



INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY: TRANSITION TO CONSOLIDATION

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TRANSITION: 1998-2004

FOUR LINZ AND STEPAN REQUIREMENTS:

- AGREEMENT ABOUT PROCEDURES (1999)**
- GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY ELECTED IN POPULAR VOTE (1999)**
- THAT GOVERNMENT HAS AUTHORITY TO FORMULATE POLICIES (1999)**
- NO POWER-SHARING OUTSIDE EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, JUDICIAL BRANCHES (2004)**

EXPLAINING THE TRANSITION I

CONSTRAINING AND ENABLING FACTORS

- THE *ZEITGEIST*—END OF COLD WAR, ASIAN NEIGHBORS DEMOCRATIZE**
- CIVILIAN ELITE ACTORS PREFERRED DEMOCRACY**
- ARMED FORCES, UNDER WIRANTO, SUPPORTIVE**
- AVAILABILITY/FAMILIARITY OF SUHARTO-ERA ELECTORAL LAWS**

EXPLAINING THE TRANSITION II

B. J. HABIBIE THE KEY DECISION MAKER

- WANTED DEMOCRACY**
- CHOSE JUNE 1999 DATE**
- DECENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT**
- ALLOWED REFERENDUM IN EAST TIMOR**

TRY SUTRISNO AS COUNTERFACTUAL

- FAVORED “PANCASILA DEMOCRACY”**
- FAVORED STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT**
- FAVORED EAST TIMOR INTEGRATION**

DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

BEHAVIORAL CONSOLIDATION

NO SIGNIFICANT GROUPS ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW REGIME BY “TURNING TO VIOLENCE OR FOREIGN INTERVENTION TO SECEDE FROM THE STATE.”

- Islamists mostly within the system**
- National identity strong, Papuan separatism weak**
- Decentralization positive**
- Not like 1950s democracy, which was threatened by Islamists and communists**

ATTITUDINAL CONSOLIDATION I

**“A STRONG MAJORITY OF PUBLIC OPINION”
BELIEVES THAT FURTHER CHANGE SHOULD TAKE
PLACE WITHIN THE “PARAMETERS OF
DEMOCRATIC FORMULAS.”**

- Voters know they were not free under Suharto, are free today**
- Support for democracy high, growing (68% in 1999, 79% in 2008)**
- *But* only 44% define democracy as freedom to elect and criticize government; 31% as affordability of basic commodities**

ATTITUDINAL CONSOLIDATION II

- IF FORCED TO CHOOSE DEMOCRACY OR DEVELOPMENT:**

DEVELOPMENT—76% (!!!)

DEMOCRACY—10%

- SBY REELECTED IN 2009 – VOTERS EQUATED HIS PRESIDENCY WITH ECONOMIC SUCCESS**
- SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS OR LONGTERM STAGNATION COULD HAVE NEGATIVE EFFECT ON CONSOLIDATION**

**Figure 1. Parallels Between Political Economy Components:
Choice of President, Partai Demokrat, Evaluations of Presidential
Performance and National Economic Condition (%)**

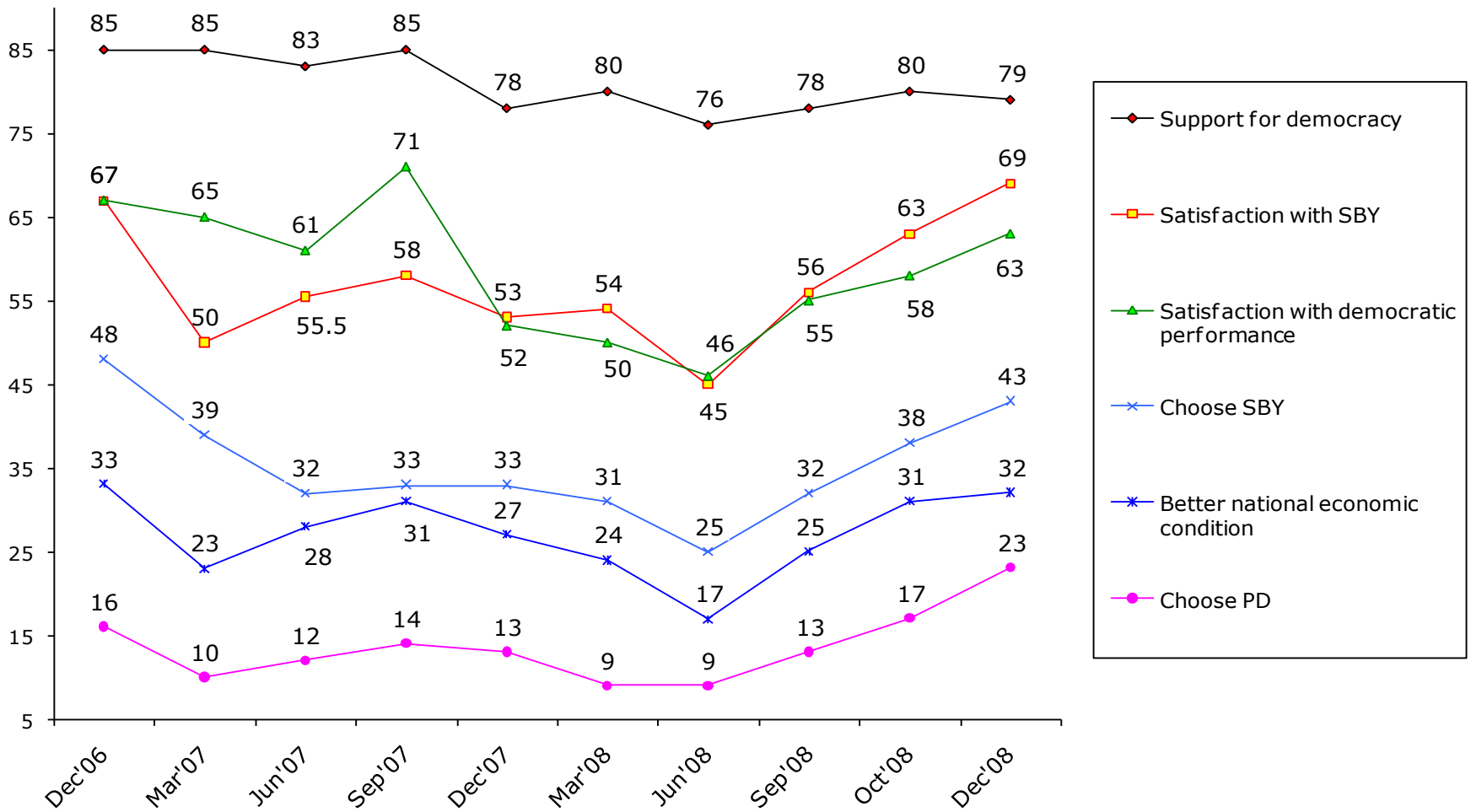


Figure 2. Correlation of Political Economy Components and Democracy 2007-2008 (N = 10)

	Choose SBY	Choose Demokrat	SBY's Perform.	National Economy	Inflation (BPS)	Satisfied with Dem Perform.	Democracy Best System
Choose SBY	1	.95	.99	.97	-.98	NS	NS
Choose Demokrat		1	.93	.87	-.91	NS	NS
SBY's Perform.			1	.98	-.99	NS	NS
National economy				1	-.98	.95	NS
Inflation (BPS)					1	-.76	NS
Satisfied with Dem. Perform.						1	.86
Democracy Best System							1

All correlations significant at P-value 0.01 or better. NS = Statistically not significant. BPS: Central Statistical Bureau.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONSOLIDATION

“GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL FORCES” AGREE – POLITICAL CONFLICT MUST BE RESOLVED “WITHIN THE SPECIFIC LAWS, PROCEDURES AND INSTITUTIONS” OF DEMOCRATIC REGIME.

- **Tadjoeddin U.N. report on massive social conflict—peaked in 1999-2000, over by 2001 (like previous national crises)**
- ***Caveat*—ongoing U.N. research in this area**

THREATS TO CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACY IN FIVE ARENAS

CIVIL SOCIETY

(FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND COMMUNICATION)

- **ISLAMIST SOCIAL MOVEMENT (WITH ALLIES IN GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING MUI)**
 - *POLITICAL SUCCESSES: ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY LAW, BANNING OF AHMADIYAH, RESTRICT PERSONAL FREEDOMS, ESPECIALLY OF WOMEN*
- **CSOs RESOURCE-STARVED DUE TO LOW LEVEL OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**
 - *EXAMPLES: LABOR, LEGAL AID, ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS*





POLITICAL SOCIETY

(FREE AND INCLUSIVE ELECTORAL CONTESTATION)

- **NO CONSENSUS ON ELECTORAL PROCEDURES AFTER THREE NATIONAL ELECTIONS**
- **LEGISLATORS AND POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS NOT WELL LINKED DOWN TO CIVIL SOCIETY OR UP TO GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS**
 - **Legislative resources too small**
 - **Legislators not responsive to constituents**
 - **Weak executive support in parliament due to many small parties**

RULE OF LAW

(CONSTITUTIONALISM)

- **INSTITUTIONS WEAK. *GREATEST LONG TERM OBSTACLE TO DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION***
- **WORLD BANK RULE OF LAW INDEX—INDONESIA AMONG LOWEST IN WORLD**
- **NO PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SUPPORT FROM *SUKARNO TO SUKARNOPUTRI!!!***
- **KPK REPRESENTS PROGRESS, BUT OUTSIDE MAIN INSTITUTIONS**
- ***GREATEST HOPE:* POPULAR AND MEDIA PRESSURE**



facebookers
peduli KPK



FORUM FACEBOOKERS PEDULI KEADILAN
KOMISI PEMBERANTASAN KORUPSI

STATE APPARATUS

(RATIONAL-LEGAL BUREAUCRATIC NORMS)

- **STILL LIMITED “CAPACITY TO COMMAND, REGULATE, AND EXTRACT”**
- ***DISADVANTAGES:***
 - **NATIONAL BUDGET OF USD 70 BILLION FOR 230 MILLION PEOPLE (COMPARED TO BUDGET OF USD 65 BILLION FOR US STATE OF ILLINOIS WITH 13 MILLION)**
 - **WIDESPREAD INCOMPETENCE, INEFFICIENCY, CORRUPTION**
- ***ADVANTAGES:***
 - **IMPROVED STATE INFRASTRUCTURE BY NEW ORDER**
 - **“EPISTEMIC COMMUNITY” OF ECONOMISTS**
 - **NAÏVE OR TOLERANT CITIZENRY (E.G., HEALTH, EDUCATION POLICY)**

ECONOMIC SOCIETY

(INSTITUTIONALIZED MARKET)

- ***ECONOMIC FREEDOM NETWORK—INDONESIA***
101ST/141 IN LEVEL OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM (2006)
- ***PRIVATE SECTOR DOMINATED BY SINO-INDONESIANS VULNERABLE TO EXTORTION BUT ALSO CAPABLE OF CAPITAL FLIGHT***
- ***STATE SECTOR—MORE THAN 150 STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES (SOEs), FEW PROFITABLE BUT MANY MILCH COWS***
- ***PERNICIOUS POLITICIAN—SOE OFFICIAL—BUSINESS NEXUS***
- ***AN “OLIGARCHY?”***

CONCLUSIONS I

DEMOCRACY CONSOLIDATED

- ***BEHAVIORALLY*: NO SIGNIFICANT GROUP SUPPORTS RETURN TO AUTHORITARIANISM OR SEPARATION**
- ***ATTITUDINALLY*: IN SURVEYS, VOTERS SUPPORT DEMOCRACY, UNDERSTAND DIFFERENCE WITH NEW ORDER**
- ***CONSTITUTIONALLY*: AMENDED 1945 CONSTITUTION WIDELY ACCEPTED**

CONCLUSIONS II

REASONS TO BE WATCHFUL/*PRIHATIN*:

- ***BEHAVIORALLY*—ISLAMIST THREAT TO FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY; LONG-TERM SEPARATISM IN PAPUA**
- ***ATTITUDINALLY*—DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT HOSTAGE TO ECONOMIC SUCCESS**
- ***FIVE INTERACTING ARENAS*: LOW GDP/SLOW GROWTH; WEAK RULE OF LAW; CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC POWER IN STATE AND BUSINESS ELITE**

Terima Kasih

