Customary Practices of Musyawarah Mufakat: An Indonesian Style of Consensus Building

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Abstract. Musyawarah Mufakat is a form of Indonesian native culture of consensus building. It has been adopted as one of the foundational philosophical theories of the Indonesian state (Pancasila) and become a method of decision making system in the Indonesian government. The traditional system, however, could be inconsistent with more modernized and western democratic system, which has been introduced especially in urban areas through the period of Indonesian independence and democratization, known as the Reformation Era. Previous studies have not explained clearly the characteristic of Musyawarah Mufakat and examined its association with the concept of modern democratization. In this research, we investigated the real situation of Musyawarah Mufakat in rural areas and explored relevant characteristic of Musyawarah Mufakat through qualitative interview and observation on Musyawarah Mufakat in three areas in Java Island (Oising people, Tenggerese people and Kampung Naga people) and literature reviews on Musyawarah Mufakat. We then considered the way to realize a modernized decision making in accordance with the traditional style of decision making; what kind of conflict can occur when the local government ignores Musyawarah Mufakat, how to settle the conflict between democracy and Musyawarah Mufakat, and what decision makers should pay attention when making and implementing policy in Indonesia were discussed.

Keywords: Indonesia; Musyawarah Mufakat; Public Participation; Decision Making; Consensus Building.

1. Introduction
Misyawarah Mufakat, is a form of native Indonesian culture of consensus-building that is adopted to became one of the foundational philosophical theories of the Indonesian state (Pancasila) and became the method of decision-making system in the Indonesian government. Sukarno, the first leader of Indonesia (1945-1967), known as the Old Order Era, who guaranteed that the particular Indonesian method for majority rule government ought to be unique concerning that in the Western vote based systems. Alluding to the Javanese idea of Musyawarah Mufakat, a procedure of consideration that should prompt consensus, Sukarno made "Misyawarah Mufakat," a focal mainstay of the national political logic [1]. This change was defended as an arrival to a framework proper to the Indonesian personality and as a dismissal of an outside process (majority rule) which drove gatherings to battle for
their advantages instead of for the benefit of the country [2, 3]. Sukarno, the first leader of Indonesia, adopted Musyawarah Mufakat as the decision-making rule for Parliament.

Under the Soeharto administration (1967-1998), known as the New Order Era, Musyawarah Mufakat might have been used to prevent those outflows for contradicting sentiments in general society [4], and there is the dominance management of the New Order state within the rural sector [5-8].

The fall of the thirty years of dictator manages under Soeharto, 1998 — known as Reformation Era— democratization and decentralization laws received. People’s interest for more terrific distinctive freedom, democracy, equality, and equity for everybody [9]; social developments jumped up and voiced cases to land and rights out in the open ways [10, 11]; provided regional governments with the power to transform national laws through local laws. Provincial and district governments have used their new authority to adopt local laws. They take local laws on a range of ethical and spiritual issues [12-16], and this Era has supported the reawakening of customary law [9], where one of the identities of customary law is the implementation of Musyawarah Mufakat in decision making. Reformation Era didn’t stipulate utilization of the Musyawarah Mufakat rule, but rather as a general rule, village assemblies embraced both majority rule, and Musyawarah Mufakat manage adaptively [4].

Throughout Indonesian independence (1945), the implementation of Musyawarah Mufakat at the level of government has experienced a change of function, and even since the Reformation Era (1998) has already switched to the western democratic system [1-4, 9-11]. In the meantime, examining the political culture of Indonesia is in decrease. Most likely, since Western democratic systems and practices have been completely acknowledged in Indonesia of the 21st century, customary culture is never again drawing in consideration of Indonesian researchers [4]. Over the late years, more younger people express that they feel about national identity will be disappearing [17].

Learn the traditional culture of Indonesia be difficulties for foreign researchers because there are many references in the Indonesian language [4]. Previous studies focused more on Musyawarah Mufakat with respect to the political system of government and still a few that linked it to decision making for urban development. Musyawarah-Mufakat examined as a political culture of Indonesia’s democracy [1, 4]. Musyawarah-Mufakat discussed slightly as part of the Indonesian terms related to the relation of state authority to traditional social and political structure [8, 18]. Musyawarah Mufakat studied as a traditional system of decision making retained in the urban setting [3] and studied Gotong Royong as one element of a national "Indonesian culture” where an important manifestation of the gotong-royong ethos in the majority of Indonesian villagers is a Musyawarah Mufakat [3, 8, 19, 20].

Several previous research examined the typical leadership characteristics of Indonesia [21, 22]. However, no one has discussed the characteristics of a typical consensus in Indonesia that is Musyawarah Mufakat.

1.1. Concept of Musyawarah
Musyawarah and Mufakat (deliberation and consensus) are a customary basic decision-making procedure in Indonesia, which has regularly been recognized in village gatherings [4]. Musyawarah Mufakat terms (together with terms: Koperasi and Gotong Royong) has to do with the obligations of the individual toward the community, the compatibility of power, and the relation of state authority to traditional social and political systems [3].

Mufakat is one of the five national principles of the Indonesian state in Pancasila, as the parliamentary base for decision making [3]. At the point when Sukarno organized Guided Democracy, the arrival to the 1945 Constitution included approval of Mufakat (unanimous consent) as the decision-making basis run for legislative. This change was advocated as an arrival to a framework suitable to the Indonesian identity and as a dismissal of a western procedure (majority rule), which drove the parties to battle for their own particular narrow interests instead of for the benefit of the country [2, 3].

The establishment of Musyawarah is significant proof of the gotong-royong philosophy in most Indonesian village society [4]. Other researchers add that the concept of Musyawarah Mufakat is the ideological fundamental on which the authority’s choice to sustain the rural practice in the urban environment [3].
Musyawarah Mufakat obtains from Islamic learning, which prioritizes a peaceful approach (Sulh) in settling the conflict, especially family disputes [23, 24]. As a perfect concept, Musyawarah Mufakat is attempted to be conceivable because even when the dispute is available, a village has a cooperative spirit and unity principal, a common value of harmony in the general concern that may decrease the demands of specific concerns [3].

1.2. Musyawarah Mufakat in Urban Environment
Mohammad Hatta, a leader of the Indonesian independence movement and Indonesia's first vice president, described that the root of the Indonesian political structure in "The indigenous democracy prevalent in the Indonesian village" it’s because of land ownership in the traditional Indonesia regards to the village society. Based on the general responsibility for soil, every person, in doing his economic activities, felt that he needed to act in agreement with public approval [2, 8]. In numerous villages on modern Java, the connection between land tenure, political status, and work commitments have proceeded to the present [8].

It is often believed that a perfect concept of Musyawarah Mufakat is missing in an urban environment, that the relative diversity of community in Jakarta, for example, makes the circumstance of Mufakat unnecessary [3]. Over 20 years of Reformation Era, vertical and level pressure is up and still happening, especially connected with urban development and public project. There has been no participation procedure to develop understanding among various stakeholders drew in with urban development. Moreover, there have been several infringements in the execution of urban spatial plans (Rencana Umum Tata Ruang/RUTR) in the attempt to suit economic activities or due to the concern and strains from a particular group [25]. Land procurement with the end goal of public infrastructure development is managed under the Presidential Decree (Keppres) 55/1993, which plainly expresses that land securing ought to be done through direct deliberation ('Musyawarah') and achievement of consensus ('Mufakat') and on an intentional premise between the engaged stakeholders [25, 26].

We investigate whether Musyawarah Mufakat is still a central pillar of the national political philosophy of the Indonesian community at the local level, whereas since the Reformation Era has already switched to the western democratic system? How Musyawarah Mufakat as an Indonesian ideal public participation in decision-making process conducted in the local level today because several violations and social movements emerged as a result of no negotiation process to build up consensus among various parties and stakeholders involved in urban development? And what are the relevant characteristics of Musyawarah Mufakat, where this information is useful to gain consensus among stakeholders in policymaking and public project implementation?

2. Data and Method
Methods of data collection in qualitative research, participatory observation and interviews on Musyawarah Mufakat in three Indigenous people in Java Island, Indonesia namely O sing people in Banyuwangi, East Java; Tenggerese people in Ngadas village, Mt. Bromo, East Java, and Kampung Naga people in Salawu, Tasikmalaya, West Java (Figure 1). The reason for choosing these three indigenous people because Musyawarah Mufakat, as the basic foundation of the Indonesian state, was adopted from the philosophy and culture of Java, so we tried to examine the area of Java island. And those three Indigenous people are some of the many indigenous people who still live in the countryside and hold original strong culture. Even though they hold their customs firmly, they also obey the rules applied by the Indonesian government.
The data gathering method is used note-taking, photography, and recordings. The question in interviews was based on key questions extracted from Musyawarah Mufakat’s characteristic in many previous studies, the key questions divided into six main points: history, values, factors, procedure, real situation, and backside situation of Musyawarah Mufakat.

To understand and collect relevant characteristic of Musyawarah Mufakat, we try to get information about:

1. History, whether there is oral evidence, written, or historical objects in these indigenous people related to Musyawarah Mufakat, how Musyawarah Mufakat developed from the past to the present.
2. Values, we want to know the values in their daily that related to Musyawarah Mufakat, whether there are rules (both written and unwritten) are contained in their decision making whether Musyawarah Mufakat accommodate local norms/rules. Is there another way that they do in making decisions besides hold Musyawarah Mufakat in their community?
3. Factors, we want know what factors decide to reach an agreement, what are the reasons for choosing consensus in decision making over voting.

To understand the actual reality of Musyawarah Mufakat, we try to get information about:

1. The procedure, we want to take information on all matters related to the implementation of the Musyawarah Mufakat. When will Musyawarah Mufakat be carried out? How are the implementation rules? How to elect the Musyawarah Mufakat leader? Who are the participants? are there any requirements to become participants, how to express opinions in the Musyawarah Mufakat, what if no agreement is reached, is there any written evidence.
2. In the real situation, we want to know what is discussed in Musyawarah Mufakat? Why choose Musyawarah Mufakat over voting? Have you ever conduct Musyawarah Mufakat other indigenous people? Has there ever been a dispute after the Musyawarah Mufakat decision was produced?
3. In the backside situation, we want to dig further information about the situation behind the holding of Musyawarah Mufakat. We want to get information about silence in public meetings, is it easy to express personal opinions, what if our own opinions contradicting with the opinions of many people, is there any lobbying in Musyawarah Mufakat.

Participants were asked to describe their daily activities related to the implementation of the Musyawarah Mufakat and observe how they are doing Musyawarah Mufakat (Figure 2). The interviews were conducted by the researcher and co-researcher in the Indonesian language and using three different local languages. Local language and that Indigenous people used slightly different from the local language used by urban communities in the region so that researchers need co-researcher or guide who understands their language and culture.

Respondents were a key figure in each indigenous people such as the chief of the tribal council and others who commonly perform decision making by Musyawarah Mufakat. The average interviews lasted

Figure 1. Location of Research
30-60 minutes. Interviews with experts who are experts in the field of indigenous peoples where we conduct research and experts who understand about Musyawarah Mufakat, and we also extracted Musyawarah Mufakat characteristic in many previous studies. Another approach was made by participatory observations at the implementation of Musyawarah Mufakat at Neighborhood and Village level. Participants were community leaders and citizens.

Figure 2. Implementation of Musyawarah Mufakat

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Result
All interviews were transcribed, and all behavior, attitudes, actions, values were identified by using a thematic analysis approach. We focus on coding six key points of key questions, namely history, values, factors, procedure, real situation, and backside situation. Next, we look for a similar pattern in the transcribed interviews and observations.

Second, to find Musyawarah Mufakat’s characteristics, we began to extract terms and clauses that indicated a description of Musyawarah Mufakat in many previous research and data collected in the field survey. In this method, we found 98 terms and clauses from the previous study, and 81 terms and clauses from interviews, a total of 179 terms and clauses. Then we remove the description or meaning that has similarities with using the official dictionary of the Indonesian language (The Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language). Lastly, terms and clauses with equivalent or similar meaning were categorized, and decrease the data.

We extracted from previous studies and obtained 24 characteristics, namely: Procedure Decision-making; Consensus, Agreement; Public Meeting / Gathering / Assembly; Majority and Minority; System Status; State Ideology; Political Process; basic Indonesian value; Village Tradition, Tradition; Culture; Norms; Religiosity, Islam; Customary; Harmony, Peaceful; Concept; Leadership selection process; Homogeneous; Common Interest; Fairness; Unity; Openness; Real conflicts run very deep in society and given a situation where high stakes are involved can break out into the open; Bears some relationship; Not yet well understood.

Then we extracted from the interviews and got 17 characteristics, namely: State Ideology; basic Indonesian value; Village Tradition, Tradition; Culture; Harmony, Peaceful; Common Interest; Fairness; Trust; Unity; Tolerance, Respect; Openness; Acceptance; Protect; Obedient; Family; Humanity; Leadership.

From all of the characteristics, it turns out that there are 9 of the same characteristics derived from previous research and interviews, namely: State Ideology; Indonesian basic value; Village Tradition, Tradition; Culture; Harmony, Peaceful; Common Interest; Fairness; Unity; Openness. So that the overall final result we extracted were 32 characteristics (see Appendix).

3.2. Discussion
Relevant characteristic of Musyawarah Mufakat gathered from data collection in qualitative research interview and observation on Musyawarah Mufakat in three Indigenous people in Java Island (Osing people, Tenggerese people, and Kampung Naga people). We extracted Musyawarah Mufakat
characteristics in many previous study. We found that many of the characteristics found in the Field Survey have not been mentioned in previous studies as the characteristics of Musyawarah Mufakat and vice versa.

From the results we found that there were 8 characteristics that we extracted from interviews that had not been mentioned in previous studies, namely: Trust; Tolerance, Respect; Acceptance; Protect; Obedient; Family; Humanity; Leadership. And from the results as well, we found 15 characteristics that we extracted from previous research that were not found when conducting interviews, namely: Procedure Decision-making; Consensus, Agreement; Public Meeting/Gathering/ Assembly; Majority and Minority; Status System; Political Process; Norms; Religiosity, Islam; Customary; Concept; Leadership selection process; Homogen; Real conflicts run very deep in the society and given a situation where high stakes are involved can break out into the open; Bears some relationship; Not yet well understood.

Village meetings accepted the two majority rule and Musyawarah-Mufakat rule in an adaptable method [4]. Previous research did not mention how they conducted in an adaptable way. Musyawarah Mufakat is still the central pillar of Indonesian national political philosophy at the local level because Musyawarah Mufakat comes from its customary practices. Western democratic system (majority rule) is normally implemented if decision-making is related to their position as citizens and not as Indigenous peoples. They use voting for the election of Chief of Government: Village head, Neighborhood Head, etc. and they use Musyawarah Mufakat for preparing for the customary ceremony: wedding ceremony, customary festival, etc).

As a perfect concept, Musyawarah Mufakat is attempted to be conceivable because even when the dispute is available, a village has a cooperative spirit and unity principal, a common value of harmony in the general concern that may decrease the demands of specific concerns [3]. There has been no consultation procedure to develop consensus; Coordination of urban land-use development at the neighborhood level is crucial [25]. Previous research did not mention the relation between Musyawarah Mufakat and conflict in urban development. If there are no same shared values, no negotiation process to build up consensus, and lack of coordination among stakeholders, then several violations and social movements will emerge.

4. Conclusion

Many previous studies have suggested that Musyawarah Mufakat practice is declining and has shifted to western democracy. Musyawarah Mufakat useful as a tool for resolving conflicts appears to be currently not used, because it is proven there are still many conflicts happens. It is also often believed that a perfect concept of Musyawarah Mufakat is missing in an urban environment [3], we are trying to convince whether the Musyawarah Mufakat still exists in other parts of Indonesia.

Our results show that the ideal concept of Musyawarah Mufakat is still implemented in a small part of Indigenous peoples living in rural areas. And if this ideal concept can be reapplied in the urban environment, we believe it will be able to solve some urban problems. This system will run and work well if it can be implemented according to the ideal concept in the state and urban environment. Then, Musyawarah Mufakat, as desired by the founders of the Indonesian nation, will be part of society and not just a symbol of the state.

With the identification of the characteristics of an ideal Musyawarah Mufakat, we can discover what is missing from the implementation of the deliberations in the urban environment or is Western democracy can run side by side with Musyawarah Mufakat.

We introduce a modernized decision making by the traditional style of decision making. What kind of conflict can occur when the local government ignores Musyawarah Mufakat, how to settle potential between democracy and Musyawarah Mufakat, and what the decision-maker should pay attention to when making and implementing policy in Indonesia are discussed.
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Appendix: Musyawarah Mufakat Characteristic

1. Procedure Decision-making
2. Consensus, Agreement
3. Public Meeting/Gathering/ Assembly
4. Majority and Minority
5. Status System
6. State Ideology**
7. Political Process
8. Indonesian basic value**
9. Village Tradition, Tradition**
10. Culture**
11. Norms
12. Religiosity, Islam
13. Customary
14. Harmony, Peaceful**
15. Concept
16. Leadership selection process
17. Homogen
18. Common Interest**
19. Fairness**
20. Trust*
21. Unity**
22. Tolerance, Respect*
23. Openness**
24. Acceptance*
25. Protect*
26. Obedient*
27. Family*
28. Humanity*
29. Leadership*
30. Real conflicts run very deep in the society and given a situation where high stakes are involved can break out into the open
31. Bears some relationship
32. Not yet well understood

*only found in interviews
** found both in previous studies and interviews