

The Indonesian Update

Monthly Review on Economic, Legal, Security, Political, and Social Affairs



Main Report: Observing Jokowi Nomination: Among the People and the Elite

Law

'Taking Leave' for Campaigning ■

Politics

The Decision of the Constitutional Court(MK) on Presidential Threshold (PT), the 2014 elections and the Coalition Map ■
Jokowi's Candidacy: Between Commitments and Opportunities ■
Political Parties' Crucial Role on Election and Democratization ■

Social

Why are Children not Allowed to Participate in Political Campaign? ■
Campaign Programs and the Indonesian Agricultural Sector ■

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FOREWORD

Friday, March 14, 2014, in her daily instructions, the Chair of the Central Board (DPP) of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) Megawati Sukarnoputri announced Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, as the presidential candidate.

The announcement of Jokowi's candidacy a day before the campaign period opens has sparked lively discussions amongst the public and politicians. It had even had a temporary positive impact on the market, improving the stock price index and the value of rupiah. They called it "Jokowi effect".

The April 2014's edition of the Indonesian Update raises a main theme on "Observing Jokowi's nomination: Among the People and the Elite". On law, it discusses "Taking Leave for Campaigning". On politics, it talks about "The Constitutional Court Decision on Presidential Threshold (PT), the 2014 elections and the Coalition Map". On social affairs, it reviews "Why Children Should Not Involved in the Campaign?".

In addition, in this edition of the Indonesian Update, on politics, it also discusses "Jokowi's Candidacy: between Commitment and Opportunity", and "The Important Role of Political Parties in Elections and Democracy". On social affairs, it touches on "Campaign Programs, and the fate of the Agricultural Sector".

The regular publication of the Indonesian Update with its actual themes is expected to help policy makers in government and business environment -- as well as academics, think tanks, and other elements of civil society, both within and outside the country, to get the actual information and contextual analysis of economic, legal, political, cultural and social developments in Indonesia, as well as to understand the public policy in Indonesia.

Happy Reading.

Observing Jokowi Nomination: Among the People and the Elite

A day ahead of the 2014 election campaign period (14/3), the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) announced the name of Joko Widodo, or popularly known as Jokowi, as its presidential candidate.

Jokowi has been perceived by many people as the right person to lead Indonesia in the future. With his “blusukan” style, Jokowi seems to be a new color amidst the still strong bureaucratic leadership style in Indonesia.

Survey Results, As the Voice of the People

Jokowi nomination by PDIP has been considered a right move. This is because Jokowi’s name has always been at the forefront of surveys conducted by several pollsters during the 2013-2014 period. The popularity and electability of Jokowi have outperformed other candidates.

Popularity is a key factor that cannot be compromised for a person to be elected. This is because the elected candidate will depend largely on the popularity, the level of the public’s preference over the favorite candidate concerned, and the level of electability in the community.

The results of surveys on the popularity and electability of the 2014 presidential candidates will provide an overview of the popular vote. Some of the survey results have showed that Jokowi is the people’s desired candidate.

The Indonesian Institute (TII), along with Indonesian Political Indicators (INDICATOR), with the support of Sinar Harapan daily newspaper, conducted a survey on Experimental Public Opinion Experimental: the Effects of Joko Widodo’s Nomination on the Electability of Political Parties during October 10 to 20, 2013. The

results of this survey showed that the Jokowi was selected more compared to the other names by the respondents (18%); followed by Prabowo (6.9%); Bakrie (5.7%); Wiranto (4.2%); SBY (2.7%); Megawati Sukarnoputri (2.3%); Jusuf Kalla (1.4%); and other names (5.6%). Meanwhile, the undecided reached a level of (53.2%).

The results of Soegeng Sarjadi School of Government's (SSSG) survey on the most potential young candidates conducted during February 10 to March 5, 2014, showed that Jokowi got 52.56%, followed by Anis Baswedan and Gita Wirjawan, who got 8.24% and 4.48%, respectively.

Roy Morgan Research's survey in March 2014 also put Jokowi as the most popular candidate for president. Jokowi's electability reached a level of 41 percent, higher than that of Gerindra presidential candidate Prabowo, who got 17 percent

If you look at the results of the surveys on the candidates desired by the community, Jokowi fulfilled the criteria of a leader according to the voters at the time of the surveys.

Not surprisingly, Jokowi always got high popularity and electability levels in various surveys as the desired candidate by the communities.

Jokowi's Nomination and the Elite

Jokowi's nomination for president by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) has drawn a lot of comments, including from political elites.

Various comments by party elite have been recorded in the news in the mass media. First, the Chairman of the National Mandate Party (PAN), Hatta Rajasa has welcomed Jokowi's nomination. Hatta also stated that his party was not worried or scared of Jokowi's nomination (kompas.co, 14/3).

Second, the Chair of the National Awakening Party (of PKB), Muhaimin Iskandar has welcomed Jokowi's nomination as a presidential candidate. Muhaimin said that Jokowi's nomination would not really affect PKB, which has a different segment. The PDI-P and PKB have different constituents (republika.co.id, 16/3).

Third, the President of Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) Anis Matta said Jokowi's candidacy would increase the quality of democracy (kompas.com, 14/3). Fourth, Chair of the Partai Persatuan

Pembangunan (PPP) Suryadharma Ali appreciated Megawati's decision to nominate a Jokowi as a presidential candidate from PDIP (kompas.com, 15/3).

Fifth, Democratic Party spokesman Ruhut Sitompul stated that Jokowi would be defeated by Democratic candidates. Ruhut argued that Jokowi has not reached high achievements, so it is not worthy of being President (kompas.com, 14/3). Sixth, Hanura Chair Wiranto said that he was not worried to compete with other presidential candidates, including Jokowi (kompas.com, 17/3).

Seventh, the Secretary-General of Golkar party, Idrus Marham, said that Golkar did not have a specific strategy to deal with Jokowi. However, Golkar cadres have demanded a more creative approach to deal with the people. Eighth, Gerindra Vice Chairman Fadli Zon said that Gerindra was not afraid to face the decision of the PDI-P, which had nominated Jokowi as a presidential candidate (kompas.com, 14/3).

Various comments from some of the elite show the constellation of political parties ahead of the 2014 election after the announcement of Jokowi's nomination. Jokowi's candidacy will have an effect on the electability of PDIP and other political parties. For large parties such as Golkar, Gerindra, Hanura and the Democratic Party, Jokowi's nomination will pose a threat to their electability.

Liddle and Mujani (2007) state that the Indonesian voting behavior is strongly influenced by the presidential candidate's electability, which will also affect the party's electability. Voters will vote for a party not only because the attraction to the party and its programs, but also because of their interest in candidates promoted by the party.

In addition to the effect on the party vote, the electability of Jokowi has been predicted to outperform the names of the candidates in those parties. This is evident in some of the survey results.

As with the intermediate parties, such as PAN, PKB, PKS and PPP, Jokowi's candidacy would open up opportunities for a coalition between the parties and PDIP to support Jokowi in the Presidential Election.

Now, after 10 years in opposition, PDIP has a good chance to win the election. The stigma of a political dynasty has been fading when the Chair of the PDIP Megawati Sukarnoputri gave Jokowi a

mandate to become a candidate.

For the author, this shows that the elite of PDIP considers the people's voice during this survey. PDIP is also very aware if a candidate's factors will determine the party's electability. Potential young leaders like Jokowi should boost the party vote.

Jokowi will be a distinctive figure in the 2014 elections. The survey results should be seen as the voice of the people who will be electing. Candidacy can no longer only be determined by a handful of political parties' elite. The election of candidates should also pay attention to the voice of the people.

- Arfianto Purbolaksono-

Election candidates can no longer only be determined by a handful of political parties' elite. The election of candidates should also pay attention to the voice of the people.

'Taking Leave' for Campaigning

On 9 April 2014, the Indonesian people will choose their representatives to sit as members of legislature- in the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Councils (DPRD), and also Regional Representatives Council (DPD). Then, in order for them to be elected, the candidates will conduct campaigns to get votes from their constituencies.

Other than the candidates, the campaigns will also be carried out by other party cadres and also state officers who will become campaigners. They will then take leave, for the purposes of campaigning.

Rules Regarding 'Taking Leave'

There are rules that regulate 'taking leave' for state officials in order to campaign; namely, Government Regulation (PP) No. 18/2013 on Procedures for the Resignation of Regional Heads, Deputy Heads, and Civil Servants who will become Candidates for DPR, DPD, DPRD I (Provincial Legislative Councils), and DPRD II (Regional Legislative Councils), and the Implementation Guidelines on Taking Leave for Election Campaigns.

The rules on how state officers take leave for election campaigns, cover: (1) the procedure – a leave approval is granted by a person who holds a higher position; for example, a governor and deputy governor by the Home Affairs Minister with a notification to the president; a mayor, vice mayor, regent and vice-regent by the governor, and so on; (2) the content of the letter, such as the campaign schedule as well as the place, time period; (3) the ban on using state facilities for campaign purposes; (4) the officer on leave is required to guarantee that the state administration runs smoothly; and (5) sanctions for violating the terms of leave application.

In addition, the General Elections Commission Regulation (PKPU) No.1/2013 on Guidelines for the Election Campaigns for DPR, DPD, and DPRD also regulates procedures of taking leave during the campaign.

Sanctions for the Violators of 'Taking Leave' Rule

PP No. 18/2013 includes rules regarding sanctions: the president, home affairs minister, and governor, in accordance with their authority, can impose sanctions. Uniquely, the sanctions are not in the forms of fines nor suspension, but a 'written warning' that is announced to the public.

There has been news about state officers who have taken leave but did not obey the rules.

The Home Affairs Minister, Gamawan Fauzi, has said that regional heads and deputy heads should not take leave at the same time. It was intended i to keep the government running smoothly (Article 7). However, there are some officers who do not obey this rule, and then there is news about their leave.

For example, *Republika* (21/3) mentioned that there were some local officers who asked to take leave. In the same article, it is mentioned that there are governors and deputy governors who take leave at the same time.

There are two pairs of governor and deputy governor who took leave at the same time; namely, West Sulawesi Governor, Adnan Saleh, and Deputy Governor, Aladin S. Mengga, and South Sumatera Governor, Alex Noerdin and Deputy Governor, Ishak Melki.

Recommendations: 'Strict' Rules Regarding Taking Leave

For campaign purposes, state officials are surely not forbidden to take leave. Also, there are some rules regarding this.

However, according to those cases above, there are state officers (governor and deputy governor), who take leave at the same time – causing some concerns about governance matters.

As for the sanctions, PP No.18/2013 includes a 'written warning', which is announced to the public. However, the sanctions will not be effective when compared to the purpose of the 'neglected governance'. Moreover, if there is no 'blow-up' news, then the 'taking leave' matter will be ignored.

In addition, the issue of 'taking leave' of state officers is also deemed contrary to the norms and ethics. This is because, when a person has been servicing as state officers - their status belongs to the whole community, no longer belongs to a particular party or group.

Therefore, the rules regarding 'taking leave' for campaign purposes must be tightened. For example, there should be rules regarding 'double positions', especially in the executive realm. State officers in the executive realm should not be campaigners. In addition, if necessary, in the future there should be strict rules prohibiting campaign activities by state officers.

-Santi Rosita Devi-

There are rules regarding 'taking leave' for campaign purposes for state officers. However, the issues of 'taking leave' have also been considered contrary to the norms and ethics, so the rules on official leave need to be tightened again.

The Decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) on Presidential Threshold (PT), the 2014 elections and the Coalition Map

The Constitutional Court has rejected the petition of Yusril Ihza Mahendra's judicial review of Law No. 42/2008 on the Election of President and Vice President.

Chief Justice Hamdan Zoelva stated, "The applicant's request to interpret Article 3, Paragraph 4, Article 9, Article 14, Paragraph 2, and Article 112 of Law No. 42/2008 on the Election of President and Vice President cannot be accepted, rejecting the judicial review "(BBC Indonesia, 20/3). So how will the political map ahead of 2014 general election be?

The Polemics over Presidential Threshold (PT)

Presidential Threshold (PT) has developed into polemics as it has been discussed in the DPR. The discussion on Article 9 of Law No. 42/2008 has become crucial because it regulates that a presidential candidate is nominated by a political party or a coalition of political parties that has 20% of the total number of seats in the House or 25% of the valid votes in the national elections of members of Parliament.

The deliberation of the magnitude of this threshold has been very intense amongst factions in the Parliament. Five factions, Democratic Party, Golkar, PDI-P, PAN, PKS and PKB, want to retain the PT as contained in Law No. 42 of 2008. Meanwhile, Gerindra, PPP, and Hanura factions want to see a revision to the PT.

Factions who want to see a revision have reasoned that Section 6A of the 1945 Constitution, after the amendment, states that a pair of Candidates for President and Vice President shall be nominated by a political party or a coalition of political parties. There is no provision

governing the percentage of PT by 20% of the national vote or 25% of the number of parliamentary seats.

The factions that refuse a revision argue that the PT of 20% of the number of seats or of 25% of the national vote reflects a commitment to strengthening the presidential system. The hard negotiation has caused the discussion of this bill to drag on to 1.5 years.

Now, after the decision of the Constitutional Court that rejected Yusril's lawsuit was issued, there have been pros and cons from the political parties contesting the 2014 elections. Chair of the Hati Nurani Rakyat Party (Hanura) Wiranto said that he deeply regretted the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) that cancelled the judicial review of Presidential Election Law No. 42 of 2008. Wiranto added that this Court's decision has politically deprived the community of finding a quality leader for the nation. On contrary to Wiranto, Bakrie, the Chairman of Golkar said that he respected the MK's stance on judicial review, as it strengthened a presidential system (tribunnews.com, 20/3).

The emergence of pros and cons has been a result of differences in the interests of the political parties in order to nominate presidential candidates in the 2014 elections. For medium-sized parties like Hanura, it is very difficult to nominate its candidate, as it is blocked by the PT condition. Then, in the 2014 presidential elections, it is likely that there will only be 2 to 3 pairs of candidates. The pairs should be supported by coalitions of political parties that truly represent the voice of the people.

Coalition Mapping

Seeing the results of the survey in early 2014 or one month closer to the 2014 elections, the results of a survey conducted by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC) showed the superiority of PDIP at a level of 16.5% of the vote, followed by Golkar with 15% of the vote. Furthermore, the Democratic Party reached a level of 10.4%; Gerindra: 8.6%; PKB 7.7%; PPP 5.5%; PAN 4.8%; P KS: 4.5%; Hanura 4.1%; NasDem 3.8%; PBB 1.2%; and PKPI: 0.3% (detik.com, 10/3).

Not much different from the SMRC survey, the results of a survey by Charta Politika Indonesia on party electability in legislative elections in 2014 also put PDIP at number one, with 21.2% of the vote. This was followed by the Golkar Party with 16.4%; Gerindra

12.0%; Democratic Party 8.0%; PKB 7.2 percent; PPP 5.1%; Hanura 4.8%; PAN 4.5%; PKS 3.2%; NasDem 2.6%; PBB 0.4%; PKPI 0.1% (detik.com, 26/3).

According to the results of the surveys above, PDI-P, Golkar, Gerindra and Democrats are predicted to be in the top three in the 2014 elections. These parties could directly nominate presidential candidates if they could get 20% of the number of parliamentary seats or 25 percent of the national vote.

If they fail to do so, then they should form coalitions in order to be able to nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates.

Considering the parties' ideologies, there is a tendency for the three major nationalist parties to form coalitions with Islamic and Muslim-based parties. It seems that there will be no changes in political mapping that witnesses the coalition between a nationalist and religious parties, such as between the PPP and Gerindra; PKB and PDI-P; Democrats and PAN; Golkar and the PKS.

However, several things need to be noted in view of these coalitions. First, the position of the president as the power center should not be held hostage by the coalition of political party supporters. Second, to build an effective political support from both the coalition cabinet and the parliament. Third, political parties that lose in the elections are expected to be the permanent oppositions in the Parliament so that there is a clear differentiator and supporters of opposition political parties.

- **Arfianto Purbolaksono** -

The pros and cons over the PT have been driven by the differences in the parties' interests to nominate their presidential candidates

Jokowi's Candidacy: Between Commitments and Opportunities

On Friday, March 14th, 2014, an official letter of instruction from the the Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle's (PDI-P) Chairwoman Megawati Sukarnoputri was read by PDI-P deputy secretary-general Puan Maharani at the headquarters of the PDI - P in Lenteng Agung. The announcement was a relief for all people who fully support Joko Widodo/Jokowi as the official presidential candidate from the PDI-P in the 2014 presidential elections (Kompas.com, 14/03).

It has become a hot issue, both for the public and politicians. The announcement even had a positive effect on the market, resulting in a stronger stock price index and a stronger rupiah. The media has called it the "Jokowi' effect" .

Many people have responded positively, but on the other side there are also many people who have responded negatively. This is because Jokowi still serves as the governor of the Special Capital Region (DKI) of Jakarta in the period of 2012 to 2017. It means that Jokowi has been undertaking the efforts to lead and serve the citizens of Jakarta.

The Position as Governor of Jakarta

Jokowi was officially sworn in as the Governor of Jakarta on October 15th, 2012 after winning the elections in Jakarta. It means that he has been ruling for 1.5 years. However, before the term expires, Jokowi has declared its readiness to be nominated by PDIP to become a candidate in the 2014 presidential election.

A similar thing was done when Jokowi resigned as the Mayor of Surakarta to become the Governor of Jakarta in 2012. It was the second period of Jokowi's term as the Surakarta ruler that was supposed to last from 2010 to 2015.

If we saw what happened in 2012 when Jokowi was a Mayor of Surakarta leaving the office to become the Governor of DKI, then what will happen in 2014 when he leaves the position of the Governor of DKI position if he is elected as the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Up to 2012, Jokowi had been in the office as Mayor of Surakarta for seven years. If Jokowi is successful to become the president, he will leave his position as the Governor of DKI. This means that he will only be two years in the office.

Indeed, the performance of seven years in Surakarta and that of two years are absolutely different. Jokowi was considered quite successful in the first five years of serving as the Mayor of Surakarta. When he ran in the elections for a second time, he won after garnering 90 percent of the vote. It showed how the people of Surakarta were very satisfied with his performance during his first five years.

What he has been doing in Jakarta in less than two year is absolutely different. There are still many problems and unfinished programs in Jakarta, such as programs to reduce the congestion problem by building Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) and the monorail project, as well as the 15 unfinished bus corridors. Some of the programs have problems in their implementations, such as problems in the procurement of buses imported from China. Another problem is the construction of the monorail.

Furthermore, the policy to reform the bureaucracy, such as the reshuffling of the some office heads and mayors, the auction system for office, budget transparency and unannounced inspections. But the work is not completely finished, as indicated by corruption in the procurement of the Trans Jakarta buses made by DKI's bureaucrats.

Legal perspectives: a governor is going to be a presidential candidate

Home Affairs Minister Gamawan Fauzi said that if Jokowi wanted to run as a presidential candidate in the 2014 presidential election, he needed to resign from the Governor of Jakarta position. Jokowi only needs to take a non-active status. Gamawan said that regional heads who run for presidential election only needed to take the non-active status as stipulated in the Presidential Election Law No. 42 of 2008 (Kompas.com, 14/03).

Article 6, Paragraph 1 of Law 42/2008 states that state officials who are nominated by a political party or a coalition of political parties as a candidate for president or vice president should resign from his or her post. In this context, the state officials include ministers and leaders of state agencies. Article 7, Paragraph 1 states that regional heads only need to ask permission from the President. Then Article 42, Paragraph 1, Letter b states that state officials and local leaders only need non-active status if a he or she has a political campaign to do.

From a legal standpoint, there are no problems or prohibitions for regional heads who want to become a presidential candidate. The candidate only needs take a non-active status during the campaign period.

A Reason Why Jokowi Should Run for President

Some people do not like the idea of Jokowi's candidacy for president. But in fact, a survey shows that the majority of city residents agree with Jokowi's candidacy. A survey conducted by Indikator Politik (Political Indicators) shows that 69 % of citizens supported Jokowi's candidacy. Even at the national level, people who agreed with Jokowi's candidacy reached a level of 76 % (detik.com, 18/03).

Jokowi's popularity is quite remarkable. Public are waiting and curious to know who would be the candidate from PDIP, Jokowi or Megawati. As we know, she had been rumored to run again. Finally, an official statement that Jokowi would become the presidential candidate of the PDI-P was announced, attracting public attention. At least, as we read from the media headlines on the next day that most of them talked about Jokowi.

The public also talked a lot about it, like on social media Twitter, hashtag JKW4P (Jokowi For President) that became a trending topic. From an economic standpoint, after the announcement of Jokowi as the candidate that would be supported by PDIP, the market responded positively. Rupiah strengthened by 0.26 % to a level of Rp11.356 per U.S. dollar. Then, the Composite Index (JCI) soared 152.47 points, or 3.23 %, to 4878.64 (Solopos.com, 15/03).

There is no restriction for any citizen to run for president if they are eligible, including those who currently serve as state officials (by resigning) or regional heads. But ethically, Jokowi is questioned because he will not finish the mandate from the people who had chosen him to lead Jakarta until the end of the term.

However, if we are talking about the Indonesian society's expectations of Jokowi and the willingness of Jakarta residents, as shown by the results of the surveys, it actually does not matter if Jokowi leaves the position of Governor of DKI and runs as a presidential candidate. Jokowi is considered as a relatively good option compared to the other candidates in presidential discourse recently. Jokowi is considered hard-working and willing to try and make changes.

The very high popularity of Jokowi at the time compared with the other figures also needs to be considered. This opportunity is an excellent opportunity and will not come at another time. There is no guarantee in the elections five years from now that Jokowi will have good popularity like today, both within PDIP and at national level.

- Annas Syaroni -

If Jokowi is going to run as a candidate in the election this year, he can be seen as unethical for leaving the Jakarta Governor position. On the other hand, he is expected by the Indonesian society to become the next president.

Political Parties' Crucial Role on Election and Democratization

Election is an important element of democracy. It gives chances to the society to choose its legislators to uphold its aspirations on the governance process. On the other hand, election is also a tool of position succession in the government

After the fall of an authoritarian regime in 1998, Indonesia has held three elections that could be regarded as relatively democratic. They were held in 1999, 2004, and 2009. Currently, Indonesia is holding the 2014 elections.

Those so called good enough elections in terms of procedures did not have sufficient core substances. It has been only part of the routine every five years to elect legislators (via legislative elections), and the president (via presidential elections). The main substance of election is supposed to be a great tool of filtering qualified representatives of the society as legislators in the governance process is yet to be obtained.

The Blunt Elections –giving the non-expected outputs

There are several things to be closely observed to ascertain how the elected legislators is incompetent. Where which it hinders the governance process.

Legislators, mainly the members of the House of Representatives (DPR), are known to be more loyal to their political parties than to their constituents. They rarely meet with their constituents once elected and occupying legislative seats. Such a situation has been admitted by Herman Khaeron (a legislator from the Demokrat Party faction). Even further, they often forget how many sub-districts are under their own constituencies. (Jurnalparlemen.com, 28/04/2013).

The Indonesian Network Election's survey results in 2013 stated that legislators did not have inadequate contributions on formulating the society's aspirations in regards to development and welfare policies. In detail, 42,1% stated that legislators did not contribute at all. 23,4% stated there was inadequacy of contributions. 34,5% stated that legislators did contribute (Majalah Tempo, 24/03).

Elections statically still generate low-performanced legislators. The statement is feasibly measured by one of the key roles of the House of Representatives (DPR), which is producing and writing legislations as the guidance and references in policy-making and governance.

The National Legislation Program (or Prolegnas), which includes a list of targetted legislation products, needs to complete the legislation products annually,, even though it has never be achieved. In 2013, only 20 out of the 77 bills (RUU) in Prolegnas were completed. Then in 2014, up to February, only 3(three) bills had been passed, out of the 66 targeted bills.

Further, the performance and ethics on the part of legislators are terribly poor, taking into account the low attendance, especially before elections. Honorary Vice Chairman of the House Siswono Yudho Husodo did not deny that there had been a sharp declining rate of the members' attendance in 2014. Meeting rooms have been growing empty. Plenary sessions have been having a hard time to reach a quorum. As happened at the 15th January 2014 plenary sesion, there were only 285 attendees, meaning that 275 members were absent (Kompas.com, 26/02).

Even worse, many members have been entangled with corruption. A few of them have undergone legal proceedings and been sentenced to prison. Tempo noted that nine members have been sentenced to imprisonment over corruption. Meanwhile, in 2013, at least 62 members were indicated to be involved in corruption cases. (Majalah Tempo, 24/03).

Concluding from the above review on the poor performance and attitude of the legislators and the bright spotlight put by the media, several procedural, democratic elections have been held. The results were the ego-centric (or party-centric) legislators who lack of contributions in representing their own constituents.

The Abominable Election Input

According to Miriam Budiardjo (2000), four main functions of political parties are a political communicator, political information dissemination, a means of political recruitment, and a conflict regulator. Following the context of the functions, political parties in Indonesia are incapable; namely, as a means of political recruitment. Thus, the parties are fully responsible for such conditions stated in the above.

As shown by the findings of Cirus Surveyors Group on last year's survey that 80,9% of respondents rated that the parties had failed to conduct recruitment and regeneration. Then, 75,4% of respondents showed that the political parties have not yet performed their functions of counseling and training on democracy, governance, and election. Likewise, political visits to constituents are scarce and piddling. 74,8% of the society plead never been addressed by politicians (Kompas.com, 5/01).

The survey results have affirmed that political parties are indeed malfunctioning. They wrongly undertake the recruitment and political education to society, not to mention the inadequate attention to their constituents.

Political parties' failing on organizational health will attract candidates who are incompetent and lacking of integrity.. Considering that most of the political parties in Indonesia are organizationally unhealthy, it would be no surprise if the candidates in the elections are of poor quality.

It has been proven in 2014 elections that almost 90% of the former legislators will run again (of course representing their respective political parties). Of 560 parliament members, there are 501 current members of the House of Representatives who will run again. Then, there are 59 who will not run in any elections and 20 who will compete for DPD seats (Detik.com, 05/02).

The 2014 Elections

The 2014 legislative elections will soon be held. On some points, there might have been some improvements compared to the previous one, as in the party simplification process. As a result, there will be only 12 parties competing in the elections. Then technically the CI Form with a hologram is expected to prevent frauds and vote manipulation.

Regarding the technicality and preparations, the 2014 elections have been ranked better, as has been said by the Chair of the Election Organizer Ethics Council (DKPP), Jimly Asshiddiqie.

His notion is that the 2014 elections would be much improved compared to that in 2009'. Jimly pointed out that, first, the regulation has been prepared at least 2.5 years before the D Day. Second, Bawaslu and the Commission have been improved too. Third, the number of election participants has decreased, hence the elections would be run much easier. Fourth, there is no incumbent, so the competition will get fiercer, which will generate higher voter participation (Jimly.com, 08/01).

Nonetheless, substantially, there is no way to expect a better output for this year's elections. This ugly truth is believed by the Vice Chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission, Adnan Pandu Praja, who has addressed the 2014 elections with pessimism. Firstly, there is no integrity test for the candidates regarding the critical importance of the candidates' resumes and track records. Secondly, according to a survey held by the Commission in 2013, the society still overlooks the candidates' resumes and track records before choosing their legislators. (Republika.co.id, 19/03).

Political parties should carry out their functions in order to avoid pitfalls of formal procedures and provide good output.

Considering the above matters, a feasible effort to boost the output is to raise the society's critical point of view. Hence, they could elect the candidates with commitments to their constituents who have clean resumes.

To improve political parties imminently, the reforms of political parties are obligatory, in terms of parties as the main pillars of a healthy democratic process. They have to improve their functions as institutions conducting political education and cadre recruitment. Indeed, the reforms require a span of time due to the malfunctioning culture planted a long ago since the authoritarian regime once ruled.

Nevertheless, political education for the society is crucial to mould an intelligent and critical voter. Moreover, improving public information access is also important.

- Annas Syaroni -

Why are Children not Allowed to Participate in Political Campaign?

The Indonesian Commission on Child Protection/Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia (KPAI) noted that there were 87 campaign violations in relation to the involvement of children during the open campaign period of 16-18 March 2014. According to the list, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) was the party with the highest number of violations.

Here is the list of violations committed by political parties according to the KPAI findings: PKS 14 times; PDIP 10 times; Golkar 8 times; Hanura 8 times; PKPI 8 times; NasDem 7 times; Gerindra 6 times; Demokrat 6 times; PPP 6 times; PKB 5 times; PAN 5 times; and PBB 4 times.

The typology of children involvement is very varied, ranging from wearing props, participating in public campaigns, riding motorcycles with props, becoming entertainers in campaigns to spread the campaign props (KPAI, 2014). The violations occurred in various regions, both urban and rural.

The Related Policies in the Prohibition of the Involvement of Children

The results of the evaluation of the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) also show that all the political parties' (political) activities had involved children in a series of campaigns, especially in open public meetings (Reuters, 18/03). Law No. 8 Year 2012 on the Elections of Members of National Parliament, Council (DPD) and Regional Parliaments (DPRD) does not regulate in detail that the children are barred from being involved in political campaigns.

But Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection sets that every child is entitled to protection from abuse in political activities, armed conflicts, social unrest, events that have violent elements, and wars.

According to Article 87 of the Law on Child Protection states that *“Any person who unlawfully recruits or manipulates children for military purposes as referred to in Article 63, or abuses children in any political activities or involvement in armed conflicts, or involvement in social unrest or involvement in the events that contain elements violence or involvement in wars as referred to in Article 15 shall be punished with imprisonment of 5 (five) years and/or a maximum fine of Rp 100,000,000.00 (one hundred million rupiahs).*

Seen that the involvement of children in the campaign included the clause ‘manipulate children in any political activity and of this chapter is included as one criminal act.

Logical Consequences of Children Involvement in Campaign Activities

Involving children in public election campaign activities is a serious problem, and the violators could be criminalized. Therefore, the assertiveness of the Bawaslu and police in enforcing the law is needed. It is not just because the violations of children’s rights have occurred, but also because candidates who acted as the violators would become the future decision makers. If in their campaign activities they could do such violations, there would be no guarantee that they would not do the same thing when they had already got the positions they wanted; that is, the country’s decision makers.

Candidates who like to break the rules are prone to become public officials who are troubled, morally, socially, and politically. Is it because in the process of getting the positions, they used to use ways that violate the law (KPAI, 2014).

Related to the involvement of children in the campaigns, political parties have involved more children in their campaigns. It is considered that the involvement of children in the campaigns is part of political education for the children. In this context, it should be understood that children are entitled and obliged to get political education, but it must be adapted to their ages and the principles of child protection must be put forward.

Political education for children is like choosing a correct class president, through storytelling, drawing, singing and playing (Mulyadi, 2014), instead of letting children be exposed to various campaigns dominated by adults with their various unlawful acts, such as sitting on top of vehicles in a convoy of cars and riding motorcycles without wearing helmets.

Violations of law or rules of order are witnessed by children or done by them. They are forced without consciously knowing the rules and the consequences of such offenses - which would only lead to misperceptions of children against the rule of law or the values in the society. This would be very dangerous, given the potential long-term impact on children, who in the future would become the main actors of development, especially in the political field.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It should be understood that the protection of children is part of a shared responsibility. All parties, political parties and the candidates contesting the elections ought to fully realize that in order to achieve their goals to get the votes, they need to consider something else that is equally important, that is the protection of children.

Other parties, such as Bawaslu, the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) and the Police have the authority to supervise and take action against all violations including the delivery of election campaigns, and the need to crack down on these offenders. The general public that sees this offense, should proactively report to the parties who have the authority to supervise and take action against violations of campaign rules as mentioned above.

Only by involving all parties that are aware of the law and putting the interests above the interests of child protection, we can guarantee the creation of the reliable and litigious generation.

-Lola Amelia-

Campaign Programs and the Indonesian Agricultural Sector

During the campaign, all political parties compete to ‘capture’ the hearts of the people through the programs that they offer. One sector that has never ‘escaped’ from the campaign programs of legislative candidates is agriculture. According to the assumption ‘Indonesia is an agricultural country’, many parties make ‘improvement of the agricultural sector’ – as their main program.

Agricultural Issues in Indonesia

The agricultural sector in Indonesia is increasingly decreasing. It is inseparable from the ‘never-ending problem’ of the Indonesian agricultural sector, such as the low level of welfare of Indonesian farmers, as well as the reduction of agricultural land in Indonesia.

According to the Agricultural Sensus in 2013, the number of farming households reached 26.13 million, 55.33 percent of which, or as many as 14.25 million farming households, are small-scale farmers (*petani gurem*). *Petani gurem* is defined as a farmer who only has less than 0.5 hectares of land area, and/or a tenant farmer who does not own his or her own land.

The level of welfare of Indonesian farmers is still low. Their average income- with an average of 0.2 hectares of land ownership, is under IDR 500,000 per/month. According to Secretary General of the Indonesian Farmers Association (API), M. Nur Uddin, there are 15 million farmers who live at such level of income (Media Indonesia, 24/12).

Therefore, farmers have begun to switch their professions and/or prefer to work in the sectors of industry, trade, and services.

One of its direct effects is the conversion of agricultural land. Minister of Agriculture Suswono said that the agricultural land in Indonesia

had reached a level of 100 thousand hectares of depreciation per/year (Detik Finance, 14/06/13).

The current government has indeed made policies as a response for the problems of the agricultural sector in Indonesia. The policies are: Law No. 41 Year 2009 on the Sustainable Agricultural Land Protection to Prevent the Reduction of Agricultural Land; and Law No. 19 Year 2013 on the Protection and Farmer Empowerment to Improve the Welfare of Farmers.

Later, in the 'political year' of 2014, the political parties have also campaigned about Indonesian agricultural issues and developed some populist programs that seem to be able to overcome all the problems mentioned above.

Agricultural Programs Promoted by Political Parties Contesting the 2014 Elections

This year, there are twelve national political parties and three local political parties in Aceh that will compete for legislative seats. The three local political parties in Aceh; namely, the Aceh Peace Party (PDA), Aceh National Party (PNA), and the Aceh Party (PA) will compete in the local region of Aceh.

Meanwhile, the twelve national political parties are the National Democratic Party (NasDem), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Indonesian Democratic Party for Sutruggle (PDIP), the Golkar Party, the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Democratic Party (PD), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the United Development Party (PPP), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI), will compete nationally.

Now, the parties are entering the campaign period, held from March 16 to April 5 2014. During this period, each party will promote its respective programs. One of their main programs isto improve the Indonesian agricultural sector.

Without intending to put aside the discussion on the campaigns of local political parties in Aceh, below is a list of programs on the agricultural sector by the twelve national political parties:

Table 1 List of Agricultural Sector Program Campaigned by the Twelve National Political Parties

No	Partai Politik	Agricultural Programs
1	NasDem	Program for the revival of Indonesia in the agricultural sector : providing cheap fertilizer to farmers, subsidies, and irrigation
2	PKB	Encouraging self-sufficiency with the empowerment of farmers, the subsidy and protect agricultural commodity prices.
3	PKS	cutting the energy subsidies for agricultural subsidies.
4	PDIP	Promoting the welfare of the society starting from education, health, agriculture etc.
5	Golkar Party	Blueprint towards a welfare state; namely, a bureaucratic reform, education, health, industry, agriculture, marine, infrastructure, as well as the small and medium-sized business (UKM) and cooperative (<i>koperasi</i>)
6	Gerindra	Encouraging food sovereignty and energy.
7	PD	National Program for People Empowerment (PNPM) and Small Holder Agribusiness Development Initiative (SADI) to improve the welfare of poor farmers.
8	PAN	Creating new farmland by reducing land conversion, irrigation, increasinh productivity, as well as diversification.
9	PPP	Agriculture is a basis of people's economy (<i>ekonomi kerakyatan</i>), so it should be a major focus compared to the other sectors of the economy.
10	Hanura	Agriculture should be 'broad economic base'.
11	PBB	Improvement of agricultural infrastructure, as well as modifying reservoirs and irrigation.
12	PKPI	Strengthening agricultural infrastructure to increase food production.

*source: compiled from various sources

Conclusion and Recommendations

On April 9 2014, the Indonesian people will choose their representatives to sit as members of the legislature- in the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Councils (DPRD), and also Regional Representatives Council (DPD). Then, in order for them to be elected, the candidates promote their flagship programs. One of their 'favorite' programs is to 'increase and/ or improve the Indonesian agricultural sector'.

The candidates choose to campaign on agriculture for various reasons. The candidates consider that agricultural campaign is able to increase their popularity as well as their vote. Agriculture is still believed to be an important economic base.

Candidates also promise to improve the welfare of farmers. By doing so, it can be said that they seem to have concern with common people (*rakyat kecil*).

Agriculture as a campaign program has become a favorite program by candidates. Every During all campaign periods – be it in regional election (pilkada), legislative election (pileg) or presidential election (pilpres), the programs to improve the Indonesian agricultural sector as well as the welfare of Indonesian farmers – have always been 'mandatory' programs.

In summary, campaign promises made by candidates and political parties are 'common'. The choices are then with the people. Here, the active role of the people is necessary in order to find representatives who are competent and also can fulfill those promises.

-Santi Rosita Devi-

The agricultural sector always become 'favorite programs' of campaign in every election in Indonesia, including in Pileg 2014. Therefore, the active role of the Indonesian people is necessary in order to find representatives who are competent and also can fulfill those promises.

 THE INDONESIAN INSTITUTE
CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

The Indonesian Institute (TII) is a Center for Public Policy Research which was officially established since 21 October, 2004 by a group of young and dynamic activists and intellectuals. **TII** is an independent, nonpartisan, and non-profit institution having its main funding source from grants and donations from foundations, corporations, and individuals.

TII aims to become the center for major researches in Indonesia for issues regarding public policy and committed to contribute to debates on public policy and to improve the quality of the creation and results of public policy in the new democratic situation in Indonesia.

TII's mission is to conduct researches that are reliable, independent, and nonpartisan, and to channel the researches results to policy makers, the business world, and civilians in order to improve the quality of public policy in Indonesia. **TII** also has the mission to educate the community in policy issues that affect their livelihoods. In other words, **TII** is in a position to support the process of democratization and public policy reform, as well as taking an important and active role in that process.

The scope of the researches and public policy studies conducted by **TII** covers the fields of economics, social, and politics. The main activity conducted in order to reach the vision and mission of **TII** among others are researches, surveys, trainings, working group facilitation, public discussions, public educations, editorial writings (**TII** expression), publications of weekly analysis (*Wacana*), monthly studies (*Update Indonesia*, in Bahasa Indonesia and English) and annual studies (*Indonesia Report*), and public discussion forum (*The Indonesian Forum*).

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POLITICAL RESEARCH

The consolidating democracy needs direction and guidance in order to realise a strong national political system. In addition, decentralization as part of democratization has created room for more issues in the development of political system in Indonesia. Therefore, political analysis are present for the government, political parties, the business sector and professionals, academics, non-governmental organizations, donors, and civil society to answer recent political issues.

TII's Political Research Division provides policy analyses and recommendations in order to produce strategic policies to consolidate democracy and to achieve good governance at the central and local levels. Types of political research offered by TII are: **(1) Public Policy Analyses, (2) Media Monitoring, (3) Mapping & Positioning Research, (4) Needs Assessment Research, (5) Survey Indicators.**

RESEARCH ON THE SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social development needs policy foundations that come from independent and accurate research. Social analysis is a need for the government, the businesspeople, academia, professionals, NGOs, and civil society to improve social development. The Social Research Division is present to offer recommendations to produce efficient and effective policies, steps, and programs on education, health, population, environment, women and children.

Social research that **TII** offers: **(1) Social Policy Analysis; (2) Explorative Research; (3) Mapping & Positioning Research; (4) Need Assessment Research; (5) Program Evaluation Research; and (5) Indicator Survey.**

RESEARCH ON LEGAL AFFAIRS

According to stipulations in Law No. 12 Year 2011 on the Formulation of Laws and Regulations, every bill which will be discussed by the legislative and the executive must be complemented with academic paper. Therefore, comprehensive research is very important and needed in making a qualified academic paper. With qualified academic papers, the bills will have strong academic foundation.

TII can offer and undertake normative and legal research related to harmonization and synchronization of laws and regulations, especially in making academic papers and bills. In addition, the research will be conducted with sociological, anthropological, and political approaches in order to produce a more comprehensive academic papers and bills. It is expected that with such a process, the laws and regulations will be produced through such a participatory process, which involves the making of academic papers and bills to also go through process, such as focus group discussion (FGD) which will involve stakeholders related to the laws and regulations that will be discussed.

RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

The economy tends to be used as an indicator of the success of the government as a policy-maker. Limited resources have often caused the government to face obstacles in implementing economic policies that will optimally benefit the people. The increase in the quality of the people's critical thinking has forced the government to conduct comprehensive studies in every decision-making process. In fact, the studies will not be stopped when the policy is already in place. Studies will be continued until the policy evaluation process.

The TII Economic Research Division is present for those who are interested in the conditions of the economy. The results of the research are intended to assist policy-makers, regulators, and donor agencies in making decisions. The research that TII offers: **(1) Economic Policy Analysis; (2) Regional and Sectoral Prospects; and (3) Program Evaluation.**

Project or Program Evaluation

One of the activities that have been conducted and offered by TII is a qualitative evaluation on a project or a program of a non-governmental organization or a government agency. Evaluation activities that are offered by TII are a mid-term evaluation and a final evaluation.

As we may already know, evaluation is one of the important stages in the implementation of a project or a program. A mid-term evaluation is intended to see and analyze challenges, lessons learned during the project or the program, and to give recommendations on the implementation of the project or the program. Meanwhile, a final evaluation will be useful to see and analyze the achievements and lessons learned to ensure that all the projects or the program's goals are achieved at the end of the project or program.

THE INDONESIAN FORUM

The Indonesian Forum is a monthly discussion activity on actual issues in the political, economic, social, legal, cultural, defense, and environmental fields. TII organizes these forums as media for competent resource persons, stakeholders, policymakers, civil society activists, academicians, and the media to meet and have discussion.

Themes that have been raised were the ones that have caught public attention, such as migrant workers, social conflicts, domestic politics, and local direct elections. The main consideration in picking a theme is sociological and political reality and the context of the relevant public policy at the time that the Indonesian Forum is delivered.

It is expected that the public can get the big picture of a particular event as the Indonesian Forum also presents relevant resource persons.

Since its inception, the Indonesian Institute is very aware of the passion of the public to get discussions that are not only rich in substance but also well formatted, which support balanced ideas exchanges ideas and the equal involvement of the different elements of the society.

The discussions, which are designed to only invite a limited number of participants, do not only feature idea exchanges but also regularly offer policy briefs (policy recommendations) to relevant policymakers and also summaries to the participants, especially the media people and the resource persons at the end of each discussion. Therefore, the discussions will not end without solutions.

LOCAL COUNCIL TRAINING

The roles and functions of local councils in monitoring local governments are very important. They need to ensure that participative and democratic policies will be espoused. Members of provincial and regent local councils are required to have strong capacity to understand democratization matters, regional autonomy, legislative techniques, budgeting, local Politics, and political marketing. Thus, it is important to empower members of local councils.

In order for local councils to be able to response every problem that will come out as a result of any policy implemented by the central government or local governments, the Indonesian Institute invites the leaderships and members of local councils to undergo training to improve their capacity.

WORKING GROUP

The Indonesian Institute believes that a good public policy process can be held with some engagement and empowerment of the stakeholders. The Indonesian Institute takes a role as one of mediator agencies to facilitate some forums in which the Government, Council Members, Private Sectors, NGOs and Academicians can meet in interactive forums. The Indonesian Institute provides facilitation on working groups and public advocacy.

The Indonesian Institute takes the role of mediator and facilitator in order to encourage the synergy of public policy work between the stakeholders and policy makers and also to have a synergy with funding agencies (donors).

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