

RESEARCHERS AT SINGAPORE'S *INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES* SHARE THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF CURRENT EVENTS

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### **Getting to Know the Contestants of the 2014 Indonesian Parliamentary Elections**

*By Ulla Fionna\* and Alexander Arifianto\*\**

#### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Twelve political parties will compete in the 2014 Indonesian parliamentary elections to be held in April.
- Most Indonesian political parties depend for support on the popularity of political personalities; and only a few have strong institutional platforms.
- Only PDIP and Partai Golkar are predicted to draw a substantial proportion of votes, while the rest will most likely be forced to form coalitions through which to nominate presidential candidates.
- Indonesian voters are increasingly feeling disenchanted by the political parties and most presidential candidates. Many may abstain from voting in this year's election altogether.

\* *Ulla Fionna* is ISEAS Fellow; e-mail: [ufionna@iseas.edu.sg](mailto:ufionna@iseas.edu.sg).

\*\* *Alex Arifianto* is ISEAS Visiting Fellow; e-mail: [alexander\\_arifianto@iseas.edu.sg](mailto:alexander_arifianto@iseas.edu.sg).

## INTRODUCTION

The upcoming 2014 parliamentary and presidential elections will be the most important yet for Indonesia. Voters will go to the polls to pick their parliamentarians on 9 April, and parties will be vying for support from an increasingly sceptical electorate.

Three elections after major political reforms were carried out, there are strong demands that the democratic transition should continue. The process seems to have stalled with corruption remaining rampant, the legal system still weak and corrupt, and the parliament approving bills that compromise reform objectives. These, along with overall dissatisfaction towards President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) performance, have fuelled the demand and even urgency, for change in the political leadership.

The parties still remain the gateway to political office at the central and local levels,<sup>1</sup> and party politicians elected into public office are often responsible for managing state or local budgets. Many of these officials are now either jailed, facing trials, or under investigation for corruption allegations.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, they are broadly criticised for being inefficient and unproductive.<sup>3</sup> Aside from all these, parties are generally poorly institutionalised – as clearly evidenced by the lack of clear platforms, and by the heavy reliance on particular figures and leaders for support and popularity.

As a result, the upcoming elections will be about which party has the most popular candidates. Parties have therefore been scrambling to identify those who can attract voters. This is made all the more necessary by the fact that specific platforms and party programmes are largely missing. The 2014 election is shaping up to be a race based on image and popularity. Increasingly, it is about those picked by parties to represent them.

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<sup>1</sup> Independent candidates can only run in local elections or *pilkada* (*pemilihan kepala daerah*) and most of the time they have lost to candidates endorsed by parties. Only party-endorsed candidates are eligible to run in presidential elections.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, approximately 309 out of 542 Indonesian local government heads are currently under investigation for “numerous legal troubles,” presumably corruption (Tempo.co, ‘309 Kepala Daerah Terlibat Masalah Hukum,’ (309 local government heads have legal troubles), 7 November, 2013 (<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2013/11/07/063527834/309-Kepala-Daerah-Terlibat-Masalah-Hukum>), accessed 6 March, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> One study noted that they only pass a minimal number of bills amidst high numbers of absentees and low productivity. See [http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/.IND/2010\\_11/D/2011\\_02\\_RES-WSC\\_INDON\\_HM\\_Seminar\\_DPR\\_CBR/2011\\_02\\_10\\_PP\\_HM.pdf](http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/.IND/2010_11/D/2011_02_RES-WSC_INDON_HM_Seminar_DPR_CBR/2011_02_10_PP_HM.pdf)

## THE PARTIES

### *Partai Nasional Demokrat (Partai Nasdem, National Democratic Party)*

Born as a mass organisation, it declared itself a party on 26 July 2011. It lists Pancasila as its ideology, and it is the newest party that will be competing. This election is also its first. It was founded and chaired by Surya Paloh, an ambitious former Golkar official who owns Metro TV, the number one Indonesian television news network. While his wealth may boost Partai Nasdem's campaign efforts, its electoral chances are realistically small, as opinion polls predict that the party will only receive between one and seven per cent of electoral votes in the legislative election<sup>4</sup> and his popularity as presidential candidate have been lingering around one and two per cent.<sup>5</sup> Serious problems emerged when Hary Tanoesoedibjo, another party pioneer and financier, left the party abruptly in January 2013; a move that was soon followed by party cadres at the national and local levels. Tanoesoedibjo's departure created a serious dent in the party's unity and thus its chances in the elections, particularly as he subsequently chose to join Partai Hanura (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, People's Conscience Party) and is now its vice-presidential candidate.

### *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, National Awakening Party)*

The PKB is the official party affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest Islamic organization which has an approximate membership of 50 million Indonesians.<sup>6</sup> It was founded in 1998 by Abdurrahman Wahid, former NU chairman who went on to become Indonesia's first democratically elected President. After leading PKB for a decade, Wahid was ousted from his PKB chairmanship in 2008 by his own nephew, Muhaimin Iskandar, who took over as party chairman and has remained in that position till today. PKB's vote share has declined since the 1999 parliamentary election. While it won 12.6 per cent of the total votes that year, it only

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<sup>4</sup> *Indikator's* October survey suggested that Nasdem would get around one per cent, while *Kompas'* December survey in the same month said the party may get about seven per cent. See *Indikator's* survey at: <http://indikator.co.id/news/details/1/35/Laporan-Konferensi-Pers-Indikator-Efek-Jokowi-terhadap-Elektabilitas-Partai-dan-Simulasi-Elektabilitas-Capres-Potensial-di-2014> ; *Kompas'* result can be studied in Elvan Dany Sutrisno, "Survei Kompas: PDIP No 1, Demokrat Kian Terpuruk", *detiknews*, 9 January 2014 (<http://news.detik.com/read/2014/01/09/110744/2462542/10/survei-kompas-pdip-no-1-demokrat-kian-terpuruk>).

<sup>5</sup> See for example: Muhammad Chandraruna and Nila Chrisna Yulik, "Survei Pol-Tracking: Jokowi Masih Capres Pilihan Publik" *vivanews*, 22 December 2013 (<http://us.politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/468189-survei-pol-tracking-jokowi-masih-capres-pilihan-publik>), and Anggi Kusumadewi and Syahrul Ansyari, "Soegeng Sarjadi: Masyarakat Suka Tokoh Berwajah Memelas", *vivanews*, 13 September 2013 (<http://us.politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/443580-soegeng-sarjadi-masyarakat-suka-tokoh-berwajah-memelas/>)

<sup>6</sup> Sumanto al Qurtuby, 'Nahdlatul Ulama: Good Governance and Religious Tolerance in Indonesia,' 15 January 2013 (<http://blogs.nd.edu/content/modernities/2013/01/15/nahdlatul-ulama-good-governance-and-religious-tolerance-in-indonesia/>), accessed 4 March 2014.

won 4.9 per cent of the votes in the 2009 election. Party leaders have nominated Rhoma Irama, a former Indonesian traditional pop (*dangdut*) singer and movie actor, to be its 2014 presidential candidate. However, two veteran politicians, Jusuf Kalla, former Indonesian Vice President and Mahfud, MD, former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, have also declared themselves presidential candidates for the party.<sup>7</sup>

### *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS, Prosperous Justice Party)*

Coming out from the 2009 election as one of the surprise 'winners', PKS' star quickly fizzled out after its former chairman, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq was named as a suspect (and subsequently tried and jailed) in a corruption case. Arguably one of the few parties with a clear platform in Indonesia, PKS was known as a young Islamic party that demonstrated how Islam and democracy could be integrated. It offered a viable alternative to Muslim voters, and grew quickly from a small to medium-sized party. From 1.4 per cent in 1999, it gathered 7.3 (6<sup>th</sup> place) and 7.8 per cent (4<sup>th</sup>) in 2004 and 2009, respectively. However, the party's ambition to be one of the top three parties in 2014 seems rather unattainable after Luthfi was indicted and jailed. The corruption case dealt a severe blow to the party as it raises grave concerns about its standard of morality as a self-proclaimed religious party with a 'clean' image. PKS has declared its decision to back current chairman Anis Matta as presidential candidate, but Anis' polygamous lifestyle may have worsened the party's image further. In any case, the possibility of PKS shifting its support to either former People's Consultative Assembly chairman Hidayat Nurwahid or West Java governor Ahmad Heryawan should not be completely ruled out.<sup>8</sup> Polls suggest that PKS will remain the strongest Islamist party. Anis is currently not a presidential contender, and the party will most likely gain around three per cent of votes, if not less.

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<sup>7</sup> Polling results of the three candidates suggest Kalla has the best chance of winning, with some putting him at nine and even 14 per cent. See for example: Edward Panggabean, "Survei PDB: Jokowi Capres Paling Potensial", *liputan 6* news, 6 Februari 2013, (<http://news.liputan6.com/read/505726/survei-pdb-jokowi-capres-paling-potensial>), and "Survei Capres 2014 Terbaru: Jokowi No.1 Lagi", *tempo.co*, 2 September 2013 (<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2013/09/02/078509618/Survei-Capres-2014-Terbaru-Jokowi-No1-Lagi>)

<sup>8</sup> Among the three candidates, Hidayat pulls the biggest poll numbers, but only around one to two per cent or less. See for example: Anggi Kusumadewi and Syahrul Ansyari, "Soegeng Sarjadi: Masyarakat Suka Tokoh Berwajah Memelas", *vivanews*, 13 September 2013 (<http://us.politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/443580-soegeng-sarjadi-masyarakat-suka-tokoh-berwajah-memelas/>), and "IRC: Elektabilitas Wiranto Bayangi Jokowi", *jpnn.com*, 23 October 2013 (<http://www.jpnn.com/read/2013/10/23/197104/IRC:-Elektabilitas-Wiranto-Bayangi-Jokowi->)

## *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP, Indonesian Democratic Party Struggle)*

The PDIP has been led since 1993 by its current chairman, former president Sukarno's daughter Megawati Sukarnoputri. PDIP became Indonesia's ruling party in 2001 when Megawati succeeded the impeached President Wahid. However, she lost her re-election bid in 2004 and the party has been in opposition ever since. PDIP's vote share declined significantly from a high of 33.7 per cent in 1999 (1<sup>st</sup> place), 18.5 in 2004 (2<sup>nd</sup>), to just 14 per cent (3<sup>rd</sup>) of the total votes in 2004.<sup>9</sup> Given the dissatisfaction towards the current government and the coalition of parties in power, some argue that the party may increase its vote share up to around 22 per cent in the upcoming elections.<sup>10</sup> However, there is deep disagreement within the party as to whom it should nominate as its presidential candidate. While stalwart Megawati supporters want her to be re-nominated, many PDIP cadres want the honour to be given to the party's rising star, Jakarta Governor Joko Widodo (popularly known as Jokowi). While opinion polls suggest that Jokowi will win the presidential race in a landslide if he were the party's candidate,<sup>11</sup> Megawati is still reluctant to step aside and make way for him, a position that may jeopardize PDIP's electoral success this year.

## *Partai Golkar (Golkar Party)*

Defying great odds against its relevance in post-Suharto Indonesian politics, Partai Golkar remains one of the best-organised parties in Indonesia – largely thanks to its extensive network built under the New Order regime (1966-1998). It came in at second place in the 1999 elections with 22.4 per cent, and 21.6 per cent (1<sup>st</sup> place) in 2004, then declined to 14.5 (2<sup>nd</sup> place) in the 2009 elections. Its current chairman Aburizal Bakrie is a prominent business tycoon and a long-time party loyalist who successfully manoeuvred his way into the leadership position, and is now campaigning for presidency through the media outlets he owns.<sup>12</sup> Polls generally place him as

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<sup>9</sup> The decline is largely due to voters' disenchantment with the party as it was embroiled in a number of high profile corruption scandals during the 2000s. For instance, see Viva News, 'Proyek Taufiq Kiemas yang Disebut Wikileaks,' (Taufiq Kiemas' [Megawati Sukarnoputri's late husband] Projects Revealed by Wikileaks), 11 March 2011 (<http://us.politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/208870-proyek-taufiq-kiemas-yang-disebut-wikileaks>), accessed 4 March 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Two of the latest polls predict high percentage of votes for PDIP. Kompas' December survey predicted a share of 21.8 per cent (<http://news.detik.com/read/2014/01/09/110744/2462542/10/survei-kompas-pdip-no-1-demokrat-kian-terpuruk>), while Lembaga Survei Jakarta's January polls predicted that 19.8 per cent voters would support PDIP (<http://lembagasurveijakarta.com/survei-lsj-pdip-teratas-demokrat-melot-di-posisi-6>).

<sup>11</sup> Some of his poll numbers went as high as 47 per cent, with the lowest at 18. See for example Margareth S. Aritonang, "Jokowi Leads the Pack: Polls," The Jakarta Post, 2 December 2013 (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/12/02/jokowi-leads-pack-polls.html>).

<sup>12</sup> Bakrie's numerous media outlets include TV One, Indonesia's second highest-rated television news network and Viva News, an Indonesian-language online news portal.

the third most popular among the possible candidates, while surveys suggest the party will be one of the big winners in the parliamentary election.<sup>13</sup> However, some of the major issues that may very well deter voters from voting for this party is the Lapindo mud volcano fiasco in 2006, which implicated an oil and gas company he owns, and the ongoing corruption investigation of its cadre and Banten governor, Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Rather than distancing itself from the investigation, the party has chosen to throw support behind Chosiyah, and this may cost it dearly in the polls.

### *Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra Party, Great Indonesia Movement Party)*

The Gerindra Party was revived in 2008 by retired Lieutenant General Prabowo Subianto,<sup>14</sup> a former son-in-law of Suharto who was implicated in but never charged for a number of human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor during the 1990s. The party has become a vehicle to fulfill his presidential ambition, both in 2009 and in 2014. While it was only able to gain 4.5 per cent of votes during the 2009 legislative election, the party is expected to double its vote share this year, due largely to the increasing popularity of Prabowo, whom many polls are now predicting to be the second most popular potential presidential candidate after PDIP's Jokowi.<sup>15</sup> Gerindra seems to be the most aggressive in their campaign over social media networks such as Facebook and Twitter, as it hopes to tap into the support of Indonesia's 47 million strong first-time young voters who are active online.<sup>16</sup>

### *Partai Demokrat (PD, Democratic Party)*

Built for and on the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), Partai Demokrat shot up to success in the 2004 election with 7.5 percent votes (in 4<sup>th</sup>), and rapidly became the biggest party in the 2009 election with almost 21 percent of the votes. Heavy dependence on SBY, followed by intense intra-party rivalry alongside large-scale corruption cases involving numerous party politicians. This means that

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<sup>13</sup> See for example: Ahmad Toriq, "Survei Charta Politika: Jokowi Capres Idaman, Mega Terjun Bebas:", *detiknews*, 23 December 2013 (<http://news.detik.com/read/2013/12/23/154257/2449686/10/survei-charta-politika-jokowi-capres-idaman-mega-terjun-bebas>), and "Survei "Kompas", 43,5 Persen Responden Pilih Jokowi", *kompas.com*, 8 January 2013 (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/01/08/0801224/Survei.Kompas.43.5.Persen.Responden.Pilih.Jokowi>)

<sup>14</sup> The party was founded by General A.H. Nasution to compete in the 1955 Indonesian parliamentary election. However, it went defunct after President Sukarno dissolved parliament in 1960.

<sup>15</sup> The *Jakarta Post*, "Jokowi Leads the Pack: Polls," 2 December, 2013 (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/12/02/jokowi-leads-pack-polls.html>).

<sup>16</sup> *The Asia Foundation*, 'Will Indonesia's Online Youth Shape 2014 Elections?', 16 October, 2013 (<http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2013/10/16/will-indonesias-online-youth-shape-2014-elections/>), accessed 4 March 2014.

the party will struggle for votes in April. Furthermore, SBY's strong personal grip and leaning towards dynastic politics in an intense intra-party competition for leadership, have resulted in the absence of an obvious successor. The ongoing convention to gauge which of the current 11 figures<sup>17</sup> competing for candidacy is the most popular, is strong evidence of the party's struggle. With some polls suggesting that the party is perceived as the most corrupt,<sup>18</sup> it is no wonder that it is predicted to gain only 4.7-6.12 percent of votes.<sup>19</sup>

### *Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN, National Mandate Party)*

Although it lists Pancasila as its ideology, PAN is officially affiliated with the Muhammadiyah, Indonesia's second largest Islamic organisation which claims approximately 30 million members.<sup>20</sup> It was founded in 1998 by Amien Rais, the former Muhammadiyah chairman who was a leading opposition figure under Suharto. Vote share for the party has slightly declined from 7.1 percent (5<sup>th</sup> place) of vote share in the 1999 legislative election, to just 6 percent (5<sup>th</sup>) in the 2009 legislative election. Rais stepped down as party chairman in 2005 and its current chairman is Hatta Rajasa, the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs. His daughter is married to President Yudhoyono's son Edhie ("Ibas") Baskoro and he is also one of the president's closest aides. The party has officially endorsed Rajasa as its 2014 presidential candidate and is currently the most popular candidate from Islamist parties.<sup>21</sup> However, it is unlikely that it will be able to officially nominate him on the presidential ticket, as recent surveys indicate that PAN will only receive between three to five percent of the vote share in the upcoming legislative election.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> They are: former army general and SBY's brother-in-law Pramono Edhi Wibowo, Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) member Ali Masykur Musa; Paramadina University's President Anies Baswedan; State-Owned Enterprises Minister Dahlan Iskan; Indonesian Ambassador to the US Dino Patti Djalal; former Indonesian Military (TNI) commander Endriartono Sutarto; Trade Minister Gita Wirjawan; Regional Representatives Council (DPD) Speaker Irman Gusman; House Commission I member and former Suharto's Minister of Youth and Sport Hayono Isman; parliament speaker and PD official Marzuki Alie; and North Sulawesi Governor Sinyo Harry Sarundajang.

<sup>18</sup> See for example, Septiana Ledysia, "Survei LSN: PD Paling Korup, Disusul Golkar dan PKS", *detiknews*, 24 March 2013.

<sup>19</sup> The highest predictions was given by *Kompas*, but even that only predicted around seven per cent votes for PD. *Kompas'* result can be seen in Elvan Dany Sutrisno, "Survei Kompas: PDIP No 1, Demokrat Kian Terpuruk", *detiknews*, 09 January 2014 (<http://news.detik.com/read/2014/01/09/110744/2462542/10/survei-kompas-pdip-no-1-demokrat-kian-terpuruk>).

<sup>20</sup> Saiful Mujani and R. William Liddle, 'Muslim Indonesia's Secular Democracy,' *Asian Survey*, 49 (4) (July/August 2009), p. 580.

<sup>21</sup> His poll numbers vary between less than one to more than 14 per cent. The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) April 2013 survey gave him 2.2 per cent, and Indonesian Institute of Sciences in May gave him 1.2 per cent. However, Political Climatology Institute and Indonesia Network Election Survey (INES) did surveys that excluded Jokowi's name in March 2013, and Prabowo came out the biggest winner with almost 20 per cent (<http://klimatologipolitik.com/survei-lkp-prabowo-pertama-jokowi-tak-dianggap/>) and even 39 per cent respectively. (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/04/07/19571264/Elektabilitas.Prabowo.Sebagai.Capres.Naik.Tajam>)

<sup>22</sup> For example, both *Kompas* (in December) and *Lingkaran Survei Indonesia* (in January) predicted that PAN will

### *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, United Development Party)*

As one of only two other parties allowed to compete in New Order elections, PPP suffered heavy interference from the Suharto government. As an Islamic party, it was once stripped of its Islamic symbols and forced to adopt Pancasila and a more neutral symbol instead.<sup>23</sup> Although it has re-adopted the Ka'bah shrine as symbol and Islam as ideology, as with most other Islamic parties, PPP suffers from poor organisation, and the lack of a strong leadership figure. After the retirement as party chairman of former Indonesian Vice President Hamzah Haz, the party has not been able to produce leaders of comparable calibre. Its current chairman cum candidate who is also the state minister for religious affairs, Suryadharma Ali does not stand a chance in these elections. PPP's votes have continued to decline since 1999, when it won 10.7 percent (4<sup>th</sup> place), to 8.2 (4<sup>th</sup> place) in 2004, and only 5.3 (6<sup>th</sup>) in 2009, and polls currently suggest that the party will continue to struggle in the 2014 polls.

### *Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Hanura Party, People's Conscience Party)*

The Hanura Party was established in 2006 by retired General Wiranto, the former chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces during the time Suharto was removed from power in 1998. Like Nasdem, Democratic Party, and Gerindra, Hanura was perceived as a vehicle for the political ambitions of its founder, Wiranto, who had run as a presidential candidate in 2004 and as a vice presidential candidate in 2009. The party only received modest success in the 2009 legislative election, winning 3.8 percent of the vote share and 18 parliamentary seats. It hopes to significantly increase its vote share in the 2014 election by recruiting Hary Tanoesoedibjo, an Indonesian Chinese businessman who owns Rajawali Citra Television Network (RCTI) and two other Indonesian television networks, as its vice presidential candidate and chairman of its election strategy committee. Wiranto's chances as a presidential candidate vary quite widely,<sup>24</sup> and despite Tanoesodibjo's financial support, the party is only predicted to win about four to seven percent of the vote share in the upcoming legislative election.<sup>25</sup>

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only get around three per cent of the votes. *Kompas'* result can be accessed in Elvan Dany Sutrisno, "Survei Kompas: PDIP No 1, Demokrat Kian Terpuruk", *detiknews*, 9 January 2014 (<http://news.detik.com/read/2014/01/09/110744/2462542/10/survei-kompas-pdip-no-1-demokrat-kian-terpuruk>).

<sup>23</sup> The New Order government forced the party to drop Islam as ideology and adopt Pancasila, while the Ka'bah shrine symbol was replaced by a star.

<sup>24</sup> His highest rating was in August 2013 when Political Climatology Institute put him under Jokowi's 19.6 per cent, at 18.5 per cent. Generally however, most polls rate him rather poorly, with around five to seven per cent. See for example, Margareth S. Aritonang, "Jokowi Leads the Pack: Polls," *The Jakarta Post*, 2 December 2013 (<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/12/02/jokowi-leads-pack-polls.html>).

<sup>25</sup> *Kompas'* December survey predicted a share of 6.6 per cent (<http://news.detik.com/read/2014/01/09/110744/2462542/10/survei-kompas-pdip-no-1-demokrat-kian-terpuruk>), while Lingkaran Survei Indonesia's Janu-



### *Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB, Star Crescent Party)*

Rather similar to Partai Demokrat's reliance on SBY, PBB's influence is predominantly based on the figure of its founder and chairman Yusril Ihza Mahendra, a former Suharto speechwriter who reinvented himself as a pro-democracy activist during the *Reformasi* period. The fact that it was only added to the list of parties eligible to compete in the election after lodging an appeal demonstrates the struggle of the party to meet eligibility requirements. PBB gained 1.9 percent of votes in 1999, 2.6 percent votes in 2004, but this declined to 1.8 percent in 2009. Polls are suggesting that its 2014 result will also be very poor, at about one percent or less. Yusril himself is not considered a popular presidential candidate at the moment, and his chances are considered very small.

### *Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI, Indonesian Justice and Unity Party)*

The PKP is a minor party founded in 1999 by a group of retired senior Indonesian army officers from the Suharto period. The party has never won more than 1.3 percent of the vote share in the three parliamentary elections held since 1999. In the 2009 legislative election, it only won 0.9 percent of the vote share. In order to improve its fortunes, in 2010 the party recruited retired Lieutenant General Sutiyoso, former Governor of Jakarta (1997-2007) as its new chairman. It remains to be seen whether the party can significantly improve its popularity under Sutiyoso's leadership.

## CONCLUSION

It is clear that parties are still dominated by prominent and politically (sometimes also economically) powerful individuals, who use parties as vehicles to gain higher political offices (usually the presidency). This can be seen for most secular and Islamist parties (perhaps with the sole exception of PKS). Even parties that have a longer history of existence and are relatively well-organised in the past (such as PDIP and Golkar) are still dependent on prominent politicians as party leaders, who are reluctant to let anyone else challenge their dominance. If this trend continues, Indonesian parties will continue to become even less institutionalised and more personality-based.

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ary polls put Hanura's chances at four per cent only (<http://lsi.co.id/lsi/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Konpers-2014-Pemerintahan-Golkar-atau-Pemerintahan-PDIP-Jan-2014.pdf>).

The tendency of most Indonesian parties to form coalitions in order to gain access to financially lucrative cabinet positions and state enterprise directorships has made some scholars argue that they act like an economic cartel that leaves no real opposition in the parliament.<sup>26</sup> This cartel-like behaviour provides no real choice for Indonesian voters at the ballot box and leads to the disenchantment of many voters with respect to the political parties. This is why some scholars are predicting that as many as 37 percent of eligible voters may abstain from voting altogether in the 2014 election.<sup>27</sup> The lack of institutionalisation of political parties, their cartel-like behaviour, and increased voter apathy towards all political parties and most presidential candidates, have the potential to impede Indonesia's democratic transition even further.

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<sup>26</sup> See Dan Slater, 'Indonesia's Accountability Trap: Party Cartels and Presidential Power after Democratic Transition,' *Indonesia*, 78 (October 2004): 61-92 and Kuskridho Ambardi, *The Making of the Indonesian Multiparty System: A Cartelized Party System and Its Origin*, Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Ohio State University, 2008. ([https://etd.ohiolink.edu/ap/10?0::NO:10:P10\\_ACCESSION\\_NUM:osu1211901025](https://etd.ohiolink.edu/ap/10?0::NO:10:P10_ACCESSION_NUM:osu1211901025)), accessed 6 March 2014.

<sup>27</sup> *Tribunnews.com*, 'Peneliti LIPI Perkirakan Angka Golput Pemilu 2014 Bakal di Atas 30 Persen,' (LIPI Researcher Predicts More than 30 Per cent Indonesian Voters Will Abstain in the 2014 Election), 5 February 2013 (<http://www.tribunnews.com/pemilu-2014/2014/02/05/peneliti-lipi-perkirakan-angka-golput-pemilu-2014-bakal-di-atas-30-persen>), accessed 6 March 2014.

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Institute of Southeast Asian Studies  
30, Heng Mui Keng Terrace  
Pasir Panjang, Singapore 119614  
Main Tel: (65) 6778 0955  
Main Fax: (65) 6778 1735

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