*cultural studies*). Sebagai landasan analisis, digunakan teori hegemoni, teori praktik, dan teori wacana relasi kuasa dan pengetahuan. Data dalam penelitian ini dikumpulkan melalui teknik observasi, wawancara mendalam, studi pustaka, dan dokumentasi.

Berdasarkan telaah dan metode analisis pelaksanaan upacara ritual mempunyai tahap-tahap yang harus dilakukan sebagai berikut Pertama, pemeriksaan, yaitu pemeriksaan perlengkapan upacara ritual dipimpin oleh *Batin* dan *Bomoh* menentukan waktu untuk mengadakan ritual. Kedua, penyerahan, yaitu *Bomoh* menyerahkan peralatan dan bahan yang dibutuhkan dalam upacara pelaksanaan ritual, Ketiga, *tegak bomoh*, yaitu berlangsungnya upacara ritual pengobatan oleh *bomoh*. Faktor yang memengaruhi semakin terpinggirnya ritual *bedekeh* suku Akit di Desa Hutan Panjang, Kecamatan Rumat, Kabupaten Bengkalis, Provinsi Riau adalah relasi kuasa dalam konversi agama, stigma negatif bahwa orang Akit terkenal dengan ilmu sihir, perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi dalam sistem pengobatan modern dan pengaruh pendidikan formal dan nonformal dalam berbagai jenjang dan cara berpikir manusia. Implikasi dari keterpinggiran ritual *bedekeh* adalah sikap terbuka suku Akit melalui kontak budaya (akulturasi) dengan kebudayaan lain, penyederhanaan praktik ritual oleh *bomoh* dalam dimensi waktu, dan semakin menguatnya identitas suku Akit. Upaya yang dilakukan sebagai langkah strategis pewarisan ritual *bedekeh* secara intern dan ekstern. Profesi *bomoh* dianggap sangat membantu dan masih dibutuhkan untuk pengobatan, pemerintah diharapkan memberikan bantuan kepada profesi *bomoh* dari segi pendanaan (tunjangan) agar lebih fokus terhadap profesi sebagai pengobat tradisional.

Kata kunci: bedikie, bomoh, suku Akit, keterpinggiran, pewarisan

DDC:
Puji Hastuti
TINJAUAN BUKU:
EKOLOGI MANUSIA DAN PEMBANGUNAN
BERKELANJUTAN

Prof. Oekan S. Abdoellah, Ph.D., PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017. 256 hlm.

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 98–102

DDC:

Muhammad Luthfi

TINJAUAN BUKU:

MELIHAT PERKEMBANGAN SAINS DI INDONESIA,

REVIEW BUKU *STS DI INDONESIA KEBIJAKAN DAN IMPLEMENTASINYA:*

QUO VADIS?

Soewarsono, Thung Ju Lan, & Dundin Zaenuddin. *STS di Indonesia Kebijakan dan Implementasinya: Quo Vadis?* PT Gading Inti Prima (Anggota IKAPI): 186 hlm, 16 x 21 cm.

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MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

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DDC:**Katubi****TARA MITI TOMI NUKU: NURTURING TOLERANCE OF TRADITION IN ALOR, EAST NUSA TENGGARA**

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 1–16

ABSTRACT

The increase of religious intolerance in Indonesia has recently become a serious problem in the construction of multicultural life. However, some areas in Indonesia are considered successful in maintaining tolerance, for instance, in the Province of East Nusa Tenggara, particularly in Alor-Pantar Island. When a great conflict in the context of religious issues occurred in parts of Eastern Indonesia after the collapse of the New Order, the Alor-Pantar local community could avoid this terrible conflict due to their solidarity. It is because people from each village in Alor-Pantar Island have developed means to avoid conflicts based on tradition, including conflicts in religious terms. Therefore, academics are encouraged to discuss about the religious life of the people in the Alor-Pantar Island and its relationship with customs. Different from prior writings, this article discusses the traditions of the Muslim and Christian communities in Alor in undergoing their lives through cultural values by giving special respect to a local tradition, *Tara miti Tomi nuku*, which means 'brotherhood in diversity'. To disclose this issue, the oral tradition of *lego-lego* will be the center of discussion. This paper is based on field research using ethnographic methods. Based on the analysis of the implementation of the *lego-lego's* oral tradition and the *lego-lego's* lyrics, this paper describes two things, which are 1) socio-cultural practices that have been carried out by different religious groups in maintaining tolerance; 2) means that various ethnic groups in Alor have been undertaken to teach the importance of interfaith mutual respect through the oral tradition of *lego-lego*, especially through the lyrics of the song.

Keywords: *religious tolerance, tara miti tomi nuku, lego-lego, oral tradition, Alor, multiculturalism***DDC:****Ahrie Sonta****ETHICAL CULTURE'S STRENGTHENING MODEL AT RESORT POLICE AS PART OF POLICE REFORM: A BOURDIEU'S HABITUS BASED APPROACH**

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 17–35

ABSTRACT

This research emerged from concerns over cultural reform within the Indonesian Police, which has yet to show expected results, compared to successfully materialized structural and instrumental changes within the frame of Police Reform in the past two decades. Ethical culture, in this research, is believed as 'organizational capital' that is needed by the Police to facilitate cultural change. Inquiry into police *habitus* at the Sidoarjo Resort Police as this research's object, revealed some problems hindering institutional integrity, i.e.: reminders of paramilitary culture, police *doxa* as crime-fighter, insufficient and partial development of internal oversight system, absence

of public participatory ethical infrastructure, and deontologic or rule-based definition of ethical approach. In the time being, on personel integrity aspect, there found the following problems: limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct, absence of training on ethics in police education, absence of supporting symbolic capitals, and weaknesses within recruitment and socialization system for newly recruited officers. A model of ethical culture strengthening is thus developed to overcome the problems on institutional and personel integrity, particularly at the resort level police organization.

Keywords: Public Ethics, Ethical Culture, Sidoarjo City Resort Police, Structure-Agent

DDC:

Abd. Rahman

COLONIAL HERITAGE AND MARGINALIZATION OF THE LOLODA PEOPLE ON THE WEST COAST OF HALMAHERA

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 36–47

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to briefly discuss the marginalized situation of the Loloda people on the west coast of Halmahera in all development sectors compared to other regions in North Maluku. Discussing North Maluku, it is not complete without talking about Loloda as an integral part of the Moluccas' world. Contemporary information states that Loloda is the oldest kingdom of Moluccas (Moloku Loloda) on the northwest coast of Halmahera, the Molucca Sea Region and Islands. Loloda is the main part of the history and culture of the "Moluccan world" since its foundation in the 13th Century. Attempts to maintain and preserve customs and traditions of the Kingdom of Loloda are still ongoing until today, although since the Old Order period (1950-1969), all regions in Indonesia dominated by the Kingdom and Sultanate systems were abolished. Those regions are integrated into the nomenclature of the regional administration system of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This integration is the realization of restructuring the Republic of Indonesia to the new and official form for more than two decades of independence. The question is whether or not the hegemonic power of Ternate as the Dutch East Indies' colonial heritage of Loloda remains in existence, so the former area of the oldest kingdom of Moluccas is still marginalized from regional and national development. This article utilizes historical methods and methodologies throughout a study of literature, archives, and field observations, as well as interviews with selected resource persons.

Keywords: Loloda, Halmahera, Heritage, Colonial, Marginalization

DDC:

Ganesh Cintika Putri

ART FOR PEACE: GRASSROOTS' RECONCILIATION EFFORTS AFTER THE 1965 TRAGEDY

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 48–59

ABSTRACT

Mass killings and enforced disappearances which occurred after the 1965 tragedy have been becoming a prolonged conflict until today. The historical narrative shaped by the government puts a group of people who were allegedly involved in the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) experiencing stigmatization and injustice for up to 40 years. This paper intends to analyze the strategies undertaken by grassroots communities to create alternative narratives as a part of the reconciliation efforts. Particularly, this paper will examine the alternative historical narratives presented in the Gejolak Makam Keramat Theatrical Performance on July 13, 2017, in Yogyakarta. This performance was chosen due to the arts of scripts making, practices, choices of speaking methods, and the involvement of audiences which were able to narrate alternative history amidst the dominance of narratives that hindered the reconciliation attempts. This paper would like to say that the Gejolak Makam Keramat Theatrical Performance has contributed a space to historical narratives as a part of grassroots reconciliation efforts. There are, at least, three strategies implemented to achieve those objectives, which are: the packaging of alternative narratives in an art object which is safer than persecution; the participation of survivors as the subject of the narrative, and; the involvement of audiences in the process of presenting the narration.

Keywords: art, theater, reconciliation, alternative narratives

DDC:

Dhimas Langgeng Gumelar, Natasha Devanand Dhanwani

MARGINALIZATION LEVELS AND ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTION IN BORDER COMMUNITIES ON THE INDONESIA-THE PHILIPPINES BORDER

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 60–75

ABSTRACT

Marginal studies often focus on the identity of a local community which unconsciously construct an anachronistic marginal dimension. That study also plunged the people of the Indonesia-the Philippines border and showed up romanticism. The research was conducted on Sangihe Islands, based on ethnographic and historical facts and observations undertaken in July-August, 2018. We use relational relations to capture the plot of transformation in European records and historical studies that have been published. The relationship describes a group of fighters which consisted of forced laborers who became slaves. Transformation cannot be disengaged from the traditional dimension, particularly on how control has been ruled out by the dominance of the economic system of Feudalism to Capitalism. In the border area, the Sangir people, who resided nearby the sea, mobilized before the Europeans arrived. The traditional dimension was still carried out, but under the new authority, which is the modern state. Based on the issues of transnationalism and security, Indonesia and the Philippines made a regulation that regulated the mobility of migrants. The Sangir people, eventually, found themselves as criminals, which were identic with illegal stigma, and were excluded from their own islands where people who did not live in Sangihe Besar claimed themselves as *Orang Pulo*. We perceive the Indonesia-the Philippines border as a gray, liquid, and creative laboratory area.

Keywords: *Marginal, Relational Relations, Legal-Illegal, Sangir People*

DDC:

Nabilla Nailur Rohmah

SIDE BY SIDE WITH ANCESTORS IN THE FUTURE: HISTORICAL, LANDSCAPE, AND ARTICULATION OF THE IDENTITY OF THE TENGGER SENDURO PEOPLE

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 76–87

ABSTRACT

This article studies the historical significance of the ancestral tenet and the landscape of Puncak Songolikur for Tengger people in Senduro and how they are being performed, represented, and reconstructed in the present historical context. In this paper, the Folklore of Tengger about “Joko Seger and Roro Anteng” is studied neither as legend nor myth, but as public history which has relevance to the present social realities. For them, the story of the origin of their ancestor encompasses the overall theological framework that underlies the social order and cultural practices in their everyday life. The five religions policy during the authoritarian New Order regime has led to a massive Hinduization and Islamization which has a great influence on the social and cultural order of Tengger people. Moreover, the enforcement of national park and tourism policy in their living space has raised greater challenge which manifests an increasingly capitalistic and profane life order. Under this condition, Puncak Songolikur presents and preserves the historical narrative about their ancestors as well as spiritual values, social order, cultural practice, and life. However, the development of tourist destination “Puncak B29” in the landscape of Puncak Songolikur since 2013 has become both a challenge and opportunity for their historical narratives. This paper explores how tourism development maintains and simultaneously contests the historicity of Puncak Songolikur. It includes how people assert, negotiate, and rearticulate their identity in current cosmopolite historical horizon.

Keywords: *Tengger Senduro, Puncak B29, Puncak Songolikur, Historicity, Articulation*

DDC:

Suroyo

DISSERTATION SUMMARY: THE *BEDEKEH* RITUAL OF THE AKIT PEOPLE IN RUPAT ISLAND, BENGKALIS REGENCY, RIAU PROVINCE, IN THE GLOBAL ERA

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 88–97

ABSTRACT

The *bedekéh* ritual is closely linked to the customs and traditions of the Akit people. The Akit people use the system of knowledge in which the belief in perception as a part of their culture and tradition towards health and sick concepts as well as the causes of diseases. The Akit people and their relatives utilize local knowledge and local wisdom in overcoming health problems as well as a means to cure the diseases. This research discusses the ritual tradition of *bedekéh* traditionally held by the Akit people in Rupert Island, Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province. The Akit people remain practicing this tradition, but its existence is now slowly marginalized by internal and external factors. *Bedekie rituals* encompass a lot of local wisdom, symbols, values, and impacts for the lives of the Akit People. Research on *bedekéh rituals* by the *bomoh* of the Akit people in Rupert Island, Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province was designed based on the scientific paradigm of cultural studies. As an analysis framework, hegemony, practical, and power and knowledge relations theories are used to sharpen the research result. The data collection was undertaken through observations, in-depth interviews, a study of literature, and documentation.

Based on research and analysis methods, the implementation of rituals has several steps to be done. First, an investigation in which the inspection of ritual equipment is done and led by *Batin*, and *Bomoh* determines the time to hold the rituals. Secondly, a handover in which *Bomoh* gives the necessary equipment and materials for the implementation of rituals. Thirdly, *tegak bomoh* in which *bomoh* conducts the rituals for treating sick people. Some factors affecting the marginalized condition of *bedekéh* rituals of the Akit people in Hutan Panjang Village, Rupert District, Bengkalis Regency, Riau Province are power relations in religious conversion. It is seen that there is a negative perspective towards the Akit People who are famous for witchcraft, the development of science and technology in the modern medical system, and the influence of formal and non-formal education on various levels and the changing of ways of thinking in human beings. The impacts of the marginalized condition of *bedekéh* ritual are: the Akit people are more open in which cultural contacts (acculturation) occurred with other cultures, the ritual practices are simplified by *bomoh*, and the identity of the Akit people is getting stronger. These attempts are done as strategic steps to inherit *bedekéh* rituals internally and externally. *Bomoh* is considered very helpful and is still necessary for medication. The government is expected to provide assistance to *bomoh* in the context of funding (allowances) in order to be more focus on their job as a traditional healer.

Keywords: bedikie, bomoh, Akit, marginalization, inheritance

DDC:

Puji Hastuti

TINJAUAN BUKU: EKOLOGI MANUSIA DAN PEMBANGUNAN BERKELANJUTAN

Prof. Oekan S. Abdoellah, Ph.D., PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017. 256 hlm.

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 98–102

DDC:

Muhammad Luthfi

TINJAUAN BUKU: MELIHAT PERKEMBANGAN SAINS DI INDONESIA, REVIEW BUKU *STS DI INDONESIA KEBIJAKAN DAN IMPLEMENTASINYA: QUO VADIS?*

Soewarsono, Thung Ju Lan, & Dundin Zaenuddin. *STS di Indonesia Kebijakan dan Implementasinya: Quo Vadis?* PT Gading Inti Prima (Anggota IKAPI): 186 hlm, 16 x 21 cm.

Masyarakat Indonesia, Vol. 44 (2) Desember 2019: 103–118

ETHICAL CULTURE STRENGTHENING MODEL AT RESORT POLICE AS PART OF POLICE REFORM: A BOURDIEU'S HABITUS BASED APPROACH

Ahrie Sonta

ABSTRACT

This research emerged from concerns over cultural reform within the Indonesian Police, which has yet to show expected results, compared to successfully materialized structural and instrumental changes within the frame of Police Reform in the past two decades. Ethical culture, in this research, is believed as 'organizational capital' that is needed by the Police to facilitate cultural change. Inquiry into police habitus at the Sidoarjo Resort Police as this research's object, revealed some problems hindering institutional integrity, i.e.: reminders of paramilitary culture, police doxa as crime-fighter, insufficient and partial development of internal oversight system, absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure, and deontologic or rule-based definition of ethical approach. In the time being, on personel integrity aspect, there found the following problems: limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct, absence of training on ethics in police education, absence of supporting symbolic capitals, and weaknesses within recruitment and socialization system for newly recruited officers. A model of ethical culture strengthening is thus developed to overcome the problems on institutional and personel integrity, particularly at the resort level police organization.

Keywords: *Public Ethics, Ethical Culture, Sidoarjo City Resort Police, Structure-Agent*

ABSTRACT

This research emerged from concerns over cultural reform within the Indonesian Police, which has yet to show expected results, compared to successfully materialized structural and instrumental changes within the frame of Police Reform in the past two decades. Ethical culture, in this research, is believed as 'organizational capital' that is needed by the Police to facilitate cultural change. Inquiry into police *habitus* at the Sidoarjo Resort Police as this research's object, revealed some problems hindering institutional integrity, i.e.: remainders of paramilitary culture, police *doxa* as crime-fighter, insufficient and partial development of internal oversight system, absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure, and deontologic or rule-based definition of ethical approach. In the time being, on personel integrity aspect, there found the following problems: limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct, absence of training on ethics in police education, absence of supporting symbolic capitals, and weaknesses within recruitment and socialization system for newly recruited officers. A model of ethical culture strengthening is thus developed to overcome the problems on institutional and personel integrity, particularly at the resort level police organization.

Keywords: *Public Ethics, Ethical Culture, Sidoarjo City Resort Police, Structure-Agent*

INTRODUCTION

Ethical approach in police organization is a new field of study which is still scarcely examined. Nevertheless, ethical analysis is considered important for police studies presently, due to a number of reasons. First, police's position as law enforcement agency calls for pre-eminent integrity in carrying out its tasks. Every aberration committed by police officer has serious consequence on declining public support, vanishing trust against law, and growing

scepticism towards police as a whole (Jenks, Jhonson, and Matthews, 2012: 14). Second, police's position as public institution requires appropriate implementation of public ethics principles. In line with public institution reforms currently undertaken in various countries, police organizations are nowadays urged to increase accountability and transparency in the utilization of their authority (Chan, 2004; 331). Third, the relation between abuse of police authority and the lack of public ethics is a problem that is yet

to be apprehended so far (Juntunen and Käyhkö, 2008: 3). The earlier mentioned reasons show the importance of ethical analysis for police organization to observe how the principles of ethics can be applied to strengthen institutional and officers' individual integrity.

Abuse of authority in police organization comprises several deviant behaviours possibly committed by police officers. As law enforcer, police exercise its mandate within the corridor stipulated by the constitution, acts, as well as internal organization regulations. If an officer commits act beyond the borders of stipulated rules, the officer is regarded as committing deviant behaviour (Jenks, Jhonson, and Matthews, 2012: 14). However, rules-based definition alone is insufficient to explain how police integrity can be developed (Juntunen and Käyhkö, 2008: 16). As a concrete example, police organization in Indonesia has so far developed a set of rules defining the limits of police officers' authority in carrying out their tasks. Among the rules is the Government Regulation No. 2 of 2003 concerning Discipline Code of the Indonesian State Police Members, which regulates allowed and non-allowed behaviours. Another example is an internal police policy on code of ethics based on the Indonesian Police Chief Regulation No.14 of 2011 concerning Indonesian State Police Ethical and Professional Code which further regulates the values and norms within the police profession. Various internal as well as external supervisory bodies have been formed at the national and regional level to oversee compliance before the said rules. Notwithstanding the fact, various abuse of authority by police officers in reality are still widely spreading and hard to eradicate (see for instance, Dwilaksana, 2001; Reksodiputro, 2009; and Muradi, 2014).

Ethical approach is relied on value-based definition. When applied as public ethics, it has to define a value frame that must be adhered institutionally (institutional values) as well as individually (individual values). The combination of rule-based definition and value-based definition is considered important to measure the success of integrity development in public institutions, included here is the Police (Juntunen and Käyhkö, 2008: 16).

This research focuses on ethic strengthening at the resort level police (*Kepolisian Resor*, abbreviated as Polres) organization, as the basic police unit at the forefront of police service in Indonesia. Selection of Sidoarjo City Resort Police (*Kepolisian Resor Kota*, abbreviated as Polresta) in East Java as the research locust is based on two main reasons. First, due to its strategic position as a big city (Surabaya, the capital of East Java Province) buffer zone, with heterogene operational area comprising urban and rural societies, reflecting diverse policing mode that need to be carried by its police officers in the field. The increasing policing tasks complexity faced by the Sidoarjo Polres had raised its status from Polres to Polresta in 2016. Second, due to the low achievement in its performance measured nationally through the 2015 Police Governance Index (*Indeks Tata Kelola Kepolisian*, abbreviated as ITK). The East Java Regional Police (*Kepolisian Daerah*, abbreviated as Polda) scored 5.159 and stood at the 26th position among 31 Polda throughout Indonesia. ITK score is an important indicator to ensure a sustainable Police Reform, that the low achievement of the East Java Polda hence considered among reasons to conduct this research at Sidoarjo Polres as part of the East Java Polda. Numbers of service problems and deviant behaviours of police officers in Sidoarjo raised by media add up the reasons to focus this research at Sidoarjo City Resort Police.

This research employs Bourdieu habitus theoretical approach to overcome the structure-*agent* (as in Bourdieu's term, italicized to differ it from "agent" as police rank) contradiction in explaining the causes of police officers' deviant behaviour. The "*agent* perspective" utilizes individual point of view, as for example through the "rotten apples" theory, that the root of the problems is located on the existence of mentally weak officers, or those who have the tendencies to commit normative aberrations and abuse of authority. These rotten apples are individuals who managed to go through strict screening process in police recruitment, yet were then enticed by abuse of authority inherent in police works, or deviant individuals who retain their deviant practices in an environment which provide vast opportunities to commit such practices (Yildiz, 2001). The

“structure perspective”, in contrary, views system and organizational culture factor as the root of cause, where there is no possibility that corrupt polices were natural born corruptors or criminals, or morally evil which make them constitutively different from their fellows. Thus, through the structure perspective, efforts to control abuse of authority should be done by checking on the barrels, not merely on the apples, that is to check on the organization, not only on the personnel individuals (Murphy, 1973 in Baker and Carter, 1994: 46).

Bourdieu’s habitus approach is considered appropriate to understand this contradiction. First, employment of habitus concept is seen as resolute on the dichotomy of individual-society, social *agent*-structure, and of freedom-determinism. Second, Bourdieu attempts to dissolve the domination mechanism and strategy, where as domination is no longer observed from external tangible impacts, but also intangible impacts. By revealing this mechanism towards social actors, Bourdieuan sociology provides arguments that can induce political actions. Third, Bourdieu explains the praxis logic of social actors in conflictual and of different-level social scope, where he built a perspective of social scope with pluralistic dimension, that is constructed out of various autonomous spaces which define specific models of domination (culture, politics, gender, arts, and not only economy) (Haryatmoko,

2010). Bourdieu social praxis theory has since then compacted through the formula: (habitus x capital) + arena = praxis. This formula can be described as habitus-arena-capital integral relation, where praxis of *agents* are actually strategies, to increase or maintain their capital. It is worth noting however, that according to Bourdieu (1998), *agents* do not carry out nor presume these strategies as purely utilitarian, they regard these strategies instead as feel for the game which last from moment to moment in short terms. Hence, in the relation between capital and arena, habitus illuminates the variegated logics of social action taken by humans (Wacquant, 2011: 82).

HABITUS AND PUBLIC ETHICS

Bordieu social action theory can be understood as an attempt to find the relation between individual and social structure, or more specifically as “a correspondence between social structure and mental structure” (Juntunen and Käyhkö, 2008: 18). Accordingly, Bourdieu habitus approach is considered as the right approach to investigate the origins of police officers’ deviant behaviour, be they rooted in individuals or in structure. Theoretically, the situation of ethics in police organization can be differentiated into four possibilities, as depicted through diagram 1. At quadrant 1, individuals have high personal

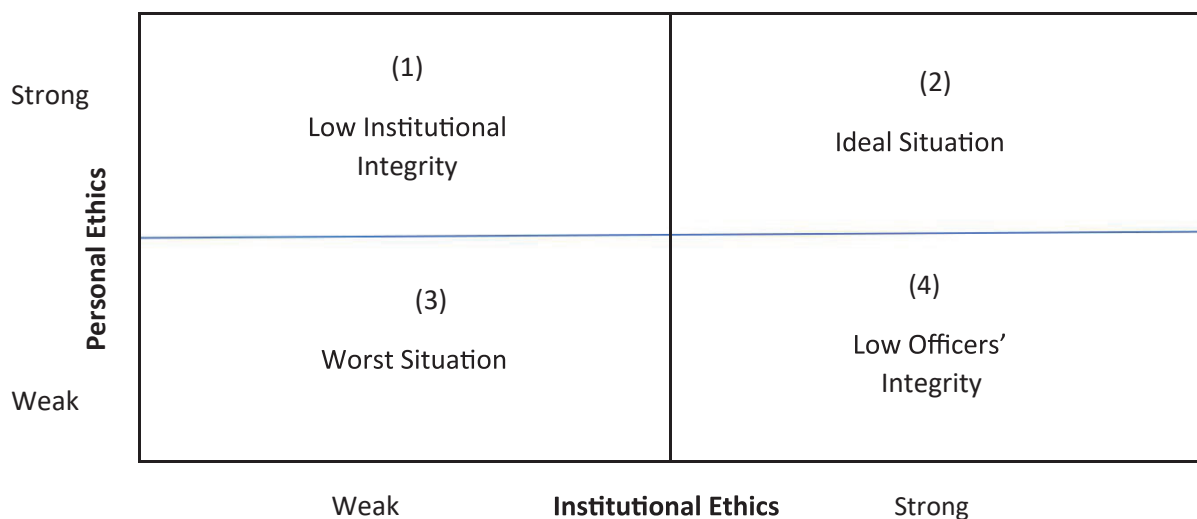


Diagram 1. Agent-Structure Encounter in Public Ethics

integrity, but lacking of strong institutional integrity, resulting in those individuals are forced to face obstacle or coalesce into deviant organizational norms. This situation resembles to what has been foreseen by organizational structure and culture approach. At quadrant 4, the institutional integrity is strong, but individuals there are lacking in personal integrity, and therefore striving to find loopholes where they can break the rules. This situation is as described by the “rotten apple” theory, that the institution has basically built strong regulations, but are not observed by individuals, be it due to weaknesses in supervision or other possible causes. The worst situation is at quadrant 3, when individuals as well as institutional do not have strong ethical base altogether, hence making the improvement of police organization a very difficult task. Conversely, the ideal situation is at quadrant 2, when both individuals and institution have the same strong ethical foundation to achieve high police integrity. This is the ideal condition that is to be achieved through ethical culture strengthening.

Bourdieu’s approach is basically a structuralism-genetic approach (Haryatmoko, 2016: 37). Analysis on objective structure of human behaviour in this approach can not be separated from analysis on the origins of mental structures in biological individuals, which are partially a product of unified social structure and analysis on the origins of those social structures themselves. Therefore, the logics of human action according to habitus theory, can not one hand be solely put back on the individuals, or on the other hand solely isolated on structure and culture; they instead are dialectics and combinations of the two aspects. In the case of social behaviours, habitus takes the role of “*opus operatum*” and “*modus operandi*” at the same time; that points to the mode as well as the result of praxis itself (Bourdieu, 1977: 36).

As “structuring structure”, habitus encompasses the entire “schemes of perception, thought, feeling, evaluation, conversation, and action that structure all manifestations of expressive, verbal, and practical statements from a person” (Bourdieu, 1984: 82). In habitus,

there is *doxa*, the unquestionable basic and fundamental assumptions. Included in this case, the police *doxa* as a point of perspective towards Police as a profession with specific mission (Chan, 2004: 333). Apart from that, there are behavioural schemes absorbed by *agents* as part of their personality and practiced automatically (*ilusio*). In the context of cultural change, *doxa* and *ilusio* are the elements which can hardly be altered. However, individuals are not passively absorbing organizational and environmental influences which surround them. As a “structured structure”, *habitus* reflects behavioural formation which is conditioned by social structure, institutional organization system, and disposition of its members’ attitudes. In other words, individuals do have roles in forming social structure, through repetitive actions reproduction aligned with their strategy and interests in an arena. On this basis, behavioural change at individual level corresponds to *habitus* change at the organizational level. Here is where the concept of *habitus* helps to comprehend in more detailed way on how ethical culture strengthening can be carried out in an organization, including Police organization. The real situation in Police organization generally lies at quadrant 1 and quadrant 4, or at the mixture of both.

Public ethics approach offers a solution through modality concept, by creating instruments of ethics in an organization, to abridge moral norms and factual actions (Haryatmoko, 2015: 6). The objective of this approach is to prevent norms from being merely normative guidance, but really materialized instead in actions. Public ethics covers three main dimensions: (1) **Objective**, aimed towards public welfare through quality and relevant public service; (2) **means or modality**, the development of ethic infrastructure through creation of regulation, law, and rules to guarantee accountability, transparency, and neutrality of public service; and (3) **actions**, regarded as “public integrity” to guarantee that quality and relevant public service is carried out. The objective-means-actions triangle is a unified entity in building public ethics, where the three shall face hard challenges from conflict of interests and elite-cartel corruption (Haryatmoko, 2011).

SIDOARJO CITY RESORT POLICE: A CHANGING POLICE UNIT

Police organization in Indonesia is a national police with fragmented yet unified system (Dahniel, 2008: 14). It is regarded as *fragmented*, due to the fact that authority to carry out police functions have been dispersed through administrative deconcentration and decentralization, i.e. to regional levels police units paralleled with autonomous local governments. Hierarchically, Indonesia recognizes Polda as police structure at regional/provincial level, Polresta as subregional police structure at city district or municipal level which is at the same level with Polres as subregional police structure at district/regency level, and Sectoral Police (*Kepolisian Sektor* abbreviated as Polsek) as police structure at sub-regency/sub-district/precinct level. Inline with the focus of local autonomy at the municipal/regency level, the units which are regarded as the most strategic within the Indonesian Police structure are then Polres and Polresta units, which are called as Basic Police Units (*Satuan Dasar Kepolisian*, abbreviated as SDK).

Polres/Polresta are expected to be spearhead of police services and functions in Indonesia. The same pattern can be seen as well in several countries, for example the District Police in the United States, Sub Division Police in the United Kingdom, Police Stations in Japan, and *District Politie* in the Netherlands which are all functioning as the forefront of police public service. Bayley (1998) explained that Basic Police Unit is the unit closest to the public which serve nearly all essential police functions and services, and in Indonesia, these units are the Polres/Polresta.

Sidoarjo Polresta is currently supported by 1.501 personnel, with 1.401 of which are police officers, and the rest 100 personnel are civil servants. Nearly half of the numbers (640 police officers and 62 civil servants), which account for 46.76% of total Sidoarjo Polresta personnel, are stationed at the Polresta Head Quarter, while the remaining 761 police officers and 38 civil servants, which account for 53.32% personnel, are stationed at Polsek levels. Exactly match with the number of sub-districts in Sidoarjo Municipality, the Sidoarjo Polresta commands 18 Polsek units

which comprises of 10 urban Polsek, and 8 rural Polsek. Nevertheless, when compared to the 2.126.052 population of Sidoarjo, the police-people ratio is 1:1416, or 87 police for every 100.0000 people, a quantitatively clear disparity between the number of police officers and the number of public which need to be served. The increased status of Sidoarjo Polres to Polresta in 2016 was among other aimed to reduce the disparity through incremental increase in the number of police officers serving in Sidoarjo.

Related to ethical culture, breach of disciplinary and ethical code among police officers in Sidoarjo Polresta shows statistically similar tendency compared to other Polres/Polresta in Indonesia; year on year hikes and slumps without any certain predictable pattern (see for instance, Ramadhan, 2015; Iriady, 2013; Tahir, Karim, and Sampurno, 2013). Throughout 2012-2015 period, Sidoarjo Polresta managed to unveil 65 breach of discipline cases, involving 122 personnel. Apart from that, recorded as well 14 trials on breach of police professional code of ethics, with three of which fell within severe/gross violation category that should be dealt with penal code. Two of the three severe violation cases have resulted in discharging of the involved personnel (SPPP), while personnel involved in the other case was not discharged from service with consideration that the involved personnel was sentenced with 3 months imprisonment as probation period.

Notwithstanding the fact, it is worth noting that the official data on breach of disciplinary and ethical code does not cover unveiled/unsettled indications of breaches possibly committed by the rest of Sidoarjo Polresta members. As stated by Bayley (2002: 134), “*Although the public is most concerned about dramatic infringements of the rule-of-law, such as brutality, planting false evidence, and lying in courts most of the liberties taken by police are more mundane, routinized, and difficult to detect.*” This, however, should be understood as *agent’s* strategy to familiarize the police arena, and manipulate the rule of the game to avoid punishments and sanctions. Observations in the field have shown various forms of unveiled violations and breaches, that will be explained further in the next part of this research.

PARAMILITARY CULTURE: THE ENDURING OLD DOXA OF THE POLICE

Influence of paramilitary culture as a yardstick for police *doxa* in Indonesia took shape during the New Order era when Police was still under the same roof of ABRI (Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia) with the military, and the remains are still found in this research. Reforms toward a better course has been done since the separation of Police from ABRI, for example through the 3-S slogan; Smile, Salute, “Salam” (The Indonesian word for greeting), to put forward a friendlier face of the police before public. Nevertheless, ruins of paramilitary behaviours still exist among others in the form of violent behaviours in handling mass rally and suspects during interrogation process, as well as misuse of fire arms, extortion, and many others. These forms of paramilitary ruins are found in the breach of discipline records collected by the Police Provost Section in Sidoarjo Polresta from 2012 to 2015.

A traffic police officer who joined the police in 1983/84 and spent most of his career as crime intelligence officer raised an example of such paramilitary behaviours during suspect interrogation process in the past, which was full of violence and pressures to have suspect/s sign the interrogation report form, despite the lack of evidence.

“In the past, various methods were carried, [untill the suspect/s profess/es that he/she committed crime] for he/she could not stand the pressure. Now it is not allowed, interrogation is a heart to heart process. Everything should be directed with evidence. In the past, we would be angry when interrogation did not go as we want. Now everything has to be based on evidence. Now no one may go beyond what has been stipulated” (SP Interview, March 10, 2017).

Police violent behaviours towards public still remain as well within police’s point of view as crime-fighter, identically related to physical and verbal violence. Police Reform however has pledged for a new *doxa*: civic (minded) police to serve the public. The Police strives to change

the symbols closely related to military world, for example by changing its rank nomenclature, its organizational structure, and by improving its education system. Police education system nowadays have reduced its military style education, and put more emphasize on police professional and functional education. Soldier style physical and discipline trainings are now gradually replaced with education pattern that gives more space for critical thinking and decision making capacity to handle various operational problems in the society.

Nonetheless, this old *doxa* is a die-hard matter in reality. Some officers who experienced military style education and trainings in the past, half-heartedly accept the new educational system. Revealed in this research’s interview, they consider the junior officers resulting from this new educational system as not as good as those who went through the military style education in the past. Most of them are complaining about the lack of discipline, respect, hierarchical awareness, and strictness towards public from the junior officers. Some of them even suggested to have the old educational system back.

The earlier mentioned facts, bring up suggestion that in the case of Sidoarjo Polresta as well as other Polres/Polresta, fundamental changes from paramilitary *doxa* to civic-minded police are still needed. Prevention measures are particularly needed against attempts from military educated police officers to re-implant violent behaviours on their junior or sub-ordinate officers under the cover of disciplinary strengthening, hierarchical respect, and/or strictness as police officer. A bold boundary between strictness and violence need to be drawn even clearer than ever. As researched by Yildiz (2001) on police organization in Turkey, police violence is culturally implanted within its *operational code* spread allover factions of officers, allowing violence in certain situations, regarded as logical behaviour, understandable, or at least forgiven. Violent acts in suspect interrogation, or even brutal acts in handling mass rally, were raised as examples in this research. According to Jenks, Jhonson, and Matthews, (2012: 7), there are three types of violence possibly committed by police officers in its

relation with public, i.e.: physical violence (to include ranges of excessive physical measures up to brutal acts), psychological violence (including harrasment), and legal abuse against the rights of citizen/s. This problem gets more complicated as some of these violent behaviours are not carried under certain (personal) benefit, but are regarded as for the sake of the public where law bending or even breaking is considered necessary to fight crimes. Martinelli (2006) labels this kind of behaviour as “*noble cause*” which is too often used to legitimate such act.

Other facts revealed from this research interview were the motivations behind these violent acts. A faction of police officers were those who failed in military recruitment test and put the police as their next option. Another faction consists of officers joined the police for they had experience of violence in the society, and intend to utilize the police status to avenge and cover up the trauma. These military and violence related motives are the ones which makes police officers more receptive towards various violent behaviour patterns, be they absorbed through education or socialization in their duty as police.

Being a Police as Social Mobility Vehicle

Majority of personnel at Polres/Polresta level are of low rank officers, i.e. brigadier and agent rank officers which in Sidoarjo Polresta consist of 562 personnel that account to 87,8% of the total personnel. These brigadier and agent rank officers have various motivations behind their profession as police. However, a significant portion of these brigadier and agent rank officers perceive the police profession as having a plus value, as a settled and well respected profession before the public, even when compared to civil servants, private employees, or entrepreneurs who tend to receive better remuneration. All of these perceptions contribute to “applicants flooding” whenever vacancy for brigadier and agent rank officers is announced, and some of those applicants even prepared significant amount of money to lubricate the tight selection process.

Throughout interview phase in this research, it was revealed that getting a settled job was

the most prevalent motive of being a police, especially for brigadier level. Nonetheless, there are some variations in this “settled job” motive. First, being a police was their last resort after failing to get the job/s they want. Some of the interviewed police officers in this research stated they initially did not want to be policeman. Some of them wanted to be teacher, soldier, aircraft mechanics, etc. Only after they could not be any of the aforementioned profession whatever the causes were, they applied to the Police. Second, the motivation of being a police is also influenced by people in their surroundings. Having family member/s or friend/s in school who already joined the police. Third, being a police is a socio-economic boost for family status. A brigadier serving as traffic police stated he joined the police to ease his parents economic burden. A detective at the drugs unit stated he wanted to have a better life for his parents were only peasants, and he really hopes that one of his children will follow his path to be a police.

Short discussion in previous paragraphs have described on one hand how the society views the profession of police; and on the other hand show certain expectations underlying people’s motivations to choose this profession. The implication, particularly on the ethical culture, is emergence of *agent/s* to align himself to the institutional settings within the police organization, to mention as well, the deviant practices. For the remuneration is relatively lower, these officers need to strive for extras (income), forcing them to compromize money making practices, despite being deviant or even illegal. In other words, police officers tend to open their arms for corruptive practices, although not entirely can be regarded as overt corruption. A staff officer stated that every month he receives from his commandant what he calls as “incentives”, amounting nearly half of his official sallary. In return for the incentives, he has to ensure loyalty to his commandant.

Loyalty to commandants can be defined in two ways. First, sub-ordinate has to be observant and ready to carry out whatever the commandant orders, even beyond the official job description (Interview CS, March 13, 2017). The orders

often came out of plan, and too often resulting from commandant's spontaneous idea, that is to say out of the blue. It can be an order to escort commandant outside office, delivering stuffs, and buying things wanted by the commandant. All these orders make him and his fellow officers suffer from rest deficiency, for all of them need to promptly respond anytime in the day from morning to afternoon, till late in the evening, whenever their commandant gives order.

Second, this relation of loyalty is actually personal in nature between superiors and subordinates. The transactional side of this relation is never brought up openly to surface, and even no specific rules on how much is this incentive should be, and how the commandant's should give this to his subordinate/s. Based on the interview, the amount of this incentive differs nominally from one subordinate to another, and it even differs from one function (division) to another. Hence, this loyalty relation can be seen as patron-client relation, a relation personally built by two parties. And such patron-client relations, with its transactionally corruptive facts, become fertile medium for the development of deviant practices in the Police which will surely hinder the development of transparent, accountable, and neutral public service.

Riding on Police Discretion

Then a question shall be addressed on how the commandant can fund the monthly incentives for his subordinates. Police salary is based on rank combined with service duration, called as incremental salary increase system, ranging from only 3% to 5% annually. Thus, officers of the same rank, with slight difference in service duration, will have nearly the same amount of salary. But, a brigadier who have served for 32 years can earn more than a commissioner adjutant who have only served for ten years. The question again is, how the commandant can fund the monthly incentives for his subordinates.

The answer lies in what is called as police discretion, and integral aspect of police profession *habitus*. The loyalty relation explained earlier have described how deviant practices have been

dispersed, absorbed, and socialized to eventually become *habitus* for junior officers. This is not an instant process, it took years instead throughout the duty as a police, to understand the nitty-gritty of these deviant practices within an officer's scope of duty. Theoretically, it can explain how a police officer gain the opportunity to commit corruption, through a simple mathematical formula by Klitgaard (1998), which defines $C = P + D - A$; where, $C = \text{corruption}$, $P = \text{power}$, $D = \text{discretion}$, and $A = \text{accountability}$. Corruption emerges from provision of certain authority (*power*) added with an opportunity to subjectively interpret rules of law (*discretion*), minus control and supervision (*accountability*).

Discretion is not a police specific matter, it does in fact apply to any government and bureaucratic institution. Existence of authority and space for subjective interpretation at the same time, will in turn generate opportunities for personal or group own benefit/s. In the case of police organization, police discretion can be explained as follows: *police discretion maybe defined as the capacity of police officers to select from among a number of legal and illegal courses of action or inaction while performing their duties* (Bailey (ed), 1995: 206). Thus it is clear that police discretion capacitates to carry out both legal and illegal measures in handling or halting cases, up to release and discharge.

Various types and modes of operation of the "deviant discretion" within Polres/Polresta level have been collected by Dwilaksana (2001), particularly at the traffic incidents unit.

Through an interview with FT, a businessman from Sidoarjo, a further explanation of this "deviant discretion" was revealed. According to his (FT) experience, any case related to business permits, waste, up to *software* copyright infringement can be source of income for deviant officers. He once had a café selling alcoholic drinks, and for this he had to provide some amount of "incentives" to be distributed monthly to different police units.

"Each month we gave the detectives, intelligence, sabhara (alert unit), drugs unit, and municipal police at district government. Sabhara is in charge for minor penal offences, to handle alcohol related

problems. So it has an underlying legal matter. The intelligence have the authority over permits issuance, and the drugs unit they can shut the café. In total, each month we budgeted at least 25 million, exclusive of the plusses, they always asked for “donation” whenever they have event” (Interview FT, May 21, 2017).

Such abuse of discretion is hard to detect. First, a specific supervisory system to audit how discretion is made in the field is yet to exist. Second, violations of law often substantially induced from the public side, hence making them reluctant to report the abuse of authority for it will fire back their own business. Third, “under the table” transactions hardly left trace or evidence as well, for no written receipt nor any proof of payment need to be made as in normal business. Except, the perpetrators are caught red-handed, or there is official report from victim/s, both of which are of course so seldomly happens. Such transactional relations tend to last long and safe as in social relation context, once all parties involved have made agreement. Further, as Klitgaard (1998) explained before, deviant discretions are made possible by the lack of accountability and the weak supervision of the organization.

FORMS OF CAPITAL AND THEIR STRATEGIES IN THE POLICE

When police *habitus* is treated separately as an autonomous element, observation towards *agent*-structure relation in the Police can not be made comprehensively. If this is the case, Police *habitus* will appear merely as “structure”, or “mental structure” to be more precise, which will universally entrap *agent* in a rigid, uniformed, and unchangeable practical logic. With this perspective, observer will fall into structuralist error, which views the social world as deterministic; as if all police officers will definitely behave the same way in the same situation, though in reality it does not apply that way. On this basis, analysing *habitus* shall not avoid analysis on capitals that play certain roles in it. Every arena has its own different capital structure, including the Police as an arena. Bourdieu is certain that positions filled by *agents* in social arena are relative in nature, and they are

dependent as well on the volume and portfolio of structures of an *agent* compared to the others in the same arena (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Unlike Marx, Bourdieu’s concept of capital tries to get rid of Marx’s addiction on economic capital. Bourdieu offers a broader concept of capital that encompasses various kinds of capital, i.e.: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic.

Economic Capital: the Wet Posts

Economic capital, it has to be admitted, always takes on important posts in any arena, including the Police, since it is easily converted into other forms of capital. From *agents*’ point of view, that is police officers as individuals, those who bears expectations beyond their profession as police, are more vulnerable against inducements of unofficial income generating opportunities. This is the one which drives officers, both individually and collectively, to take advantage over their discretion authority as police, the generate more income.

Attempts to get more income through discretion authorities, as discussed above, are closely linked to various posts in the organization. However, each post has different (illegal) income generation capacity. The Police, including the Polres/Polresta level, colloquially recognizes the so called “wet post” and “dry post”. The strategy to boost economic capital accumulation should head for the “wet post” where the traffic and crime units are among the ones considered as “wet”. *Agents* thus must avoid the “dry posts”, like for example community development and alert units. Police officers outside the “wet posts” are hoping for job rotation to get “wet”. In this research’s context, “wet posts” are the ones having broader discretion opportunities convertible into bigger economic capital. As for other government institutions, the same thing does apply, yet it is more prevalent in the Police because there is no strict separation among functions. What is meant by no strict separation is there is no fix nor binding specialization or career path, particularly at Polres/Polresta level. An officer can rotate from one function to another once he/she went on a specific course to gain basic requirements

of skill in another function. SP, for example, a traffic officer nearing his retirement, had been stationed in all functions in the Police throughout his career. TI, a traffic unit chief, started his 13 years career in alert unit, and was once a human resource officer.

The loose separation among functions in the Police have contributed to the development of “mutual understanding” among functions, inclusive of negative things related to abuse of discretion for personal or group own benefit. An officer who, for example, were moved from traffic unit to a new post in the crime unit, would start with his knowledge about traffic arena’s game rules, as his initial habitus, to learn and adapt to the new game rules of the crime unit; including the know-hows on taking advantage over discretion. This way of thinking, will further facilitate exchanges of interests among functions and weaken the efforts to combat prevailing “deviant habitus”, moreover when *agents*’ ethical awareness is low. Level of ethical awareness is influenced among others by ownership of cultural capital.

Cultural Capital: the Education Path

Cultural capital in general is a set of capacities required by a person to hold a certain social post; hence it is often said that cultural capital is the primary cause for status and relative positions in a certain social arena (Bourdieu, 1986: 20-46). At the Polres/Polresta level, the stark difference between having and not having cultural capital can be seen between regular education path (officers who started from brigadier level) and the so called alumni path (graduates of the Police Academy, or abbreviated as Akpol). A younger officer graduated from Akpol, is seen as having plus value at the Polres/Polresta level even when compared to more experienced regular path officer of the same rank. This alumni path is projected from the very start at the academy to hold leadership posts, again, even when compared to officers who joined the police after he/she obtained bachelor degree, or known as “bachelor source”. These bachelor source are actually projected to hold leadership posts as well, yet the alumni path stays on top for good

to be prioritized for strategic posts. Nevertheless, the difference between duration of education between the bachelor source and alumni path has always been the main reason to get the alumni path on top. Bachelor source went on a 11 month education to become a police, while the alumni path spent 4 years before in the academy. In brief, these alumni path hold the “highest caste” and prestige in the police, followed by the bachelor source, and on the bottom of the list are the regular brigadiers even when they joined SAG (*Seleksi Alih Golongan*, a selection process for brigadiers to get higher officer rank). For information, the SAG process takes only 1 month, an even shorter length compared to the other paths. This is due to the facts that brigadiers are educated in the field operation instead of texts and books.

Beside the education path, various factors like rank, operational experience, and skills and knowledge obtained through trainings, are also important cultural capitals in Police organization to determine the *agent*’s post in the organization. From *agent*’s perspective, ownership of cultural capitals in combination with strategies to obtain further capitals, are very important factors to boost career in the police organization. There is a two way correlation economic and cultural capital. On one hand, obtaining cultural capitals usually need to be supported by economic capital; on the other hand, higher cultural capitals will open more opportunities *agent/s* to gain more economic capitals. However, as earlier cited from Bourdieu (1998), *agents* do not carry out nor presume these strategies as purely utilitarian, they regard these strategies instead as feel for the game which last from moment to moment in short terms, as an *immediate correlate of practice*, or as a *pre-perceptive anticipation* towards a very near future (*quasi present*), like a police patrolling crime in progress of a suspicious target. In a longer time perspectives, Bourdieu (1998: 82) took a professor in College de France as an example to explain the non utilitarian relation between *agent*’s strategi and his/her arena. Did the professor has planned all his ambitions since the very start, picked a certain department, this thesis advisor, that research topic, and everything that will pave his way eventually to become a professor?

These cultural capitals are often accepted as an implicit rule of game by the *agents*. For example, an alumni path Police enjoying better life style and welfare, would not be perceived as something unusual, nor would spark envy among fellow officers.

“Akpol graduates are higher class. A brigadier should thank God for managing to own a car. It is normal [if an Akpol graduate enjoys better welfare]. No body would [envy], saying you have nice car and house. Akpol graduates are meant to be leaders” (Interview CS, March 13, 2017).

The power of cultural capital in police organization does impact not only on officers' individual career, but also proven to be effective in confronting internal supervision. A fundamental weakness of the supervisory section (*siewas*), as the internal control for managerial affairs, is the weak cultural capital embodied in its personnel. HP, A *siewas* personnel interviewd in this research, stated that the chief supervision post is held by officers of lower rank relative to the officers under his supervision. Alumni path usually avoid this post (*siewas*), for it is considered as “dry”. Thus, the chief supervision has to face strategic post holders with stronger cultural capitals. Even at *Polsek* level, the chief posts at *Polsek* area which are considered strategic, are held by alumni path officers, hence resulting in dull and mere formalistic supervision. This again has shown how social and cultural capital can determine social relations and the practices carried by the *agents*.

Social Capital: Negative and Positive Relations

Ownership of high cultural capital, however, does not automatically make an *agent* (a police officer) can hold a beneficial post in an arena. An Akpol graduate, for example, despite having a the alumni path as his/her cultural capital, may face hardships to obtain and or retain his/her strategic/“wet” post. He/she needs to develop further social capital in the workplace, with superiors, subordinates, and same rank fellows. In police organization as an arena, according to Chan (2004: 331), *agents* are competing over control

of various types of capital. Nevertheless, to be successful, a police officer needs to have social capital in form of vast network support among fellow officers. This network is so important to ensure not only protection against external perils related to police jobs, or simply against envies, but also against arbitrary supervision, and tyrannical practices from superiors. This becomes even more important when the so called “accountability” in police organizations too often pay more attentions towards uniform tidiness, absence discipline, etc., yet hardly touches auditing aspect of performance and decision making capabilities in dealing with duties.

The earlier discussion has raised two important points concerning social capital. First, social capital in the form of informal relations among officers are the most eminent strategies employed by *agents* to utilize their capital, which can turn negatively when being used to veil deviant practices. Second, changes in supervision method/s and development of accountability measures can alter the way social capital plays its role within police organization. Police reform in developed countries have given examples on multi-layered supervision directed towards all levels of organizational, managerial, down to personnel practices with stricter performance-based accountability system (Chan, 2004: 331, 341-2). A neutral and objective supervisory system shall decrease officers' dependence on negative social relations, which in turn is expected to gradually replace these negative social relations with more positive social relations in their workplace.

As in this research, the development of loyalty relation at *Polres/Polresta* level, particularly in traffic and crime units can be explained through two perspectives. First, loyalty for subordinates means carrying out whatever order given by commandant, even beyond official job description. Second, this relation is a form of social capital beneficial for both parties, superiors and subordinates, to veil abuse of discretion practices that have generated various benefits for them. However, such negative social relations does indeed not solely belong to the two aforementioned units, but may be found as well

in other units. Even among unit chiefs, supportive mutual relations do exist although they may compete each other over opportunities to utilize their discretionary power. Hence, discretion practice can only be effective when it is socially accepted by the *agents*, and could probably need to be supported by new symbols to make social capitals more effective in the police arena.

Symbolic Capital: Creation of New Symbols

Symbolic capital is specific kind of capital which is more abstract in nature compared to other types of capital. Symbolic capital relates to honour and specific recognition. This can then explain that the meaning of a capital is not independently inherent within the capital itself, but it takes the whole *agents* who compete over the capital in a specific arena to recognize the importance of certain capital (Bourdieu, 1997). Despite being abstract in nature, symbolic capital in a social arena is a conversion from other forms of capital; economic, social, and cultural, into something of value that is worth defending for (Bourdieu, 1997: 182). The process of symbolic capital recognition reflects assumptions on the utility of capital under the prevailing rule of the game in an arena.

The symbolic capital observed in Polres/Polresta level is so far still rooted on the old *doxa* of police as crime-fighter, and related as well to the remains of paramilitary culture. The old *doxa* of police as crime-fighter makes those who can capture criminals will get the biggest symbolic capital, and it makes them worth trusting in protecting the public, and even deserve for rank promotion. While in paramilitary culture, discipline, hierarchical respect, chain of command observance, and physical agility are the ones considered valuable. Personal integrity up to now is yet considered as symbolic capital. The same case did apply in police organizations of developed countries, for example, in New South Wales Police prior to reform (Chan, 2004: 345).

Although Sidoarjo Polresta is currently designated as one of the “integrity zones”, but integrity is yet a fully recognized and valued symbolic capital. Existence of honest, bribe proof,

principles upholding, and whistle blowing against deviances officers there are seen as exceptions, still without proper recognition. Even worse, a supervisory unit chief outside Sidoarjo Polresta, but still under East Java Polda, was discharged from his post after he filed official report on deviant practices to Irwasda (Supervisory unit at Polda level). This is sadly in contrary against what was advertised by Singapore Police; declines bribe means shines of pride (Quah, 2006: 73). As far as to the research observation, no effort has been made at the Polres/Polresta level to build this kind of symbolic capital. From the ethical culture strengthening perspective, creation of symbols related to integrity is seriously needed to help changing the police *habitus*.

Police Profession as an Arena

According to Walther (2014: 8), Bourdieu view the social world as a social space (*espace social*) divided into sub-divisions which are called as social arena (*champs sociaux*). Each social arena is seen a relatively autonomous microcosmos, where *agents* and institutions are integrated and interacting each other based on a set of specific rules (*règles*). Nonetheless, any arena is attached always to a boarder social system which is also in interaction with other arena, included here is the arena of police profession. Public perception towards police are generally parallel with public perception towards the entire *criminal justice system* (Jenks, Jhonson, and Matthews, 2012: 4).

The crossing paths between police arena with other arena in a broader social system, particularly with the criminal justice system, have made police corruption overlaps with other law enforcement agencies’ corruption. A factual case revealed in this research as told by FT (the entrepreneur from Sidoarjo), when he was a victim of embezzlement, he still had to provide “lubricant money” for police, attorney, and judge to get the perpetrator sentenced and pay back the embezzled fund. Yet FT still felt fortunate as he stated, “better than the embezzled fund did not go back to me at all”.

The earlier told case shows that deviant discretionary practices often can not be done by police alone for it needs support from other

law enforcement agencies. This also describes not only interdependence between police arena and other arena, but further shows how police corruption can reflect the entire law enforcement climate of a country. In other words, police corruption as well as other public sector corruption, is a reflection of social and institutional framework of a country (Juntunen and Käyhkö, 2008: 3). Another example, the SPF (Singapore Police Forces) efforts to free up its organization from corruption is closely related to the hard measures taken by the Singaporean government to combat corruptions (Quah, 2006: 64-65). Hence, interdependence between police arena with other arena in a broader social context need to be considered in analyzing cases of deviant discretionary practices which involve external *agents* outside the police organization. The solution to such cases then can not solely relied upon police's own internal organizational improvement, but takes well organized inter-agency cooperation. This research has also not observed the existence of such inter-agency cooperation that is deemed crucial to build ethical culture at the Polres/Polresta level.

ETHICAL CULTURE STRENGTHENING MODEL AT POLRES/POLRESTA LEVEL

A closer look at the Agent-Structure Encounter Model in Public Ethics (**diagram 1**), the situation of ethics at Sidoarjo Polresta organization is a mixture between quadrant 1 and quadrant 4. This means, in most cases, the problems lie on the weak institutional integrity. This is due to: remains of paramilitary culture, police *doxa* as crime-fighter, the still weak and partially built internal supervisory system, absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure, and the deontological or rule-based definition approach to ethics. In other cases, the problem emerges from weak personnel integrity due to: limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct, absence of training on ethics in police education, absence of supporting symbolic capitals, and weaknesses within recruitment and socialization system for newly recruited officers.

Based on the above findings, the ethical culture strengthening model built in this research

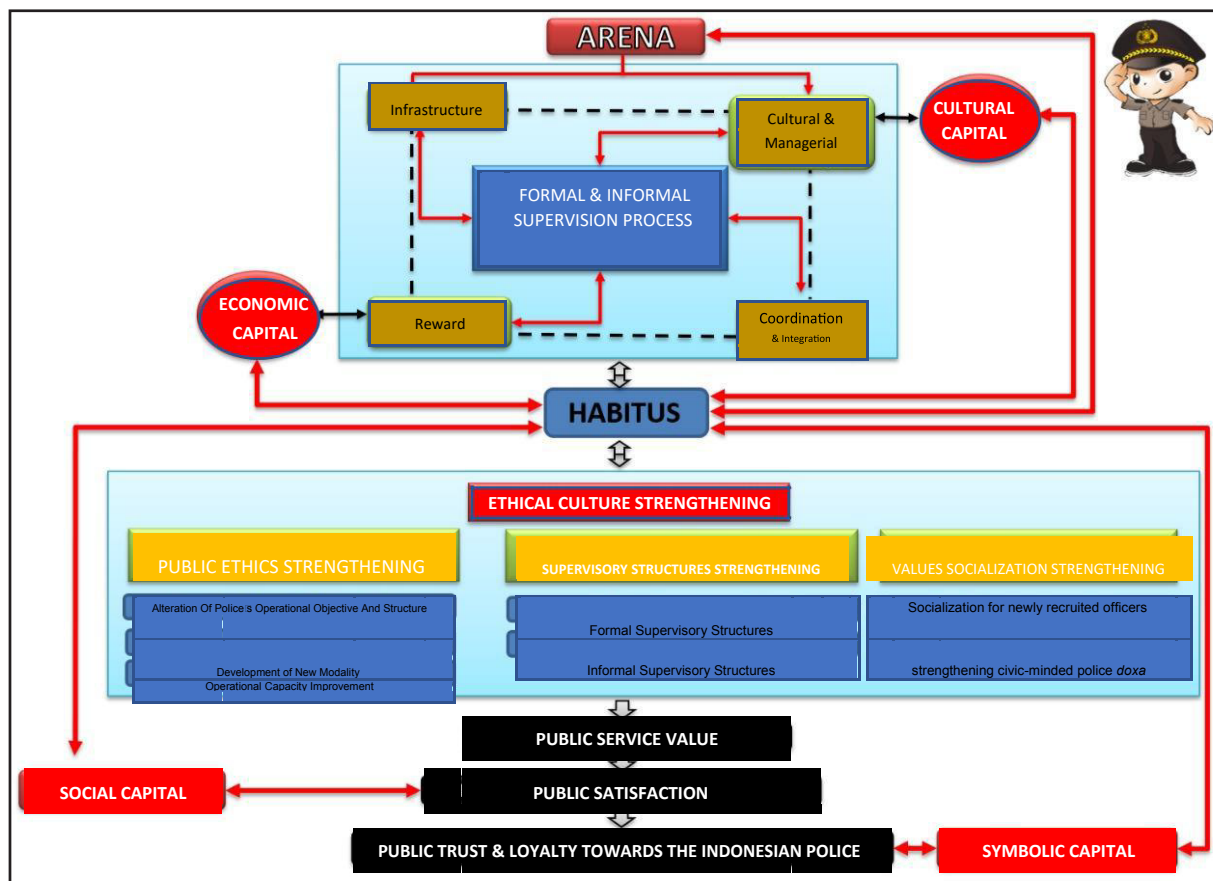


Diagram 2. Ethical Culture Strengthening Model

is basically aimed to alter the situation from quadrant 1 and quadrant 4 to quadrant 2, as the ideal situation. This implied on the need to strengthen institutional and personal integrity simultaneously right on each weakness points. As in **Diagram 2**, the ethical culture strengthening model is built from three main elements: (1) public ethics strengthening, that is by through alteration of police's operational objective and structure headed towards responsive, quality, and relevant public service, (2) strengthening of existing formal supervisory structures as well as informal supervisory structures by involving public participation and (3) strengthening of values socialization through improvement in socialization for newly recruited officers, and strengthening civic-minded police *doxa*.

Development of institutional integrity for Polres/Polresta level police can be described in more detail through **Table 1**. First, related to remains of paramilitary culture, the actions

needed are: (1) improvement of curricula structures for basic education and trainings as well as police professional trainings by adding as much as possible public service orientation; (2) clear separation between being "strict" and being "violent", especially to senior officers, to eradicate forced socialization on military style "strictness", hierarchy, and discipline; (3) supervisory and accountability improvement on violence prone activities as in utilization of firearms, suspect investigation, inmate/s handling, mass rally handling, etc.; (4) alteration of *command and control* management style to adaptive management style to allow more space for creative and positive measures.

Second, in relation to the strong influence police's old *doxa* as crime-fighter, the following instruments of ethics are deemed essential: (1) development of civic-minded police *doxa* through police education institutions, modes of communication in daily activities and

Table 1. Institutional Integrity Strengthening

Num	Weakness	Instrument of Ethics
1	Remains of Paramilitary Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improvement of education and training curricula structure. Separation line between "strict" vs "violent" supervisory and accountability improvement on violence prone activities as in utilization of firearms, suspect investigation, inmate/s handling, mass rally handling, etc. Alteration of command and control management style to adaptive management style to allow more space for creative and positive measures.
2	Doxa as crime-fighter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing civic-minded police <i>doxa</i>. Official subsidy/incentives for public related functions. Preventive approach in community policing (crime prevention). e-policing approach to speed up provision of public service and limit potentials of collusive interaction.
3	The still weak and partially built internal supervisory system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Broadening of the authority and supervisory capacities of provost section. Cultural capital, audit competence, and independence requirement for supervisory unit chief. Protection and anonymity for whistle-blower/s.
4	Absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diversification of public complaint channels and mechanism. Public report cards to support service evaluation. Civil society involvement to support public service oversight.
5	Deontological or rule-based definition approach to ethics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Combination of rule-based definition and value-based definition. Combination of consequentialism and virtue ethic approach.

operations, and through scientific discourse in police science; (2) Official subsidy/incentives for public related functions since these functions have so far been perceived as less interesting and prestigious compared to crime related functions; (3) preventive approach in community policing (crime prevention) to replace repressive approach in suppressing the number of crime incidents; and (4) *e-policing* approach to speed up provision of public service and limit potentials of collusive interaction.

The third problem that is still need to be tackled is the still weak and partially built internal supervisory system. The measures that should be developed in this case are: (1) broadening the authority and supervisory capacities of provost section, to pro-actively conduct preventive measures instead of merely respond upon public complaints; (2) institutionalizing cultural capital, audit competence, and independence requirement for supervisory unit chief; institutionalizing protection and anonymity for whistle-blower/s who report/s on deviant practices.

The fourth weakness, absence of public participatory ethical infrastructure shall be solved through: (1) diversification of public complaint channels and mechanism which are equipped with a system enabling public to monitor whether their complaint/s are followed up properly or not; (2) development of public report cards to support service evaluation; (3) civil society involvement to support public service oversight.

The last weakness in institutional integrity is the deontological or rule-based definition approach to ethics. For this problem, a combination of rule-based definition and value-based definition needs to be developed to allow space for officers to operate not only within the corridors of rule, but also of ethics. As for sanction mechanism, a combination of reward and punishment in consequentialism approach and virtue ethic approach is needed to empower moral character development and self ethical responses.

Improvement in institutional integrity needs supports from officers' personal integrity. The problems faced in the case of officers'

Table 2. Personal Integrity Strengthening

Num	Weakness	Instrument of Ethics
1	Limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct. Near absence of topics on ethics in police education and training.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accomodation of special topics on ethics in police education curricula at all levels. • Customized training on ethics to match the needs of different functions in police organization. • Development of ethical competence measures to improve personnel's operational capacity in taking ethical decisions. • Trainings on audit of ethics fundamentals to support supervision over code of ethics implementation.
2	Absence of symbolic capitals in supporting integrity strengthening.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official and periodical ceremony/event to formally recognize officer/s having outstanding integrity. • Special awards. • Accelerated period of job rotation on Positions prone to deviant practices. • Wealth and financial status reports.
3	Weakness on recruitment system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background and life style check on cadet candidates. • Special selection methods to assess candidates' character stability and ethical skills. • Eradication of bribery and nepotism in recruitment.
4	Weakness on socialization to newly recruited officers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lengthen the initial posting/assignment period outside specific functions. • Better plurality with special quota for women candidates and those from minority groups.

personal integrity are detailed in **Table 2**. The first fundamental problem revealed in this research was limited comprehension of ethics as a philosophy and of public ethics as public official's code of conduct. This is unsurprisingly related to near absence of topics on ethics in police education and training, from the lowest brigadier level to the highest officer level, and moreover at the agent rank level.

In order to materialize the above purpose, special topics on ethics need to be accommodated in police education curricula. In addition to that, trainings on ethics as general training or customized training to match the needs of different functions, need to be conducted periodically. Customized trainings on ethics will address the different challenges and problems related to ethics faced by each function in police organization, and these shall include the development of ethical competence measures to improve personnel's operational capacity in taking ethical decisions. For supervisory and audit purpose, trainings on audit of ethics fundamentals should be given to support supervision over code of ethics implementation in the organization.

The next problem in personal integrity is the absence of symbolic capitals in supporting integrity strengthening that makes the orientation of ethics implementation seems to be separated from organization culture. This way, officers are losing symbolic guidance to develop what are considered as ethical. Suggested measures to overcome this problem are: (1) official and periodical (could be annual) ceremony/event to formally recognize officer/s having outstanding integrity, and to designate them as role models for fellow officers in ethical conducts; (2) special awards designed to strengthen orientation towards ethical conducts; (3) accelerated period of job rotation on positions prone to deviant practices, for example like in the Singapore Police Force (SPF) which set 3 years on position at the maximum for positions in drugs, corporate crime, bureaucratic corruption, and traffic incidents units; (4) obligation to file wealth and financial state reports for unit chief and deputy chief, for example to limit personnel's financial liabilities to 5 times basic salary at the maximum to reduce bribery inducement against officer/s.

These symbolic measures are expected not only to strengthen orientation towards integrity, but may in turn become valuable symbolic capitals in police organization.

The third weakness is the strict recruitment system that is in fact not strict enough with the absence of ethics based selection criteria. The measures that should be taken in this case are: (1) background and life style check on cadet candidates, which should be rigorously done, to prevent having cadets with life style weakness and bad personal habits like cheating, gambling, and alcoholic; (2) development of special selection methods to assess candidates' character stability and ethical skills, not only to match ideal organizational culture, but also in turn will be valuable asset to accomplish and uphold the police integrity vision; (3) eradication of bribery and nepotism in recruitment to support all the previous measures described earlier.

The last weakness is on socialization to newly recruited officers. The first thing to be taken on this matter is by prolonging the initial posting/assignment period outside specific functions, to prevent newly recruited officers from absorbing the *habitus* of extra income generation outside official duty. The second thing is through employment of better plurality approach in recruitment process to add more diversification in terms of ethnic, religious, social status, and educational background, with special quota for women candidates and those from minority groups. The aim of this strategy is to develop more diverse *habitus* to have a more dynamic and fluid organizational culture.

Various measures described above have practically explained the interdependence between institutional integrity and officers' personal integrity to improve police organizational integrity. Nevertheless, some details in this research maybe different from the facts that can be found in other Polres/Polresta. Yet in general, this is expected to contribute to the development of a workable ethical culture strengthening model which is relevant to the current condition and situation of the Indonesian Police organization. It needs to be noted, however, that analysis on inter-agency cooperation in combatting deviant practices within the criminal justice system, is

yet to be accommodated in this model. Hence, to optimize the result from employment of this model, pioneering network in inter-agency cooperation, particularly between police, attorney, and judge is ultimately necessary. Not only that it can improve public trust towards justice system as a whole, but also it will support the internal process of improvement within the police organization itself which will limit the spread of deviant discretionary practices of police officers.

CONCLUSION

Bourdieu's *habitus* approach employed in this research to describe and analyze the situation of ethics within police organization at Polres/Polresta level. In here, the formation and development of loyalty relation and various deviant discretionary practices are related to police *habitus* as a kind of guiding yardstick in thinking framework, perception, and eventually actions of police officer/s. As a "structuring structure", police *habitus* suggests how interactions should be done in the police arena. Yet, in contrast to that, as a "structured structure", it is not passively absorbed by *agents*, for *agents* do play active role in conserving this *habitus* through reproductions of social actions. All this can be seen in reproduction of actions by the *agents* themselves, as well as actions taken to socialize *habitus* towards subordinates and or juniors.

How the process actually take place in the police organization is very much determined by *agents*' ownership of capital portfolio. The economic capital, as the most exchangeable and convertible form of capital, is generally obtained through position/s in the organization, that is through the "wet post/s" with higher discretionary loopholes, hence promising in financial potentials. However, ability to hold such posts, is also related to ownership of cultural capital, and maintaining the post will in turn need social capital in the form of supporting network at least among fellow officers. Through combination of economic, cultural, and social capital, a police officer not only can hold certain post/s, but may as well obtain certain status and or recognition that will form the symbolic capital.

From the public ethics perspective, some weaknesses within the organization at the Polres/Polresta level were revealed. These includes weaknesses on institutional and personal integrity which were then put as the target of improvements in the ethical culture strengthening model proposed in this research. The research shows that instruments of ethics at the Polres/Polresta level police organization are still having significant weaknesses which demand significant improvements. The challenge thus need to be addressed by the Indonesian Police organization to successfully accomplish cultural reform. *Circa* two decades of Police Reform in Indonesia following its separation from the ABRI, instrumental and structural reform can indeed be deemed as successful, but the result of cultural reform towards civic-minded police to protect and to serve the public, is questionable still. Among the benefits of employing this ethical culture strengthening model is, aside from helping the development of transparency and accountability principles in police's public service, empowering the practical implementation of cultural reform process, particularly at Polres/Polresta level organization as the basic police unit which stand at the forefront in protecting and serving the public.

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