

ANALYSIS OF ANSY LEMA'S RESES FUND USAGE REPORT ON INSTAGRAM SOCIAL MEDIA: PRINCIPAL- AGENT PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the use of recess funds reported by Ansy Lema on his personal Instagram social media account. The research object is analyzed using the principal-agent theory. Using a descriptive-qualitative approach, data collection strategies were conducted through textual observation techniques on Ansy Lema's Instagram pages. From a principal-agent perspective, what Ansy Lema uploads on Instagram reflects aspects of transparency, accountability, and independence as a representative of the people. This affirms that Ansy Lema can be responsible, honest, and have integrity. Through these uploads, the public can communicate more openly with their representatives, not only to express appreciation but also to criticize and evaluate their political policies. This article contributes in two ways. First, theoretically, it supports the idea that in the context of a digital society, social media can serve as a medium for politicians to work more transparently, accountably, and with integrity. Second, Instagram can serve as a means to minimize free riders in democracy by encouraging the democratic political communication between the people (principal) and their representatives (agent).

KEYWORDS *Principal-agent, recess fund, instagram, political communication.*



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INTRODUCTION

Kompas Research Survey, during the period of 2021 and 2022, shows that the performance of parliament representatives received a poor rating (55%) (Kompas, May 12, 2022). Moreover, the performance of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) is evaluated much worse than that of other state institutions, such as the Indonesian National Army (TNI) (93%), Indonesian National Police (Polri)

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(77%), Constitutional Court (MK) (73%), Supreme Court (MA) (73%), Prosecutor's Office (71%), Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) (69%), Regional Representative Council (DPRD) (63%), and political parties (55%) (Kompas, October 26, 2021). This means that among all state institutions, the DPR RI's performance receives the most dismal report.

What Kompas Daily conveys is not merely a matter of the legislative sector but delves deep into the heart of our democracy, namely the decline of Indonesian democracy mainly caused by the poor performance of state institutions (abuse of state authority) and the weak participation of the broader society in overseeing the performance of representatives. This is one of the indicators of the decline of Indonesian democracy from stagnation (2009 to 2018) to regression (2019 until now) (Power & Warburton, 2021).

Global democracy is currently in decline (Kompas.id, December 22, 2022). This global phenomenon is interesting when reflecting on Samuel Huntington's book (1927-2008), "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century" (1991). Huntington proposed three patterns of democracy waves worldwide (Huntington, 1991: 17). The first wave, marked by the events of the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the American Revolution (1765-1791), declined in the 1920s-1930s with the emergence of dictator regimes during World War I. The second wave occurred after World War II (1940s-1950s) then declined again in the early 1960s with the emergence of authoritarian powers in South America, Europe, and Asia. The third wave of democracy occurred after the Cold War (1973-1990s). Fukuyama (1952-) then declared the end of the history of world ideologies by pointing to the victory of liberal-capitalist democracy.

The decline of Indonesian democracy shares the same characteristics with the trend of global democratic regression, which I would cautiously refer to as the decline of the third wave of democracy after its victory at the end of the 20th century. For example, Power & Warburton mentioned that Indonesian democracy has moved from stagnation (2009 to 2018) to regression (2019 until now). Factors triggering the decline of democracy include the strengthening of authoritarian tendencies of state leaders, corruption, and public distrust in the poor performance of public bodies such as the Indonesian House of Representatives, as well as the emergence of free rider phenomena in democracy (Hollyer et al., 2011).

The use of social media, especially Instagram, is increasingly common for members of parliament or public figures to communicate with their constituents. One of the activities usually carried out by members of parliament is to use recess funds to support activities in their constituency. The Recess Allowance is money given every time a recess is held to DPRD Leaders and DPRD Members (Rusdi, 2022). However, the use of recess funds is often in the public spotlight due to the lack of clarity in accountability and transparency in their use.

The high use of social media by the public has prompted DPR RI member from NTT Yohanis Fransiskus Lema, S.IP, MSi to report on his three and a half year performance during his tenure as Member of the Indonesian DPR. To the people of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), this report is considered to be a form of commitment, transparency and accountability of the people's representative, who is familiarly called Ansy Lema, to report performance periodically to the people every six

months. The report uploaded to the Instagram account can be accessed by the people of NTT to find out the performance of the PDI-P politician in carrying out budget functions, supervisory functions and legislative functions as people's representatives, spokespersons for the NTT people in Senayan (Liu, 2023).

This paper analyzes the effectiveness of the use of recess funds and the performance of one member of the Indonesian House of Representatives, representing the electoral district of NTT 2 (Timor, Sumba, Sabu, Rote), Ansy Lema. The performance and use of recess funds by this PDIP faction politician are analyzed using principal-agent theory and free rider theory. This paper is divided into four parts. First, explaining the principal-agent theory and free rider theory. Second, analyzing recess funds and the performance of Ansy Lema using principal-agent theory and free rider theory. Third, general conclusions involving the concept of good governance to assess the accountability and transparency of Ansy Lema in his overall performance. Fourth, the solution: digital democracy based on digital communication technology (ICTs).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach. Qualitative research is a method focused on understanding the meaning and experiences of humans within a specific context. This study utilizes non-numeric data such as texts, images, and audio to generate deeper and more holistic findings (Firmansyah & Masrun, 2021). The research object is analyzed using principal-agent theory. With a descriptive-qualitative approach, data collection strategies are implemented through textual observation techniques on Ansy Lema's Instagram pages. The data analyzed is the report on the usage of recess funds by Ansy Lema on his Instagram account. The data is analyzed using qualitative content analysis technique. This technique is employed to comprehend the meaning and interpretation of information contained in the report on the usage of recess funds.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Persona of Yohanis Fransiskus Lema

Yohanis Fransiskus Lema S.IP. MSi, (Next, it is called Ansy Lema) was born in Kupang, NTT, on March 27, 1976, into a Catholic family. His father's name is Raimundus Lema, and his wife is Maria Immaculata Inge Nioty. He began his primary education at SDK St. Yoseph 4 Kupang in 1982 and completed it in 1988. Ansy Lema then moved to Flores, especially to Manggarai Timur, to continue his education as a prospective Catholic priest, undertaking junior high school education at Seminari Pius XII Kisol from 1988 to 1991. Although he briefly considered becoming a pastor, this noble intention apparently faltered as this politician from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle faction (PDIP Faction) ultimately decided to pursue education at the Political Science High School, SMAK Suradikara, Ende, Flores, from 1991 to 1994.

After completing high school in Ende, Ansy Lema traveled to Java, particularly to Jakarta, to pursue a bachelor's degree at the Universitas Nasional Jakarta with a focus on Political Science. Ansy Lema graduated with a bachelor's degree in 2000. In 2001, Ansy Lema continued his education at the Master's level at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia. Ansy Lema successfully completed his master's studies in 2004. While a student, Ansy Lema was active in various student organizations and even served as the Senate chairman of FISIP at his undergraduate campus. In addition to being a member of the Catholic Student Association of the Republic of Indonesia (PMKRI), Ansy Lema founded the City Forum (FORKOT) as a campus coordinator in 1997.

After graduation, Ansy Lema pursued a career in several fields, ranging from journalism to lecturing. From 2017 to 2019, he worked at Patra Government as a political director. Additionally, he served as a presenter at TVRI in Senayan from 2009 to 2014. Ansy Lema then became a lecturer at his alma mater, Universitas Nasional Jakarta. At the university, Ansy Lema served as a lecturer at FISIP from 2004 to 2017.

His political career began with his choice to become a parliamentary expert at the Indonesian House of Representatives from 2004 to 2009. He then served as the spokesperson for the campaign team of Professor Nurdin Abdullah, the elected Governor of South Sulawesi for the period 2018-2023, expanding his desire to become a legislator by running as a candidate for the Indonesian House of Representatives in 2019. This intention bore fruit, and Ansy Lema successfully advanced to the parliament with the support of 44,619 votes. Ansy Lema's electoral district is NTT II, covering Timor, Rote, Sumba, and Sabu Rai Jua. A member of the campaign team of the spokesperson (JUBIR) for Mr. Ahok, he is part of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle faction with member number 239.

Interestingly, all the performances of this representative can be accessed on his personal Instagram account, @ansy.lema, Yohanis Fransiskus Lema, S.IP, M.Si. Additionally, Ansy Lema can be contacted via email: Yohanis.lema@dpr.go.id. Thanks to his hard work and efforts, Ansy Lema now possesses a substantial amount of wealth. According to elhkpn.kpk.go.id, this member of the Indonesian House of Representatives has a total wealth of Rp. 6,656,588,771. This wealth amount was reported on December 31, 2021, with periodic reporting. This amount increased by around two billion compared to the previous year, 2020, which was Rp. 4,126,147,833.

Analysis of Recess Funds and Performance of Members of DPR RI

Ansy Lema's Recess and Performance Fund: A Glance

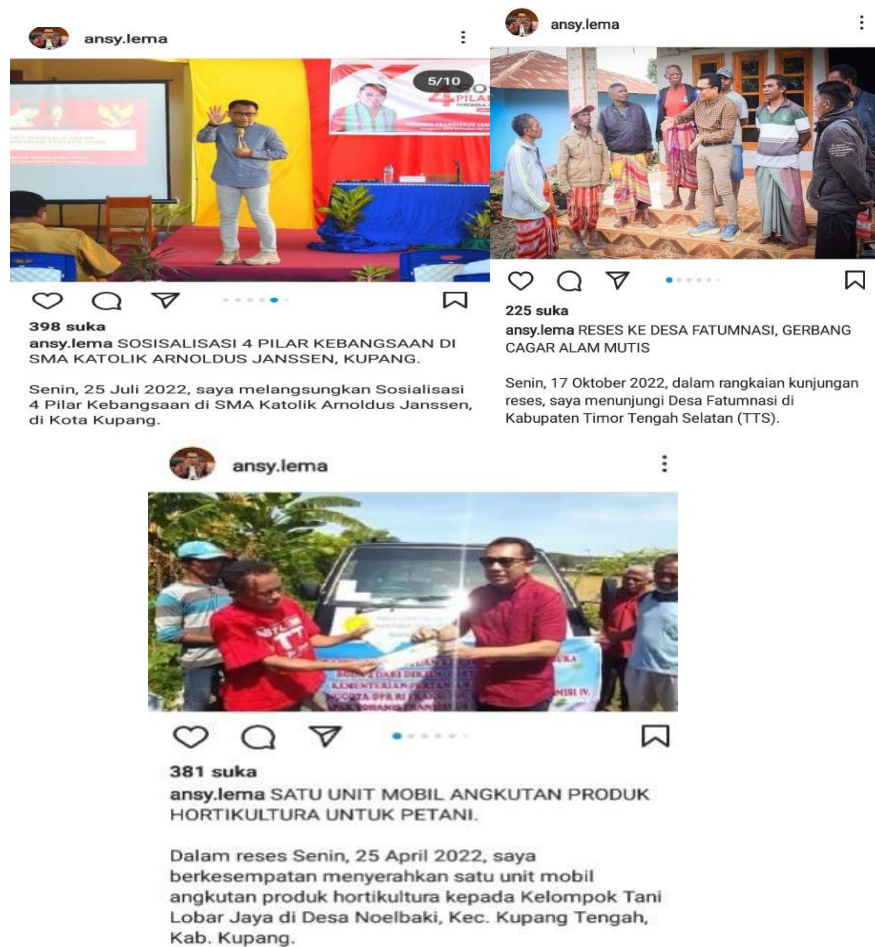
Conceptually, the working visits of representatives or recesses to electoral districts (dapil) are understood as government/representative strategies in an effort to accommodate and listen to the aspirations of the people (Susanto, et.al, 2021). At the heart of this activity lies a noble purpose: members of the council listen to the grievances, hopes, and aspirations of the community, and thus representatives

can take concrete actions to realize constituent aspirations. This aspect indicates ethical significance: moral and political accountability to constituents in the electoral district as a manifestation of people's representation in government.

Constitutionally, this principle is enshrined in Law Number 17 of 2014 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), which stipulates that the duty of representatives is to absorb, accommodate, gather, and follow up on the aspirations of the people. The General Guidelines for Managing Public Aspirations and Complaints of the Indonesian House of Representatives in 2010 explain the terminology of aspirations as the desires of the community expressed to representatives. The forms of conveying wishes or desires vary, such as attitudes, opinions, hopes, criticisms, suggestions, and/or advice related to the duties, functions, and authority of the Indonesian House of Representatives. Meanwhile, absorbing/accommodating aspirations is the activity of representatives conducted by listening, paying attention, accepting, studying, and examining aspirations that develop in society or are reported to the DPR RI (Goni et al., 2019; Sundari et al., 2017; Susanto et al., 2021).

According to Ansy Lema's Instagram account, @ansy.lema, during the period from January to December 2022, there were at least 57 visits to various places in the NTT II electoral district (Rote, Timor, Sabu, and Sumba). The pattern of these visits occurred in a hybrid manner, both virtual and face-to-face. Three recess periods occurred in April, July, and October 2022. This means that Ansy Lema works loyally, namely, besides being loyal to the constitution that obliges every representative to conduct recesses at least 3 times a year (Susanto, et.al, 2021), he is also loyal to his constituents, those who have given him a mandate. From these three recess periods, various assistance in the form of materials and nominal money was given to the people. Ansy Lema transparently allocated around 7 million rupiahs for NTT within a year.

Figure 1. Image taken from Ansy Lema's Instagram account (three recesses during 2022)



Based on the explanation from Masinton Pasaribu, a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) faction as reported by Detik.News on Saturday (8/8/2021), if the recess fund amounting to Rp. 450 million is received eight times a year, the result will be around Rp. 3.6 billion. Masinton stated that the aspiration fund has not yet been determined in the plenary session of the DPR because there are political party factions that reject it. However, according to Krisdayanti, a member of Commission IX of the Indonesian House of Representatives from the PDI-P faction, the DPR's aspiration fund amounts to Rp. 450 million and is received 5 times a year. If that is true, then the result will be approximately Rp. 2.2 billion. This means that if Ansy Lema spends around Rp. 7 billion per year, the amount of the aspiration fund or recess fund may exceed those of the two DPR members. In my opinion, this amount of money can be understood because, based on a report from Pos Kupang.com on Wednesday, October 19, 2022, Ansy Lema complained about the small amount of funds allocated to each district in NTT, amounting to Rp. 1 trillion. According to Ansy Lema, the 1 trillion fund is not enough for one year. This means that the recess fund of 7M per year allows Ansy Lema to work to the fullest. This is transparently

evident in the three-year performance report as a representative to the public of NTT.

Here's a direct quote: In 2023, Ansy Lema collaborated with the Ministry of Agriculture to provide 277 pre-harvest agricultural machinery aids (types of two-wheeled and four-wheeled tractors), 138 post-harvest units, 6 large rice harvesters, 140 handsprayers, 35 water pumps, and 31 cultivator units. In addition, there are empowerment assistance such as 120 cattle, 140 goats, 3000 chickens, as well as assistance for fruit villages, intensification of shallots and garlic, Sustainable Food Gardens (P2L) for 28 groups (each group Rp. 50 million), Rehabilitation of Tertiary Irrigation Networks (RJIT) amounting to Rp. 975 million, construction of agricultural reservoirs, and assistance for Organic Fertilizer Processing Units (UPPO) amounting to Rp. 4 billion for 20 farmer groups. Furthermore, Ansy mentioned that in 2023 he provided assistance to fishermen and coastal communities in NTT, namely excavator assistance, 8 biofloc fish farming packages, 3 feed making machines, 1,000,000 fish seeds, 272 fishing gear, 20 fishing gear machines, 4 chest freezers, 94 coolboxes, and assistance for Advanced Fishermen's Villages. Meanwhile, in cooperation with the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, Ansy provided assistance for People's Nursery Gardens to 11 farmer groups amounting to Rp. 1.1 billion, 50 thousand productive seedlings, Social Forestry Development Assistance to 6 groups amounting to Rp. 300 million, Critical Land Rehabilitation amounting to 600 million, domestic waste treatment plant installation assistance, and six units of three-wheeled motorbikes.

Image 2: Performance report of Ansy Lema (Image taken from Ansy Lema's Instagram page)



In my opinion, what Ansy Lema does more or less reflects the pattern of good government, namely honest, transparent, accountable, independent, and obedient constitutionally and democratically: obedient to the state and the people. This shows the moral and political responsibility in the relationship between principal-agent, i.e. the agent is fully accountable (transparent and accountable) to the people as the mandate giver.

Perspective of Principal-Agent Theory

The 'principal-agent theory' forms the fundamental basis of representative democracy, wherein ordinary citizens (principals) delegate their 'voice' to the elected representative, the agent (Ananyev, 2020: 2). At a prescriptive level, this idea points to the heart of democracy, where the people (as principals) are both the ontology and teleology of democracy. Descriptively, the practice of democracy, especially representative democracy, undoubtedly treats the people not only as the reason for politics but also as the purpose of politics. Representatives (as agents) are merely instruments of the people in achieving the common good. The people have the right not only to instruct their representatives to continue their work or to stop it if they no longer approve of their programs. Bureaucratic affairs aim solely at community development. This is what Rousseau meant by representative democracy. For Rousseau, the general will cannot be entrusted to representatives because they do not

truly represent the people or the general will (Brandsma & Adriaensen, 2017). Representatives merely carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the people through elections (as a social contract), and they are accountable to the people as the appointing authority. Thus, both Rousseau and the principal-agent model stress the superiority of the principal over the agent.

In my opinion, Ansy Lema not only acts as an agent executing the people's orders but also as an agency, a conscious subject, responsible to the people. Ansy realizes that the crown of leadership in the Indonesian House of Representatives does not belong to him but to the people who compel him to return everything to the people of NTT. When asked by Pos Kupang, Ansy Lema responded as follows: "We must not be satisfied too quickly; I still have two years in the Indonesian House of Representatives to continue fighting for the aspirations and needs of the people of NTT. I need support, criticism, and prayers from all of you in NTT. I am committed to being a good listener, spokesperson, and servant of the people," he told Pos Kupang on October 1, 2022. This means that Ansy's understanding of democracy is not like that of Schumpeter and Weber, who reject the idea of democracy focusing on the demos. For both thinkers, in modern states, bureaucratic systems that demand meritocratic work are far more important than *demos kratos* (people's power). Weber rejects Rousseau's idea of the centrality of the people in democracy by emphasizing the importance of bureaucratic governance, which can methodologically manage the state much more measurably, empirically, and contextually. Therefore, when the principals need to signal a credible commitment, it is in their interest to delegate full authority with only limited means of control (p. 5).

In my opinion, the two problems rarely occur in Ansy Lema's performance in the NTT II district. What Ansy Lema has done in the NTT II district so far reflects transparency, accountability, and independence as a representative. This is evidenced by various reports that can be accessed accountably and transparently through his social media (Instagram) as well as through his official account Yohanis.lema@dpr.go.id. As far as I can observe, Ansy opens up everything to the people, allowing them to criticize and evaluate every policy and political decision he makes. With that, Ansy addresses two problems that often arise in the principal-agent relationship. First, goal conflict; second, asymmetric information. The first, as already mentioned, agents have the power to ignore the aspirations and will of the people. Second, asymmetric information conflict, especially related to the people's position, which understands more information about their needs. While representatives, educated and clever figures, play their own information in bureaucracy, not only to deceive the people but also to provide misleading information to their superiors about their performance with their constituencies (p. 183-184). This triggers goal conflict. In my opinion, both of these problems are unlikely to occur in Ansy Lema's performance in the NTT II district. Everything Ansy Lema does is not the result of his own will but the result of community work during recess. All policies processed in parliament (and government) are the result of Ansy Lema's visits

to various areas in NTT. This is why, so far, there has been no misinformation or differences in goals in managing NTT as a *res publica*.

Understanding the agent-principal relationship inevitably involves the principle of accountability as the key to assessing the advancement or retreat of representative democracy. First, accountability and fear (Waldron, 2014). This principle emphasizes the importance of agent accountability, which is a control mechanism to assess the good and bad performance of representatives. Second, accountability and interests. This principle emphasizes the centrality of upholding the interests of citizens rather than the interests of members of parliament. Third, accountability and sanctions. This means that citizens as the basis of democracy have the right to make decisions, either to dismiss representatives who are incompetent or to demand that representatives continue their work. Representatives always have a responsibility to prove their performance to the public, whether with or without sanctions. For representatives with bad characters, this principle is often overlooked due to weak control by the public.

However, for Ansy Lema, the people actually hope he will run for Governor of NTT in 2024. In my observation on various social media platforms (TikTok, Instagram), especially observing netizens' comments on Ansy's Instagram posts, the people now ask him to run for NTT 1, although this PDIP politician openly writes in every post that he will run again as a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives 2024-2029 for the NTT II electoral district (Timor, Sumba, Sabu, Rote). This claim can be checked on Ansy Lema's personal Instagram account @ansy.lema.

Fourth, disagreement. This principle refers to the ideal standards of the principal to assess the good or bad performance of representatives. Fifth, information. What the agent owes his principal(s) in the first instance is an account of what he has been doing. Transparency of information, especially performance reports of representatives, significantly determines their performance. Sixth, instructions. Instructions here serve as a means for citizens to demand that members of parliament either continue their work or stop it due to incompetence (p.8). Usually, stopping the work of representatives can only be done during the turnover of power in the five-year democratic process. So far, the people of NTT actually want Ansy Lema to continue his work as a representative, and he is even encouraged to compete for Governor of NTT in 2024.

Perspective of Free Rider and Collective Action

The term free rider is associated with individuals who exhibit a parasitic mentality: someone who receives a benefit without contributing towards the cost of its production. In a democracy, these individuals tend to be apathetic towards politics, refusing to participate in democratic processes, yet often exploiting democracy for their personal and group interests. In elections, those who refuse to vote are often grouped as free riders. This issue is prevalent in Indonesia.

Hence, Olson states that within a community as extensive as a modern state, it is impossible for all individuals, with their consciousness and rationality, to act

solely for the common good. If the benefits of a collective good cannot be withheld from nonparticipants, rational individuals are motivated to free ride on the contributions of others (Oliver, 1993: 273). Thus, for Olson, collective action is deemed impossible (irrational). Olson argued that collective action must be accompanied by private excludable selective incentives that reward participants or punish nonparticipants. However, Oliver contradicted Olson's idea, stating that selective incentives cannot logically solve the collective action dilemma (p. 274). Nevertheless, Olson attempts to address this issue with game theory and the prisoners' dilemma game. Game theory examines how actors make choices when outcomes depend not only on their own choices but also on the choices made by others (Hindmoor, 2006: 106). The strategic structure of the logic of collective action is akin to the n-prisoner's dilemma. In this condition, members of a community inevitably contribute to its development because the community's well-being is determined not only by the decisions of their friends but also by others (or themselves). Therefore, collective involvement in a community is an ethical imperative in itself. Here, one cannot escape this demand because all rational individuals should take the same actions and choices without exception.

For example, in the case of Ansy Lema, the principle of collective action, commonly known as participatory democracy, becomes a prerequisite not only for forming the aspirations of the people in the field during recess but also for drafting policies taken by Ansy Lema when working in parliament. So, do all people in the NTT II electoral district have a good political consciousness to prevent free riding? In my opinion, Olson's initial premise is proven true. Why? Because in the vast area of the NTT II electoral district, which covers several islands with characteristics of underdeveloped regions, political affairs are still considered dirty business (read: corruption) (MZ, 2014). Free riding, the apathetic attitude of people not to engage in political affairs, such as during Ansy Lema's recess periods in the area, is unavoidable. For most people in NTT, politics is still a dirty matter handled by corrupt agents, "change the government, change the leader, my life remains the same."

Therefore, to minimize the potential for widespread free riding, Olson proposes several things. First, coercion. Here, the state plays a significant role in preventing free riding within collective community spaces. This occurs, for example, in tax matters. The state requires us to contribute to their cost and threatens those who refuse to pay their taxes with jail (Hindmoor, 2006: 113). However, this practice is criticized because the state acts like an armed thug that brutally forces its citizens. Nevertheless, Hamman et al. (2016) stated that the state can play a role through the representative democracy system, namely through the delegation scheme (Read: representatives). Hamman et al. (2016) study shows that representative democracy, especially through representatives, can effectively prevent free riding in democracy. This can be done by activating communication between representatives and the community. Communication with constituents allows voluntary action from the community to engage in public affairs.

Second, privileged group. A privileged group is one in which at least one individual values the good to such an extent that they are prepared to bear the entire costs of providing it and, in doing so, to tolerate the free riding of others. This group is privileged because there are members who voluntarily work to bear the burden of members who become free riders. In the case of Ansy Lema's recess, for example, when there are NTT residents who do not participate in the recess meetings due to agricultural matters. However, the absence of these members is then covered by other group members, thus maintaining the group's goals as a collective community.

Third, selective incentives. This is a concept that prevents free riding in democracy. So, for those who become free riders, incentives are given to encourage them to participate in collective affairs. There are three types of incentives: material, solidary, and purposive. Material incentives include salaries, insurance programs, and threats of physical or economic retaliation. Solidary incentives arise from social relations with other participants, such as praise, respect, and friendship, or shame, contempt, and ostracism. Purposive incentives arise from internalized norms and values in which a person's self-esteem depends on doing the right thing (Oliver, 1993: 279). In my opinion, Ansy Lema implements these incentives in the NTT II electoral district. The form of these incentives includes material incentives through various aid and material assistance to the community, thereby encouraging people's participation in political affairs. There are also solidary incentives, such as the strategy of recess to respect and listen to the complaints and aspirations of the people. This is a concrete form of efforts by representatives to prevent free riding by activating the awareness of the people by first setting an example of how to be solidary political leaders with the community's life. Meanwhile, purposive incentives are more related to the internalization of democratic norms and values so that the community feels respected and treated as shareholders of democracy. In my opinion, Ansy Lema has demonstrated democratic values that prioritize the people.

Fourth, process benefits. This is related to self-interest. It means that an individual's involvement in a joint activity is not primarily because they want to contribute, but because rationally there are benefits derived from the activity. According to Oliver, these provide an equation for the net payoff of participating in collective action as a function of the benefit of the collective good, the benefit of "selective incentives" and the costs of participation. Thus, from the logic of rational choice theory of individuals involved in a joint activity, (1) People often follow norms out of habit; (2) People manipulate norms in pursuit of their self-interest; (3) People adhere to norms to the extent that other people make it in their self-interest to do so; (4) People adhere to norms to the extent that they make it in their own self-interest to do so; (5) Norms emerge and survive to the extent that they are in our long-term and collective self-interest (Hindmoor, 2006: 125). Of course, this principle is accepted with the existence of government regulations and strict control so that the rational individual or group's choice does not deteriorate into a new form of free rider, namely those who adhere to a collective goal because they want to pursue rent (Stroup, 2000: 290). The problem of free riders exploiting government

programs to pursue rent is what reduces access for other members to receive an equitable and fair share of public goods.

General Conclusion: Good Governance as a Policy Strategy

What has been mentioned points to the strategy of creating good governance. One of the efforts to encourage the creation of good governance is to prevent corruption and enable people's participation in the overall performance of people's representatives. Institutions that are transparent give citizens information about how decisions that affect their lives are made. Transparency allows citizens to take part in making those decisions and to hold their representatives accountable for their actions in government (Carter, 2014). That means, transparency and accountability are related to good governance: good government entails developing pluralist civil society, controlling corruption, reducing excessive military expenditure, insisting on the rule of law and public sector management (Moncrieffe, 1998: 390). Only with that, the government encourages the existence of a democratic system that is distinguished from the system of authoritarianism (nondemocraticness) (Knappe, 2017).

From the previous description, in my opinion, Ansy Lema's performance has been and is leading to aspects of forming a good governance system. This can be seen from his political attitudes and choices that always put the people as political goals. Technically, for example through the praxis of accountability and transparency. In my opinion, with transparency, the habitus of accountability of the people's representatives will be formed for their policies. With that, public/private control over people's representatives can run effectively. This idea is in accordance with the principle of forming good government proposed by Tandon, namely to form a good government system, the work scheme must involve three parties: the state, the people, and the private sector (Tandon, 2002). This means that Ansy Lema as a representative of the state cannot work alone but must involve the public and private parties. In my opinion, Ansy Lema's attitude in managing NTT meets all the requirements of good governance-based development: participatory, efficient and effective public policy, decentralization, respect for people's rights, synchronization between the state's and the people's conception of good governance. greater cooperation between the state and the people in promoting good governance, transparency, accountability (p.4). Why? because transparency is very important for the establishment of accountability of public bodies (Moncrieffe, 1998).

Accountability is not only about financial transparency to the public but also about moral responsibility to both the government and the people. Government accountability to the electorate was measured by "the degree of openness and transparency in the management of public expenditure," the extent to which the government provided timely information and opportunity for deliberation and debate, the "effectiveness of checks and balances (including restraints on the power of the executive) and the effectiveness of the government's monitoring of its own performance" (p.392). This relates to the ethical relationship between agents and

their principals. According to Hamman et al. (2011: 379), in representative democracy, societal control is crucial to ensure the quality performance of its representatives and to keep them free from corruption. In the context of good governance, Ansy Lema enables and simultaneously exemplifies three patterns of contractual agent-principal relationships that often occur. First, the people as principals maintain certain mechanisms to continuously control and verify the transparent and quality work of their representatives. This occurs when Ansy provides transparent information accessible to all people of NTT. Second, Ansy Lema dispels the theory that in the context of representative democracy, professional agents often limit information to their principals, thus making their movements unchecked (limits the principal's ability to monitor and judge his performance). On the contrary, Ansy Lema opens up that control space as widely as possible. Third, Ansy Lema refutes the idea that representatives often distort information for their own interests. The asymmetric distribution of information entails a certain degree of agency loss, that is to say the agent may misuse his informational advantage in order to extract economic rents (see Breuer, 2007: 555). Instead of pursuing rent, Ansy Lema works for NTT.

Ansy Lema has proven to embody democratic accountability, namely vertical and horizontal accountability. Vertical accountability refers to the principle that representatives have a contractual relationship (through elections) with the people as their constituents and therefore the people have the right to demand accountability from their agents. Citizens have criteria by which they evaluate the performance of governments and they may either decide to reward incumbents with reelection or to sanction them if they fail to fulfil these criteria by voting them out of office (p.556). Meanwhile, horizontal accountability: executives are in an agency relation with legislatures that delegate power to them in order to advance the goals of congressional majorities. In this horizontal relationship, there is often asymmetric information between the legislative and governmental institutions. Clever agents often manipulate information to the government so that their performance appears to be of high quality when in reality it is poor. Although Ansy Lema's performance is not perfect, what has been accomplished indicates a strategy for forming a transparent and good government.

Solution: Deliberative Democracy Based on Digital Information Technology

The transformation of digital communication since the 90s has not only had an impact on changing our relationships and social interactions, but also affects our current democratic praxis, which is now known as digital democracy. What used to be corporeal, for example democratic praxis requires physical encounter, now information technology brings space transformation, so that everyone can participate in the digital democratic space. This digital democratic space, for example, through digital technology, either through the features of political applications or through social media. In my opinion, with the existence of digital

democratic space, our dream to realize deliberative democracy, which is a democratic system that involves public discourse in deciding a common policy, is increasingly realized. The community as a principal can evaluate, critique, and build a common discourse to achieve what Habermas calls deliberative consensus. In the digital space, people are connected.

First, **the digital-deliberative democracy program**. Ansy Lema was appointed as the editor-in-chief of the PDIP Media Faction under the name Banteng Senayan (*Detik.com*, June 14, 2023). This media is to build connectivity between people's representatives and the people in their respective electorates. In my opinion, this medium is a concretization of digital-deliberative democracy, which is an effort to utilize virtual space to realize public discourse that involves the wider community virtually.

Ansy Lema said, "Today we are entering the digital era. Political parties are also certainly important to rely on new media to reach a wider and more diverse electorate. We need a bridge of communication, as a medium of our struggle in Senayan, that can spread to the people." In my opinion, this is part of the digital democracy movement that can be followed by other political parties or mass organizations in order to create a movement of control over people's representatives.

Second, **the mechanism of connectivity**. The people's representative (Ansy Lema) through this new media can create a space for connectivity with the people, especially people who have been *free riders*, or those who like to suspect the regime but are reluctant to convey directly. This is in accordance with the study of Hamman et al (2011) that in a representative democracy, through the people's representatives, the people's representatives are proven to minimize *free riders*. This can only be done if the people's representatives intensely listen to the aspirations of the people. *Communication can enhance efficiency under voluntary contributions and under delegation*. In addition, *the communication treatment also provides us with insight into how players make their decisions in the voting stage of the delegation treatment* (Hamman et al., 2011).

Third, **focus and results**. Like the program of the digital democracy movement in general, the digital democracy account or social media (Ansy Lema) focuses on listening to various inputs, criticisms, and aspirations of the people. This can be done by analyzing, evaluating, and aggregating various inputs circulating on social media to be considered as a choice and political alignment. This digital democracy movement also aims at results, which aims to realize changes in pro-people political policies, namely fighting for the interests of the people.

Fourth, **program expansion**. The program that has been started by PDI-P can be followed by other political parties or outside communities who care about this nation. Podcasts like this become a means of connectivity of agents and principals while also accommodating the anxiety of free riders who have only been a prisoner. The expansion of this program is important in order to realize the digital democracy movement together.

Fifth, **its impact on democracy**. This Banteng Senayan program is a good initiative to knit the relationship between principals and agents while preventing you from being a free rider. Interestingly, this program builds connectivity and accountability of public bodies so that they can be accessed by everyone. Moreover, Indonesia with its vast and diverse territorial characteristics, this program supports the democratization process. Ansy Lema, for example, said "so we will use this media to convey messages as well as build impressions. Of course, our impression is that the party is really populist, pro-people, nationalist, and present to fight for the interests of the people". This is in line with the expression of the Secretary of the PDIP Faction of the House of Representatives, Bambang Pacul that the media is to connect people's representatives with the people.

CONCLUSION

The report on the Use of Ansy Lema's Recess Fund on Instagram Social Media with the perspective of the Principal-Agent, concluded that what Ansy Lema uploaded on social media platforms such as Instagram reflects important aspects of transparency, accountability, and independence as a representative of the people. In the principal-agent perspective, the actions taken by Ansy Lema in the use of recess funds that she posted publicly on social media show that she is responsible for his actions and decisions. In addition, by sharing information transparently, Ansy Lema shows that she is committed to carrying out his duties with honesty and integrity. Through these uploads, the public has direct access to communicate with their people's representatives, both to express appreciation, criticize, and evaluate political policies proposed or implemented by Ansy Lema. Therefore, through his activities on social media, Ansy Lema helps strengthen the relationship between people's representatives and their constituents, as well as strengthen the democratic principles underlying the representative system in government.

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