

# Deliberative Democracy and the New Social Movement: A Case from the Bojonegoro Media

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## ABSTRACT

The post-reform social movement is an exciting topic to study. After the nature of the movement that has transformed to be not merely ideological anymore vis a vis with the repressive style of the new order, this movement attempts to seek unique formulations related to the negation of subject-objects. In that context, the role of the media is critical. The existence and position of the media become a necessity in a social movement. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have used the media in such a way to achieve its' goals. Apart from a fluctuating level of success, the process of integrating the substances of movement with the medium that mediates the achievement of goals becomes essential. This article aims to elaborate on how far the meaning and dynamics of new media, focusing on two websites of social movements in Bojonegoro in achieving NGO objectives. This research, using narrative text analysis, analyzed the pages of the websites according to the information system settings and models created by Bojonegoro Regency, East Java. Furthermore, this study used Habermas's view of the deliberative discourse of the dam model as a theoretical framework.

Keywords: New media; social change; non-governmental organizations; discourse

## ABSTRAK

*Gerakan social pasca reformasi sangat menarik untuk dikaji. Setelah sifat gerakan yang tidak lagi semata ideologis vis a vis dengan gaya represif Orde Baru, gerakan ini terus mencari formulasi unik terkait dengan negasi subjek-objek. Dalam konteks itu peran media menjadi unsur menarik untuk diteliti. Keberadaan dan posisi media menjadi keniscayaan dalam sebuah gerakan sosial. Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) telah memanfaatkan media sedemikian rupa untuk mencapai tujuannya. Terlepas dari tingkat keberhasilan yang fluktuatif, proses integrasi substansi gerakan dengan medium yang mengantari pencapaian tujuan menjadi sebuah objek kaji yang menarik. Tulisan ini bermaksud untuk mengelaborasi seberapa jauh makna dan dinamika keberadaan media baru lewat dua website gerakan sosial di Bojonegoro telah mengantari pencapaian tujuan LSM tersebut. Menggunakan metode analisis teks naratif, tulisan ini mencoba mengurai secara sederhana dua laman website tersebut sesuai dengan setting dan model system informasi yang diciptakan oleh pemerintah Kabupaten Bojonegoro, Jawa Timur. Dalam analisisnya, penelitian ini menggunakan pandangan Habermas atas diskursus deliberatif model bendungan sebagai kerangka teoretik.*

*Kata kunci : Media baru; perubahan social; lembaga swadaya masyarakat; diskursus*

## INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a principle held to provide equality to all people. Ideally, everyone is free to give opinions and ideas to support the running of a government. Because of the development of technology and communication, however, democracy cannot always be applied in the same way as its initial movement applied in either past Greek or French. Delivering opinions and ideas need a new formula. Determination of technology allows democracy to present through mediated movements (Mirsal, 2004). If opinions and ideas in the past were conveyed through various social movements in real life, the current social movements have been accommodated by multiple facilities in cyberspace. The patterns of the mediated social movements today have different characteristics due to the determination of technology in social life. Along with new media dynamics, the position and function of social movements could experience metamorphosis in such a way. Eventually, the dynamics will also influence the capacity and quality of communication conducted in a mediated way. Therefore, it is necessary to study some new forms of the social movement.

The principal value of democracy is people sovereignty. In the ancient tradition of Greek Polis, people did not need a medium to decide what is best for them. It is also illustrated in the Kanton Swiss concept which is referred by JJ. Rousseau to create a true doctrine of democracy. However, it occurred in the past in which society is not as complex as now. At that time, the real problem of society was not as complex as the problem caused by globalization in this gigantic society era (Wilhelm, 2000; Castells, 2010; 2012). Today everything has changed. The complexity of society has increased. However, ironically, the value of democracy remains the same, as well as the struggle to maintain it. One of the noticeable aspects of social dynamics is a fact that the primary value of democracy has not shifted. In various pattern and model of democracy, the principle that sovereignty is on the hand of people has not changed. At least, the ideas that all the results of the progress of a nation should always be devoted to the interest of people still become the primary reference for democracy. Moreover, the relations between the ruler and people have not experienced significant changes. Through the electoral mechanism in its various forms, people entrust the power to rule to the government. With this conviction, everyone basically believes in the necessity of the idea of representational politics. However, the fact that there are many misappropriations and betrayals of people's mandate conducted by the ruling classes have increasingly shown that there is something wrong with such mechanism (Robert, 2004; Ali, 2012), one of which is communication practice (Burton, 2005; Christakis & Flower, 2010).

The process of interactive communication between the public and government that should be devoted to the interest of society turns out to be inconsistent with the expected one. Corruption, manipulation, and violation of integrity pact are often conducted by the government elites. In term of management, for example, the vertical process of the responsibility of the civil servant does not seem to correspond with the normative standard that they have a responsibility to serve a public interest. There is a misunderstanding of the mechanism, especially in the way the government communicates to people and vice versa (Habermas, 1975; Fakhri, 1996). Therefore, it is essential to examine the communication system of the government that is assumed effortful to bring accountability to the public who are the subject of their service. One of the real manifestations of the communication system is the significant work of communication media (Curran & Gurevitch, 1992; Croteau & Hoynes, 2000).

The long history of the classical theory of representative democracy is trust between people as public and the ruling class holding a power mandate legitimately. Because of that trust, there is a consensus between the government and the public (Habermas, 1987). It needs interaction between the public policymakers and the public themselves who are the subject of the policy. In this context, the concept of deliberative democracy emerges.

Deliberative democracy puts more emphasis on the validity issue of collective decisions made by people. The main focus is on the procedure of decision making (Hardiman, 2005:129). In practice, deliberative communication relies on public opinion to control democracy. The opinion could be the view of the majority who has legitimacy but also logical and rational opinions. At this point, the quantitative principle of democracy could be complemented with the remark that the views of the majority are not identical with the truth. For deliberative democracy, it is far more critical to ensure 'in what way' the opinions of the majority are formed in such a way that all citizens can obey those opinions. Therefore, the deliberative model of democracy emphasizes the process of how to pursue consensus rather than trusts the result of the democratic process. In this model, all public opinions that

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are relevant to society will be publicly tested through a discursive procedure and, in that way, they can function well both as control of democracy and as factors to make a political decision that answers people's aspiration. In this model, the rise of peripheral public opinions to the political public sphere will be determined not only by the substances and the effectivity of mass media but also by the rules of the communication practice that are shared. Therefore, in the end, the formation of public opinions depends on specific formal criteria that are determined by the public (Hardiman, 2009).

Based on the reflection above, the researcher assumes that it is the consensus of formal criteria, that can be called as a power of society transforming into a public agreement of the content and form of media that society makes it as guidance to shift from the weak public issue to the strong one, that is the political system. To achieve the highest position of the political system, the public opinion that was weak should be strengthened so that it can enter the public sphere to penetrate the executive, legislative, and judicative powers. Instead of creating a mechanism that force to enter the robust discourse of the public sphere, the weak public opinions plays various roles and metamorphose in such a way to infiltrate that sphere. In term of entering the space of the political system, the existence of new media plays a maximum role. The social movement of society then emerges to make the public of the political sphere finding the unique channels, with the rule created automatically. The process and mechanism of attraction between the force of social movements and the position of TriasPolitica are basically imaged in a head-to-head position. If in real life the government opposes social movements, in cyberspace this position is not explicitly seen. Internet at some extents has a unique character that can be used by social movements to expresses their aspirations without having to be trapped in a vis-à-vis position. In a compelling case in Bojonegoro, for example, some non-government organization activists used communication and information system facilities built by the government to spread their movement ideas. It was conducted through their organization website.

The social movements of society basically have critical power to the current situation and can play communicator role of specific issues and discourses that are usually contextual. The sensitivity of social movements actually can be seen from the topics chosen to be the central narrative of their online media. However, the principle of social movements that have a radical force like the social movements in the past seems to have been abandoned. Singh in his study of social movement in India (2010) says that there are some traits of The New Social Movement (NSM) which characterize the unique spectrum in the map of the change movement in society. Firstly, most of NSM make an ideological conception based on the assumption that civil society has been decaying: its social space has been experiencing constriction and continually controlled by the state. Secondly, NSM radically changes the Marxist paradigm explaining conflict and contradiction in term of 'class' and class conflict. The Left academic reason excludes gender, ecological, race, ethnic issue from the Marxist explanation of societal movement and change. In the context of the shift, 'the class paradigm' as a general theory in social sciences has undergone a collapse. Thirdly, considering the class background does not determine either the identity of the actor or the support of collective action, NSM generally ignores the model of industrial trade union organization and political party. In general, NSM often involves grassroots politics, initiates micro movement of a small group, and addresses local issues based on a limited institution. Fourthly, unlike classical movement, the structure of NSM is defined by the plurality of aspirations, aims, wills, and orientation, and by the heterogeneity of their social background. The basis of this assumption is the limitation of past societies to reproduce themselves. In the classic era, society is limited by social order, divine rules, natural laws, historical evolution, as well as meta-social characterizing modernity at the previous time. The four traits of The New Social Movement give a map for various next studies of new social movement phenomena.

The role of digital media in the process of social movements has been widely studied in various parts of the world. Most studies present unique characteristics of movements because it shows the different dynamics of cyberspace affecting the real world. One of those studies is Rohlinger&Bunnage study (2018) analyzing digital movement MoveOn.org and the Florida Tea Party Movement (FTPM) in America. Some variations arise from digital media use in the process of the social movement of the two organizations. While in the context of fundraising MoveOn finds a relatively flexible, but successful, identity level, in the context of mobilizing civil society to be political power, MoveOn has a deeper collective identity level. The main focus of their study (Rohlinger&Bunnage, 2018) is the variation of collective identity influenced by Internet Communication Technology (ICTs). Internet contribution as a trigger of social movement has also become a conclusion of some researchers conducted by Castells (2012) in Tunisia, Yunani, and Islandia. That research basically sees how the internet contributes to the dynamics of a social

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movement. The main object analyzed is the types of media used and the characteristics of the relation between the media and the actor of the social movements.

Regarding cases in Indonesia, various studies have explained the social movement's shift from real reality to the virtual one. One of them is Hasanah's research on new social movement of students in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas GadjahMada (FISIPOL UGM). The research collecting the data by interview, observation, and literature study reach various social movement of the students in FISIPOL UGM. The reason for the choice is that the faculty has the highest record for social movement after Indonesian reformation. Besides, the followers of UGM Student Council amount to 3.8881 on Instagram with 320 posts. The research concludes that there is a transformation in social movements. The change takes place in digital media where social media as the most significant trigger and mediation for spreading the issues as opposed to the old one that applies it to the conventional public sphere.

Another research that also emphasizes the function of the new media in transforming the form and the nature of the social movement is also carried out by Sari & Siahainenia (2015). The research studied Satinah case, an Indonesian Migrant Worker (TKI), that almost sentenced to the death penalty. They track hashtag #savesatinah on twitter and conclude that on this case there two understanding regarding the new social movement in the virtual public sphere, namely understanding on the social movement itself and a medium for that movement.

As previous research mentioned, the study intends to affirm the internet role as a trigger and medium for the social movement. However, regardless of presenting social movement as the focus, the research argues that the government also realized and facilitates the social movement through the same medium. Therefore, the research attempt to scrutinize the new social movement conducted on both sides that vastly perceived as an opponent. From the government perspective, the studies examine the cases and principles of management information conducted by Bojonegoro Regency, East Java. The description of the management of Bojonegoro is acquired through secondary documents tracking and interview with some officer in the Regency. Based on that, the dynamics and the role of the new media that is managed by non-government organizations are demonstrated using simple website analyses of their pages. Finally, the study aims to reevaluate how far deliberative communication model has been plotted in the real governmental activities and the respond of new social mediated movement. The focus is on how far the internet has taken roles in that model of communication.

## METHOD

The research studied two objects. The first object was the communication system that was formed and run by Bojonegoro regency. In this context, Bojonegoro Regional Office of Communication and Information was the informant. Secondly, the narration of new social movement that was realized through the social movement narrations of the website selected (Banyuurip.com, and Relawan TIK Bojonegoro). For elaborating the first object, the research used literature review by tracking data from previous research that relate to the communication system in Bojonegoro Office of Communication and Information and Bojonegoro public policy. Furthermore, for explaining the narration of the new social movement, the researcher applied the narrative method to read those two websites that were run by two different NGO. The result was delivered comprehensively to find deliberative democracy relation as a democratic ecological sphere in Bojnegeore and narration of the new social movement of NGO.

## ANALYSIS

### The communication of the Bojonegoro Regency

Bojonegoro is one of the local governments in East Java, Indonesia, that has long been known as a poor district. Citizen dissatisfaction towards the government services and development results is the accumulation of people's distrust. It was utterly realized by the government in charge. In the history of Bojonegoro's regency, the government succession in 2008 was the starting point for the transformation of public trust towards the open government. After the implementation of open government, changes happened in Bojonegoro. When old Bojonegoro was haunted by some

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problems, such as poverty, natural disaster, and even social underdevelopment, new Bojonegoro has begun to rebuild the public trusts after introducing unlimited transparency and problem-based management as the key. Several principles became the basis of the implementation, as briefly described below.

**Citizen Participation: The Primary Approach**

One of the initial steps taken by Bojonegoro regency to encourage people’s involvement in the governmental activity was "public dialogue" which was held from March 14, 2008, to the present (during the writing process, there was a change in Bojonegoro executives because of the regional election, in 2018. The mayor that has served the regency for two consecutive periods, Dr. Suyoto, MSi handed over the position to the acting (Plt) major.) The public dialogue was held every Friday at the City Hall (a large traditional Javanese pavilion) and broadcasted live via the government and private radio stations. Bojonegoro people expressed their aspirations and criticisms, engaged in a dialogue and co-learning, and even received real-time responses from the government for their questions. This public dialog encouraged innovative ideas and maintained the spirit of solving their problems together. For strengthening this sustainable process, the mayor has established a Mayor Regulation Number 30 of 2013 concerning Developmental Innovational Management Based on Public participation. The people can directly convey their aspirations and complaints to Kang Yoto as Bojonegoro major for 24 hours using short message service (SMS) and WhatsApp. Another information access was through the Malowopati FM Radio owned by the regency. That is to say, the management of public information was a way to encourage citizen participation in the governmental activity; for this reason, complaints follow-up management is vital.

Complaint management in Bojonegoro regency encouraged and freed the people to submit their reports, aspirations, and complaints. They can use LAPOR 1708 (Online People's Aspiration-Complaint Service) application from the Presidential Staff Office and the Ministry of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform. All citizen reports were responded by the work unit in charge no more than five working days through the official system. If the work unit has not followed it up, in the management review that was conducted every Friday morning starting at 08.00 until the Friday prayer held, there would be an evaluation. The process of public complaints management is illustrated below:



Figure 1. The process of Public Complaints in Bojonegoro regency as a Communication System

Enhancing the processed information access from the public to the government and vice versa was a measure to increase people's trust toward the government. Admittedly, in the beginning, the trust built was only individual trust, namely for Kang Yoto and Kang Hartono (mayor and vice mayor of Bojonegoro), yet gradually it has been transformed into institutional trust on the Regional Work Unit (SKPD). Finally, it turned to be a culture of communication pattern between the people and the government in Bojonegoro Regency, along with open governance. The citizen participation approach in Bojonegoro Regency did not only transform people's behavior in contributing to policy formulation or decision making but also changed the conduct of the government in formulating policies. Four

stakeholder collaboration, namely: academics, business, government, and community/citizens, the pillars in the formulation of policies in open government with the "4Ds" strategies, such as dialogue, direct, distribute and digital.

Regarding the role of the media in conveying public opinion in Bojonegoro, the head of the communication and information agency (Kominfo) explained the role of broadcast radio that was reformatted to be a shared community as a channel that played a significant role. The community was Bojonegoro Radio Forum (FRB), and this was the forum referred to the negotiating space between the public interest and the configuration of the political system in the Bojonegoro. The existence of the discourse space is an attractive model in Bojonegoro district, as explained by one of the higher officers:

"The reason I facilitate the Radio Bojonegoro Forum and RTIK is that these are public spaces that we must create for the sake of the people. Secondly, not all people fully care; not all of them have the relevant knowledge; it is the reason there should be someone representing there, who? I established institutions in my communication field; communities are in the middle accordingly. The task is capturing the languages of the company and translating it to the people, and capturing the people language then translating it to the company. It is what I called as direct distribution."

(KusnandokoTjatur, Head of the Bojonegoro Communication and Information Office, EMCL Communication Strategy Report, Dikom UGM, 2018)

Based on the information declared by the head of the Bojonegoro Communication and Information Office, the opinion delivering mechanism for weak opinions of Bojonegoro people had been facilitated by the presence of the Bojonegoro radio forum.

### **The Mechanism of Government Responsiveness**

Leadership commitment is the main keyword for realizing governance responsiveness. It has been practiced in Bojonegoro. The mobile number of the Mayor, Vice Mayor and all levels of leadership in the Regional Work Unit (SKPD) were publicized to the entire Bojonegoro communities, and people can contact them without significant mediation. The cell phone should always be on for twenty-four hours. All complaints and reports that were directly submitted to the mayor instantaneously were disposed of with all SKPDs to be followed up. Whatapps group was formed thematically based on the community problem and consisted of four related stakeholder elements which aimed to share, learn, and follow up the various issues and co-learning. The Bojonegoro regency has publicized mayor act number 42 of 2014 concerning the Mayor Working Team for Supervision, Development, and Control (TKBP3), as a synergistic forum discussing for all issues in the administration and policy implementation, and it was held on the management review mechanism every Friday. In the Bojonegoro mayor regulation number 42 the year 2014, TKBP3 consists of 4 (four) Working Groups, namely Monitoring System Working Group, Online Complaints Management Service (LAPOR) Working Group, Indonesian One Data Portal Working Group ([data.go.id](http://data.go.id)) and the Supervision Working Group.

Identification of strategic issues using LAPOR application or the Monitoring System application was maximalized as input in the formulation of planning, budgeting, and supervision policies by both the Regional Government Work Unit (SKPD) and by the Mayor. To that end, all SKPDs and the various problems that the community complaints were taken into account in the formulation of policy and budget planning, as well as in the Development Planning Consultation Forum (Musrenbang), starting from the sub-district musrenbang to the regency supported by the application of e-budgeting and community issues. The way Bojonegoro regency government dealt with budgeting planning followed the term "money follows problems; money is for solutions, solutions are for sustainable development."

Thus, a precise, fast, and useful planning and budgeting mechanism that involve people participation can be formulated. The mechanism of Bojonegoro Regency government responsiveness in managing people's aspirations in the government's transparency system is illustrated as follows:

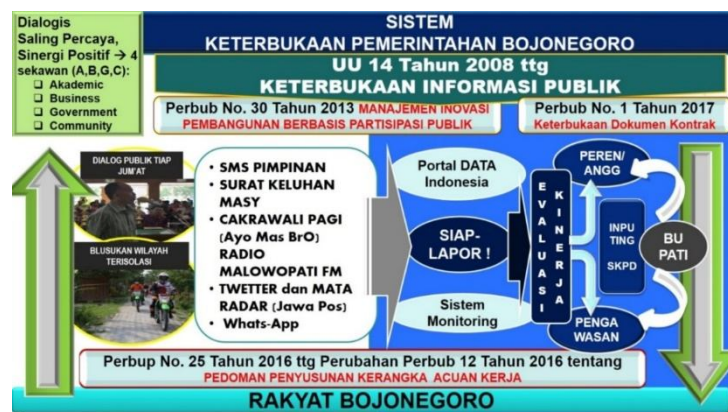


Figure 2. The transparency of public information system of Bojonegoro regency

Bojonegoro opted for an open government because they tried to encourage higher mutual trust of society and increased the higher positive impact on society's prosperity. Together with other regencies, such as Jakarta provincial government, Bandung city government, and Banda Aceh city government, Bojonegoro regency was evaluated and assessed by Indonesian Open Government team (OGI) which consisted of National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas), Presidential Staff Office (KSP) and Civil Society Organizations. The result of this evaluation and assessment is that Bojonegoro strategies in implementing an open government, with various challenges and shortcomings in the aspects of human resources, infrastructures, and the availability of information technology, can be an exemplary reflection of all problem faced by both local governments in Indonesia and the world.

The election of Bojonegoro government as the Open Government Partnership proves that an open government could encourage social participation. People put trust in a transparent government and its positive effects. Therefore, the action plan formulations of Bojonegoro as an open government are (1) data revolution which can visualize the real problems that have to be overcome, (2) strengthening the transparency of village governments, (3) enhancing the transparency systems of regional budget, (4) building up the transparency of goods and services procurement contract documents, and (5) improving public quality services. Those action plans are explained respectively as below.

Firstly, the attempt of Bojonegoro in the aspect of data revolution allowed the society to act as data consumer and producer. Bojonegoro developed an application called DasaWisma to solve the unavailability of primary data of social, economic, and demographics. This application was created based on a social movement that was led by women for compiling the data of demographics and village services. For every ten households (dasawisma) in a village, there was a well-trained woman administrator who entry data to the application.

Secondly, a village, as the smallest society unit, was the early democratic life. Society has the freedom to participate actively in village administration that consists of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. The use and accountability of village budget have been published through a billboard in public area and information in village websites. For example, Pejaambon village in Sumberrejo sub-district has utilized a village website as a part of open government (for more information, see <https://pejambon-bjn.desa.id/transparansi-anggaran/>).

Thirdly, increasing the system of regional budget transparency was one of the Bojonegoro measures to build up people trust toward government. The lack of transparency and accessibility in the village budgeting process could create a society with distrust atmosphere. To solve the problems, Bojonegoro has committed to publishing budget reports, administration responsibility, and village asset data in village websites and billboards. Besides, the Village Information Service Desk (MejaLayananInformasiDesa) will be established in 30 villages as an effort to elevate society participation during the village budgeting process. The budget transparency in Bojonegoro regency, including the information of Fund Disbursement Order (SP2D) and budget of each Regional Work Unit (SKPD), has published various details on budget through the website of Regional Financial and

Asset Management Agency (For more information, see <http://www.bpkadbojonegoro.com/transparansi>).

Fourthly, strengthening the transparency of goods and services procurement contract documents could contribute to the process of fighting corruption and enhancing competitiveness. Bojonegoro society was involved in monitoring the conformity of goods and services procurements with medium-term development planning documents that have been included in the regional development planning consultation mechanism. This society participation was essential to ensure government expenditures suit with the project results. The society could monitor the contracts and report the problems. On the other hand, the transparency of contract documents could encourage healthy competition among businesspeople in Bojonegoro, which is actively beneficial for increasing businessmen ability and skill.

Fifthly, Bojonegoro has committed to improving public services quality with easy access in much information. Subsequently, there were facilities for society feedbacks toward public services quality, and Bojonegoro government responded these complaints through Public Service Standards. Also, Bojonegoro government focused on the services of health, licensing, and education as essential services and involves society in improving service standards.

### **New Media and Deliberative Democracy: the Significance of Public Space Creation**

As a medium of contemporary social movements, the form of communication using new media is something fresh in the context of socio-politics in Bojonegoro. Along with the strengthening of the use of new media, such as websites and social media, the discourse atmosphere produced a rational practice of communication. While the practice of communication in the context of conventional media emerges in the form of 'naïve' communication, the existence of websites and social media as new media shape communication practices to be 'reflective' communication (as a term introduced by Habermas). The presence of new media brings democracy essence to the core and requires an equal position of people in delivering opinion politely, coherently, and argumentatively. Those skills are needed in using new media for communication.

Basically, the discourse regarding modern communication form is indicated not in the form that each could accept or express an idea based on traditions and habits but rely on rational consideration. This is what the researcher called as an open and critical communication that becomes the central element of democracy. There are two fundamental aspects of the framework for deliberative model discourse which are proposed by Habermas that the researcher elaborates as a part of new media influence toward contemporary social movements. Those are, first, the art of critical argumentative which emerges in the principle of rationality and, second, the accuracy claims as an intersubjective means of conditions and situations.

### **Meaning in the Art of Argumentation: Discourse as a Critic of Condition**

What is the difference between a critic that is delivered directly through interpersonal communication or collective communication and via writing (article)? Its distinction lies in the level of accuracy. Manguwijaya, a cultural expert, contends about the strength of correction and precision which he has done in criticizing through writing articles. Those are the reasons why he does not like a debate on television or another similar agenda. He emphasizes that a critic (or thought) that is expressed through an article will ease a reviewer or commentator in taking distance with criticized objects. There will be an auto-critic. It manifests when the readers heed sentence by sentence, word by word, argumentation structure, and those automatically create distances between commentators and his emotions. In the idea expressed via articles emerges the art of argumentation that impossible exists in direct conversation orally.

The new social movements (GSB), which depends on the strength of the media, appears in the variety of social movements, such as non-governmental organization (NGO) in Bojonegoro. The research report conducted by the Department of Communication Science UGM (2018) showed the fact that NGOs in Bojonegoro increasingly focused on micro issues. Although there were still NGOs that have universal problems and radicalism in the movement, most of NGOs preferred to be on 'safe' arguments concerning the state (Bojonegoro regency) and EMCL (Exxon Mobil). The prominent aspect was the strong relationship between EMCL and NGOs. Both agree to establish a mutual partnership which manifested in the field programs. The practitioner of the programs was NGOs. According to Exxon management, there were two reasons why the executors of the plans come from NGOs. First, the aspect of competency in which most of NGOs have been involved in a field program



for a long time and have understood their fields of work very well, such as health and education issues in society. Second, the aspect of proximity with the community in which the local partner was an organization that has workers who came from residents and has long interacted with the people of Bojonegoro.

However, that does not mean that local NGOs were always prioritized to be invited as a partner in every activity. There are still national and international NGOs for several programs. Generally, the purposes and material of the program determine cooperation with NGO partners. Statements of executive figures in the company's management below can be made as a consideration:

“As a matter of fact, each NGO has drawbacks and advantages. For example, when we are a partner with international or national NGO which have good competence but lack of immersion to the local society. It is probably because of the different culture, and they have minimum communication intensively with society. It differs with local NGO that owns intensive interaction with society. Each of NGO has its deficits and excesses. What becomes more substantial for us is how to handle the needs and issues related to the society in order our business and operation are accepted and kept going.”

(Beta Wicaksono, a report of EMCL strategic communication, Department of Communication Science UGM, March 13, 2018)

On the other hand, a significant contribution to society becomes an aspect that determines the partnership with NGOs. The experience and closeness of NGOs with the community are the potencies which could realize a more prominent social contribution. A more significant contribution was possible by partnering with NGOs, and partnership process did not need a lengthy procedure. It was admitted by ExxonMobil Corporation as below:

The main element of Exxon Mobile policy is contribution programs in which one of the criteria is cooperating with NGO or university research institute. It can be implemented by guidelines from SKK Migas number DTK 007. In that guideline, we can cooperate directly with NGO with a tender mechanism.

(Erwin Maryoto, a report of EMCL strategic communication, Department of Communication Science UGM, 2018)

The involvement of NGOs as the implementing partner has long-term purposes for programs continuity and making society to be more autonomous. The successful partnership program in the community was measured by the implementation of programs sustainably and not emerging society's dependence. In this context, NGOs have a significant role.

In every social program, Exxon Mobile collaborates with all elements of society those are the government of villages, sub-districts, districts, and NGOs. It is because NGOs own skillful expertise in accompanying the people. We ascertain that the long-term and short-term programs are useful for the people and the people could be more autonomous. All those programs are limited by a period. After assistance and evaluation from EMCL and NGOs, the people could continue all the plans.

(Feni K. Indiharti, Community Relation Officer EMCL, a report of EMCL strategic communication, Department of Communication Science UGM, 2018)

The adjacency aspect between NGOs and EMCL above made the sequence programs and NGOs movement orientation in Bojonegoro to be strongly cooperative with the business interests of EMCL. The collaborative element was stated in some contents and articles in their news media, as shown in SuaraBanyuurip.com below.



Figure 3. Banyuurip.com

The profile page of SuaraBanyuurip.com was quite catchy. This online media page represented professional and good management. On the main feature, there were 13 options with various themes of news and issues, those are Home, Oil and Gas (Migas), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), Event (Persitiwa), Social and Politic (SosialPolitik), Profile, Culture and Tourism (BudayadanWisata), Sport (Olahraga), Mining (Tambang), Education (Pendidikan), Economic (Ekonomi), Health (Kesehatan), and Index (Indeks). In each of the theme, there was actual news about various events and phenomena in Bojonegoro. However, what is interesting was the inequality of the subjects. It was exemplified by the chosen title theme that has little correlation. For instance, the linearity and correlation between Gas and Oil (Migas) and Culture and Tourism (BudayadanWisata) and CSR and Economic are questionable. It seemed that the professionalism of online media management was not bothered to think about its title theme incompatibility. The structure of title themes also did not show a specified pattern. It seems that the placement of each part of the subject was no more than merely accommodating the interests of advertising.



**Figure 4.** Bayuurip.com

From the explanation above, there was no standard pattern in arranging the media online themes. If we look at the media tagline, as a media that specifically only reports on oil, gas, and mining issues, the choice of themes on the profile page above did not show a symmetrical relationship. It has been admitted by Mugito, one of the media staff, that the existence of SuaraBanyuurip.com could not be relinquished from Exxon Mobile financial and advertorial supports. Subsequently, Exxon Mobile is also an extension of the state hand (SKK Migas). Both two institutions logo, Exxon Mobile and SKK Migas, appeared on the main page of SuaraBanyuurip.com. According to Mugito, SuaraBanyuurip.com was regularly utilized by EMCL to publish and spread the news about their activities. Historically, before growing to be online media, Suara Banyu Urip was a printed media. At the time, Mugito offered EMCL to advertise on the media page. As a result, EMCL accepted the offer and bought 2.500 copies, which was distributed to all elements of the society. Mugito admitted that the media contents and news were all about EMCL. Recently, Suara Banyu Urip has been an online media which is still cooperating with EMCL in the sector of company advertising.

#### **The claim of Accuracy as Intersubjective Means of Social Movements**

The second attractive form of discourse principle that was analyzed is the claim for accuracy that inherent in the practice of discursive communication. The purpose of this claim was to create meaning space that approximately equal as the understanding of many sides according to the context and condition of the situation that was discussed. Habermas, in his communicative action project, focused on types of practice discourse. Living together in society creates social order if social member obeys certain norms that manage their actions. There is a rational precondition, and legitimate intersubjective in the process attaining those rational understanding. The critical pressure in this principle is the emergence of valid consensus that ought to be obeyed by everybody though needs collective agreement. This is the meaning of Habermas' intersubjective. This second principle discourse that was analyzed by analyzing the content of the new social movements of the NGO website as one of the units of analysis.

Every events and fact that occur and relate to the public interest in Bojonegoro needs to be studied by their existed NGO. In the past, their examining power was immediate and did not have a universal language that attracted and ignited public attention. It was usually delivered in the conventional media; therefore, as commonly admitted by the perpetrators of the movement, the impact was not maximum. When they use online media, they had to process their assumptions and prejudices so that they can use more legitimate language. At this point, they can put discourse as a result of rational communication procedure. This website display can be taken as an example. The focus on the first page contains the identity of their NGO organization. This NGO was Relawan TIK Bojonegoro (in short RTB). They were still young by age. However, they had the power to conduct claim on their practices and activities. The exciting part is the ability to claim using intersubjective interpretation. It is seen by their website display page below:



Figure 5. Website RTB ( Relawan TIK Bojonegoro)

The website display above is the identity expression of NGO organization. As seen from the ability to manage editorial communication, RTB chose to put organization visions and missions with neutral language. The purpose was to make the messages meaningful, make sense, and rational. It required accuracy to pick momentum, context, and issues that involve a social universal social 'agreement,' particularly the Bojonegoro's stakeholder. It is what Habermas calls a universal claim. Therefore, two aspects of communication in society, government, and corporations that agitate the idealism and dynamics of their NGO were scrutinized.

Examining various aspects of communication between the government, corporations, and Bojonegoro's society, the researcher divided the aspect into two categories, tangible and intangible aspect. There was an interesting issue in the triangle relationship between the government, NGO, and corporations in Bojonegoro. At that relation point, NGO figured in connecting the regency interests with the corporations. It was the reason the NGO position was contested both by the government and corporations. With this in mind, the relationship between the government and corporations become vital.

The communication between the government and Business Company was only conducted in the formal forums and adhere to institutional regulation. The Head Department of Bojonegoro's Office of Information and Communication, KusnandokoTjantur, argued that the relationship with corporations only limits in the information sector. Consider Forum Radio Bojonegoro (FRB) activity program as an example. The SKPD worked only as of the executors of the events, or to be exact as the institution that received the report. By contrast, the executors in the field became the responsibility and authority of corporations. Formal and legal regulation found those practices. For example, the EMCL position as the government company (BUMN) in oil and natural gas made regulations related to mining so that the authority falls to the Jakarta central office. The EMCL fully accepted the roles. As it said by Kusnandoko, it was the reason for which the government of Bojonegoro did not have direct vertical

authority to the practice of EMCL policy. Seemingly, it occurred in almost SKPD sectors. Each SKPD own different sliced in the relations and interaction with EMCL.

Direct communication (face to face) between EMCL Public Relation staff and the public, in general, took place at the beginning of program launch. The presence of EMCL delegates is remembered for their capacity as the 'opener,' 'preface,' and other various connotations. The name of program communicators figures that mostly appeared falls into Mr. Dave, Malik, Slamet, Wahyu, Mr. Rexi, Mr. Imam, and several others. There were also informants that have met the Public Relation of EMCL for several times but forgot the name. They only remembered their body postures, the way of speaking, and other non-verbal aspects. Since the presence of the Public Relation figure appeared continuously in the context of Person in Charge (PIC) for specific programs, informants were unable to recognize all of the figures of EMCL Public Relation. However, the fact that informant understood the 'delegation' system of EMCL in each of the program fields was admitted by all of them.

For the NGO located in Bojonegoro, communication with the EMCL has two patterns. The direct contact occurred at the beginning of a program launching. After the program finished, the next conversation continued through media (e-mail, WhatsApp, and others) although they preferred face to face communication. However, the activity which made the informants felt related to the EMCL was direct social activities that seemed not related to the real issue considered beforehand, such as playing sports together. Futsal and soccer become activities that were most remembered and made impressions. Several people thought that the events were productive, but, in the end, complained because they felt reluctant since it actuated the members to 'absent' in several meetings. Afterward, it turned out to be not being involved permanently. That extra activity was not always reaching its purpose as informal 'interactions' events between EMCL with the community.

The most salient point regarding this nature of communication was the image of EMCL Public Relation that was humble and decent in contact. Almost all informants felt that every EMCL Public Relation delegates had a friendly manner and gesture although they have only met them one time. Through various interviews that have been processed and written in the research report, it appeared that ExxonMobil was perceived dynamically by the community. At that point, the role of NGO took a significant portion to create a legitimate claim. From many of the inconsistency occurred between the community with corporations, and the community with government, the roles of NGO are exceedingly essential and vital. NGO formulated institutional messages that were universal towards issues that can unite their interests, government, and corporations. It was the ground and motive for which NGO emerged with the online communication pattern as performed in RTB. Their features were far from revolutionary movements. Singh (2010) has anticipated that phenomenon by stating that the nature of actions becomes more humanistic because they seek the similarity of micro issues. It was illustrated by the content of the RTB home page below:

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## RELAWAN TIK BOJONEGORO

MEMBANGUN MASYARAKAT INFORMASI KABUPATEN BOJONEGORO

### Profil



**RELAWAN TIK BOJONEGORO**  
Badan Hukum Perkumpulan Resmi  
SK Menteri/Kem RI  
No : AHU – 0071695.AH.01.07. TAHUN 2016  
Notaris Winarni, SH  
No : 44 Tanggal 08 Agustus 2016

**VISI**  
Menjadikan Relawan TIK sebagai pribadi, sekaligus warga masyarakat unggulan, yang siap siaga mengambil misi sosial, kemasyarakatan dan kemanusiaan bagi pemberdayaan masyarakat, melalui pemanfaatan/penguasaan keterampilan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi untuk kemaslahatan masyarakat dan kemajuan bangsa

**MISI**

- Internal (mikro) menyiapkan anggota dalam penguasaan pengetahuan, sikap dan keterampilan individual maupun kerjasama kelompok guna menyelenggarakan tugas-tugas edukasi sosial, pemberdayaan maupun kegiatan insidental.
- Organisasional (meso) menjadikan Relawan TIK sebagai sebagai satuan yang mampu bereaksi cerdas, tanggap, bergerak cepat serta bertindak cermat dalam menjalankan tugasnya.
- Nasional (makro) berkontribusi dan partisipasi dalam berbagai kegiatan pembangunan, kemasyarakatan serta berperan dalam tugas kemanusiaan, dengan cara mengoptimalkan pemanfaatan TIK bagi kemaslahatan masyarakat dan kemajuan bangsa Indonesia.

**LATAR BELAKANG BERDIRINYA RELAWAN TIK**  
Sejak tahun 2008, Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika (Kemkominfo), sudah berfikir bahwa untuk mencapai Visi Masyarakat Informasi Indonesia, pemerintah tidak dapat berjalan sendirian. Perlu dibangun sinergi diantara para pemangku kepentingan sehingga dapat bekerja sama mencapai visi tersebut. Oleh karena itu Bapak Bambang Soeprijanto, Direktur Pemberdayaan Telematika Kemkominfo pada saat itu, menginisiasi beberapa pertemuan yang bertujuan untuk membuat suatu organisasi masyarakat yang dapat berjalan beriringan dengan pemerintah, melakukan edukasi kepada masyarakat agar dapat memanfaatkan TIK sebagai salah satu alat untuk dapat memberdayakan ekonomi. Beberapa pertemuan dilaksanakan sejak tahun 2009 sampai 2010 yang dihadiri berbagai pihak seperti pemerintahan, pengusaha, mahasiswa, akademisi, penggiat TIK dan beragam komunitas lainnya dari berbagai daerah di Indonesia tersebut, akhirnya muncullah sebuah gagasan untuk membentuk organisasi Relawan TIK.

Pada tahun 2011, Ibu Mariam F.Barata sebagai Direktur Pemberdayaan Informatika Kemkominfo, melanjutkan kebijakan untuk mendorong diadakannya pertemuan yang lebih besar dalam bentuk Forum Komunikasi, Koordinasi, Kolaborasi Dan Kerjasama Komunitas TIK (FK5T) Tingkat Nasional sekaligus penetapan pembentukan organisasi Relawan TIK yang dihadiri oleh beragam elemen yang telah hadir pada pertemuan sebelumnya, maupun pihak lain yang mendorong terbentuknya organisasi ini. Akhirnya, pada tanggal 4 Juli 2011, dengan disaksikan Direktur Jenderal Aplikasi Informatika Kemkominfo, Bpk Ashwin Sasongko, ditetapkan pembentukan organisasi Relawan TIK Indonesia, yang dilanjutkan dengan Musyawarah Nasional yang pertama.

Pada bulan April 2012, diselenggarakan Munas Relawan TIK Indonesia yang kedua sekaligus pemilihan kepemimpinan untuk masa bakti 2012-2015. Saat ini Relawan TIK Indonesia sudah memiliki Akta Pendirian berdasarkan Akte Notaris Benediktus Andy Widyanto, SH.No 23 tanggal 28 September 2012.

Dan Relawan TIK Bojonegoro di deklarasikan pada tanggal 23 Oktober 2013 di Kukuhan oleh Bupati Bojonegoro Suyoto, dengan Surat Keputusan No. 003/PP/SK/010/2013, TENTANG Susunan Pengurus Relawan TIK Bojonegoro Jawa Timur serta di Akte Notariskan berdirinya Relawan TIK Bojonegoro pada tanggal 3 September 2015 di kantor Notaris WINARNI, SH, Nomor 9, dan pada Pengadilan Negeri Bojonegoro pada tanggal 7 September 2015 Dengan Nomor Register 35/LSM/2015. Dan diperbarui dengan Aktenotaris No. 44 Tanggal 03 Agustus 2016 oleh Notaris WINARNI SH. Keputusan Menteri Hukum dan Ham RI Nomor AHU-0071695.AH.01.07.TAHUN 2016, serta dalam Tambahan Berita Negara R.I tanggal 21/10-2016 No. 84

Alamat Sekertariat :

(Rumah TIK) Jl. Kusnandar No.18 Karangpacar Bojonegoro. Kode Pos 62117

TINGGALKAN BALASAN

Komentar

Nama \*

Email \*

Situs Web

[KIRIM KOMENTAR](#)

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Lakone Intan long



Cuplikan Seminar Cerdas ...



**Berita Terbaru**

Tunjang UMKM Naik Kelas, RTIK-EMCL Lath Para Pelaku Usaha Bojonegoro dan Tuban.  
RTIK Bojonegoro Jadi Target Tempat Studi Banding  
Relawan TIK seJawa Timur Dukung Program Jatim Smart  
Biodata Pendaftaran Relawan TIK Bojonegoro (Kartu Tanda Anggota – KTA)  
Tingkatkan Perkembangan Literasi Digital, Terselenggara TOT RTIK Jatim 2018  
Pendaftaran Workshop Google Apps Relawan TIK Bojonegoro  
Mendulang Berkah di Bulan Ramadhan, RTIK Gelar Pelatihan "Ngabubur-IT"

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Produk Desaku Saatnya Mandiri



Tweets by @RTIKBojonegoro



Figure 6. RTB Website

Their site display was simple. There was no need for massive bandwidth for accessing RTB. However, the language that they used showing their commitment to the development of human resources in Bojonegoro. It was the claim for accuracy using intersubjective means; an ability to target common issues among government, corporations, and community.

Furthermore, to the right above side, there was evidence of various programs that they have run for three years since the establishment of the NGO. It was a rational claim. They spread visions and missions and showed that they could translate the vision into collections of particular programs. Granted, there were supporting elements from the Corporation, such as ExxonMobil. However, the support never appeared literally on their website page. It was what differentiated RTB with Suara Banyuurip.com. The website managed by RTB was not a news website. That online media was only used for announcement and claimed for their victory. For supporting their elements of rationality, they added much compelling evidence for their activities that have been already done, still doing, and will be doing it.

Using the simplified version of rational communicative action, RTB, and Suara Banyuurip.com have met the standard of communication discourse. The two websites have built a foundation of open communication system facilitated by the government in the corridor that approximately has been equal with the deliberative democracy. There was ingenuity to adjust the visions, missions, and orientations of the social movements with the website' features as the implementation of the new media. It might what is imagined by Habermas as the condition where participatory communication action will create communication discourse. Finally, a communication practice by putting discourse and rationality first has begun to materialize and manifested through NGO their new social movements. The communication technology has become determinant by doing so.

## CONCLUSION

Deliberative communication model normatively has described a higher facility of public opinion that moves from political-public space to the political system. However, an examination on the condition and the application of information system in Bojonegoro regency, more various interpretations were demanded. Mediated social movement conducted by Suara Banyuurip.com & Relawan TIK Bojonegoro was an attempt to respond on and a condition of being facilitated by a communication system that has been established by Bojonegoro regency through communication model applied by the office of information and communication in Bojonegoro regency.

Based on the dynamics of a new social movement, deliberative communication model calls for further innovation by considering dynamics in media and its interactive traits. Website investigated from Bojonegoro tried to adjust their political and social movement with the capacity and available websites features. Although it was ample to be questioned, especially regarding their ideologies, the dynamics in the website management has attempted to adjust themselves with the development of information needs that should be publicized to society. It was the point where they have similar vision and mission with the government, in this case, affiliated with communication system established by Bojonegoro office of communication and information. Although it was not precisely as deliberative model idealize, the public capacity that affiliate through website page as the new manifestation of internet use has appeared in Bojonegoro regency.

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