

ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA AFTER THE FALL OF SOEHARTO

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Abstract: This paper focuses on the elections in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto. This study investigates the relationship between elections and democratic development in Indonesia after 1998. Method of this paper is qualitative especially based on the library research. The result describes that since 1999, Indonesian citizens have elected the district parliament and also Indonesia had a different system to select the President. In 2004, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was successful in winning the first direct presidential election. PDI-P become the largest faction. Megawati is a leader of PDI-P won and become Indonesian President for three years. In 2009, Yudhoyono beat Megawati in the presidential election to secure his second term. Partai Demokrat secured 60 percent of the votes in the legislative elections. Then, in the presidential election 2014, Indonesian citizens chose Joko Widodo ad Jusuf Kalla. Joko Widodo as the president candidate of PDI-P secured 19+ percent of the votes. For the conclusion shows that democracy in Indonesia has taken another step forward with the direct election to the Indonesian presidency and the People's Representative body.

Keywords: Democracy, Indonesian Citizen, Library Research. Parliament, Presidential Election

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia in Asia-Pacific is one of the important emerging powers and also after India and the United States, Indonesia is the world's third-largest democracy (Clinton, 2011:56-63). The country is a member of the G-20 and has majority-Muslim that the largest in the world (Hefner, R.W., 2000). Indonesia is a country with one-third of ASEAN's GDP and has 40 percent of ASEAN's population (Truman, EM, 2010). Indonesia got successful with the legislative elections held on 9 April 2014 and presidential election held on July 9, 2014. Elections in Indonesia have an aim to strengthen democratic principles in the country. Therefore, in the democratic process of Indonesia, elections are important events. More than 200 political parties emerged after the fall of Suharto in May 1998. There were 48 political parties to join in the June 1999 elections. The 1999 elections are the first free elections since 1955. The enthusiasm of the Indonesian population was very high in participating in the 1999 elections.

Table 1: Election Results for the Nasiona Parliament 1 (1955)

Party	Percentage	Seats
PNI (<i>Partai Nasional Indonesia</i> , Nationalist Party)	22.3	57
Masyumi (<i>Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i> , Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims)	20.9	57
NU (<i>Nahdlatul Ulama</i> , Renaissance of Islamic Scholars)	18.4	45
PKI (<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Communist Party)	16.4	39
PSII (<i>Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia</i> , Islamic Association Party Indonesia)	2.9	8
Parkindo (<i>Partai Kristen Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Christian Party)	2.6	8
Partai Katolik (Catholic Party)	2.0	6
PSI (<i>Partai Sosialis Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Socialist Party)	2.0	5
Others	12.5	32
Total	100	257

Source: Ruland, 2001

Table 1 shows the political parties participated in the 1955 elections. Feith in his book said that the parties that joined in 1955 elections did not have any strong criteria for membership and they cannot build on a steady flow of revenues (Feith, 1962: 122ff). The leaders of these parties that joined in 1955 were deeply skeptical about modern liberal democracy.

Table 2. Results of Parliamentary Elections 1971-1997 (%)

Parties	1971	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997
Golkar (<i>Golongan Karya</i> , Functional Groups)	62.8	62.1	64.2	73.2	68.1	74.5
PPP (<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> , United Development Party)	27.1	29.3	28.0	16.0	17.0	22.4
PDI (<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> , Indonesian Democratic Party)	10.1	8.6	7.9	10.9	14.9	3.1

Source: Ruland, 2001

Table 2 shows the political control started under the elites of the New Order regime Suharto to centralize the administration and to streamline the political system into three parties namely Golkar, PPP and PDI. There were three parties but Golkar maintained majority and the PPP and the PDI were opposition parties. Power and sheer political were used by the Soeharto government to pressure the remaining political parties for the position of governor, district head (*bupati*) and mayor.

In May 1998, the power transferred from Suharto to Habibie. President Habibie legalized the setting-up the composition of parliaments, elections and political parties. As a result of the election in 1999, there was the new party system. According to Ufen in

his paper that “the dynamics of party politics is still marked by *aliran* (streams), i.e. some of the biggest political parties still have a mass base and are embedded in specific milieus. But *politik aliran* has lost a lot of significance and re-emerged in quite a different form after 1998” (Ufen, 2006:5). After 1998, political parties turned out to be characterized by all kinds of the salience. This paper focuses on the opening up of Indonesian democracy from the June 1999 popular elections through the October general session of the MPR.

The Aim of Study

This paper investigates the relationship between elections and democratic development in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto.

Method

This study is qualitative, especially based on the library research. The first step is to identify the history of the presidential and parliamentary elections since post President Soeharto in 1999 to President Jokowi. The next step is to analyse the relationship between elections and democratic development in Indonesia.

Result and Discussion

In 1997, the political crisis hits Indonesia. Then President Soeharto brought down from presidency after 32 year in power. Purwanto in his research states that Soeharto resigned from presidency to avoid further bloodshed (Purwanto, 2012:88). In late 1998, President Habibie revised the three main political laws enacted in 1985, i.e. the Law on General Election, the Law of the Republic of Indonesia on Political Parties, and the Parliamentary Law. There are two drafts. One draft revised by a team of researchers from LIPI (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia/* the Indonesian Institute of Sciences). The second draft revised by a team of experts from the Ministry of Interior. Then, all the drafts submitted to the DPR. In revising this draft, not only team researchers from LIPI and the ministry but several non-government organizations (NGOs) also gave contribution in their own versions of the laws. Under President Habibie, the reformation era begun. Public, social scientists, scholars and political participation participated under the free atmosphere to revise these new laws. They played a significant role for the first time since the early 1960s to design the institutional structure of the political system. Finally, all the inputs from the submitted proposals were collected by the DPR. Concerning the electoral system, DPR enacted the new election law as the Republic of Indonesia’s Law No.3 of 1999 on General Election. Moreover, the DPR enacted two other related laws as addition to the new election law namely Law No.2 of 1999 on Political Parties and Law No.4 of 1999 on the Structure and Composition of the People’s

Consultative Assembly (Assembly) and the People’s Representative Body (House).

Persson and Tabellini in their research said that “the introduction of the direct election of the district government constitutes a change in the form of government, from a parliamentarian to a presidential system” (Persson and Tabellini, 2004). There are three layers of the Indonesian administrative structure namely, the central government, the provinces and the districts. For the provision of local public goods will be done under responsible of the district administration. The district administration is divided into a DPRD (a district parliament) and a district government (a district head and a vice). Since 1999, citizens have elected the district parliament. The district head is appointed by the district parliament until 2004. Thus, a law shifting the power to elect the district head from the local parliaments to the local electorates is passed by the central government in 2004. Then, the selection mechanism of district heads (and vices) are modified by Law 32/2004 by requiring that citizens vote for them.

The first post-soeharto’s election in 1999, Indonesia had a different system to select the president. In the 1999 legislative election, for the People’s Representative Council (DPR), PDI-P secured the largest number of seats. For the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), PDIP-P became the largest faction. The legislative body responsible for electing the president. Megawati is a leader of PDI-P won and become president nearly three years. In 2004, Megawati got lost the popularity of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Yudhoyono was successful in winning the first direct presidential election in 2004. He convinced Indonesian citizens through his Partai Demokrat that he could hand him the presidency and answered the country needed.

Table 3. Summary of the 5 July and 20 September 2004 Indonesian election results

Candidate	Running mate	Party	First round		Second round	
			Votes	%	Votes	%
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Jusuf Kalla	Democratic Party (<i>Partai Demokrat</i>)	39,838,184	33.57	69,266,350	60.62
Megawati Sukarnoputri	Hasvimi Muzadi	Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (<i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</i>)	31,569,104	26.61	44,990,704	39.38
Wiranto	Salahuddin Wahid	Party of the Functional Groups (<i>Partai Golongan Karya</i>)	26,286,788	22.15		
Amin Rais	Siswono Yudohusodo	National Mandate Party (<i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i>)	17,392,931	14.66		
Hamzah Haz	Agum Gumelar	United Development Party (<i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i>)	3,569,861	3.01		
Total			118,656,868	100.00	114,257,054	100.00

Source: Ananta, Arifin & Suryadinata, 2005: 87-83,107.

Yudhoyono beat Megawati again in the presidential election 2009 to secure his second term. In the legislative elections, Partai Demokrat secured 60

percent of the votes. This was the second direct election for the Indonesian. In both the Presidential election 2004 and 2009, when Megawati lost the presidential race, she and her party chose an opposition party and not to join Yudhoyhono's government.

Table 4. Summary of the 8 July 2009 Indonesian presidential election results

	Seats	Votes	%
Democratic Party Coalition			
Presidential candidate: <u>Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono</u> Running mate: <u>Bosdiono</u>	314	73,874,562	60.80
Democratic Party (<u>Partai Demokrat</u> PD)	150	-	
Prosperous Justice Party (<u>Partai Keadilan Sejahtera</u> PKS)	57		
National Mandate Party (<u>Partai Amanat Nasional</u> PAN)	43		
United Development Party (<u>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</u> PPP)	37		
National Awakening Party (<u>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa</u> PKB)	27	-	
18 unseated parties	0	-	
Indonesian Democratic Party-struggle and Great Indonesia Movement Party Coalition			
Presidential Candidate: <u>Megawati Sukarnoputri</u> Running mate: <u>Prabowo Subianto</u>	121	32,548,105	26.79
Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (<u>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan</u> PDI-P)	95	-	
Great Indonesia Movement Party (<u>Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya</u> Gerindra)	26	-	
7 unseated parties	0	-	
Golkar and People's Conscience Party Coalition			
Presidential candidate: <u>Jusuf Kalla</u> Running mate: <u>Wiranto</u>	125	15,081,814	12.41
Party of the Functional Groups (<u>Partai Golongan Karya</u> Golkar)	107	-	
People's Conscience Party (<u>Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat</u> Hanura)	18	-	
Total	560	121,504,481	100.00

Source: Pramono, 2009; Pasandaran, 2009

In 2014, in the president election, Indonesian citizens chose to leave Partai Demokrat to an opposition party. There are two candidates for the presidential election on July 9, 2014 namely 1) Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa, and 2) Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla. Table 5 shows political parties supporters and the presidential candidates. There are seven political parties that supported Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa namely Gerindra, PAN, Golkar, PKS, PPP, PBB, and Demokrat. There are five political parties that supported Joko "Jokowi" Widodo and Jusuf Kalla, namely PDIP, Nasdem, PKB, Hanura and PKPI.

Table 5. President and Vice President in the Presidential Election in 2014

No.	Candidates	Political Parties Supporters	%	Total
1	Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa	Gerindra	11.81	59.12
		PAN	7.59	
		Golkar	14.75	
		PKS	6.79	
		PPP	6.53	
		PBB	1.46	
		Demokrat	10.19	
2	Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla	PDIP	18.95	40.88
		Nasdem	6.72	
		PKB	9.04	
		Hanura	5.26	
		PKPI	0.91	

Source: Abdillah, Leon A. 2014: 501

The above table shows that the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP-P) became the leading party.

Figure 1. Political Parties in the 2014 Elections



The figure above shows the political parties that participated in the 2014 elections. Joko Widodo as the president candidate of PDI-P secured 19+ percent of the votes. Dahl in his research said that free, fair and periodic elections are required in democracy process (Dahl, 2001:132). Political equality is needed in a democratic country. Indonesian citizens have the same opportunity in voting for all votes during the elections process.

Figure 2. Citizens Participation in the 2014 Elections



The figure above shows the people selected the chief decision makers in a government. There are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive elections in the elections process. These are indicators of democratic elections. There is a glimmer of hope in Indonesia's elections because citizens supported the direct elections.

CONCLUSION

Democracy in Indonesia has taken another step forward with the direct election to the Indonesian presidency and the People's Representative Body.A

more comprehensive approach to understand the direct election in Indonesia today does exist. This paper shows that direct elections have affected democracy in Indonesia. Through the direct elections where Indonesian turned out since 1999 for the first post-Suharto democratic election, Indonesian citizens have eagerness and determination to take part in deciding the course of their country.

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