

The Divided Government in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Since the fall of the authoritarian system, Indonesia completed the fundamental precondition to democratization through a series of constitutional amendments. As a young democratic country, Indonesia experienced a divided government for the first time under the administration of Joko Widodo. The Divided government is potentially believed to contribute to democratic breakdown. The objective of this research was to investigate how the divided government occurred and was resolved in Indonesia. The research used a qualitative methodology with a case study approach. The results showed that the divided government in Indonesia occurred because of the implementation of Indonesia's political system adopting the combination of the presidential and multiparty systems. The divided government in Indonesia did not cause a deadlock or democratic breakdown as Joko Widodo resolved the problem by doing political maneuvers seeking political stabilization.

Keywords: divided government, Indonesia, democratic breakdown, political system

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has enjoyed its democracy for more than two decades since the authoritarian system collapsed in 1998. The country has completed the fundamental precondition to democratization through a series of constitutional amendments. The new amendments have affected thirty-one of the thirty-seven articles of the 1945 constitution (MPR, 2002). These amendments and revisions significantly modified the structure of Indonesia's representative and legislative institutions at the national, regional, and local levels. They also removed restrictions on political participation, permitted the formation of new political parties, and enhanced the electoral rules and

process. The other important thing is also the guarantee of freedom of expression, associational autonomy, and independent media.

Regulation on general elections after the amendment of the 1945 Constitution is also conducted by implementing democratic principles based on the constitution (constitutional democracy). The general election for electing members of DPR, DPRD, DPD, President, and Vice-President is conducted through direct, general, free, secret, honest, and fair every five years. Besides regulating legislative and presidential elections, the 1945 Constitution also regulates regional elections for governor, regent, and mayor which is required to be elected democratically. This provision is explained in article 1 (4) of law No. 22 of 2007 on General Election and No.32 of 2004 on Regional Government which assert that regional election is conducted through direct election. In short, it can be highlighted that recruitment of strategic positions in government, particularly for President and Vice-President, Governor and Vice Governor, Regent, and Vice Regent, and Mayor and Vice Mayor, are conducted through direct election.

Indonesia has successfully generated four presidents within two decades of its democratization, stemming from Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), Megawati Sukarnoputri (2001-2004), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004-2014), and Joko Widodo (2014-present) of which Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo are directly elected by people (Abdulbaki, 2008). However, during Joko Widodo administration the young democratic country faced a divided government which theoretically and practically led to the possibility of democratic breakdown.

In the previous administration, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, was able to avoid the divided government by having Majority Coalition. The pattern of Majority Coalition generated a unified government. The executive-legislative relations are assumed to be much more stable because the majority of political parties belong to the ruling administration coalition (Kompas, 2008). To guarantee political security, party coalitions are designed with a "fat" posture in the sense of oversized coalitions (Kompas, 2019). On another dimension, the institutionalization of fat coalitions or majorities certainly cannot be seen as a common phenomenon in presidential systems. The mutually interdependent executive-legislative relationship causes the President to play

an accommodative political style. Relations tend to be compromising and do not require opposition in parliament. Even if it exists, it will not become a balancing political force (Baswedan, 2010).

Divided Government is a political occasion in which there is a split between the executive and legislative institutions. This reaches the split of interests and political direction, which are not in line, and even contradict each other in the context of policymaking. In the practice of institutional structure, the legalization of a policy does not only rely on executive roles but also on legislative composition (Laver, 1996 in Kartiko, 2012). The divided government is a consequence of the implementation of Indonesia's political system adopting the combination of the presidential and multiparty systems.

According to Jose Antonio Cheibub, the combination of the presidential and multi-party system generates ineffective government because it potentially makes a minority president (Cheibub, 2002). It means that the executive and legislative are powered by two different chambers or better known as divided government and potentially generate dual democratic legitimacy in which the executive and legislative are directly elected by people (Linz, 1990). In the case of Indonesia, the divided government during the Joko Widodo administration lasted for one year and did not cause a democratic breakdown.

The research objective is to describe the occurrence of a divided government in Indonesia during Joko Widodo administration and how the political phenomenon was resolved.

METHODS

This research applies the qualitative method to get deeper information about the divided government during Joko Widodo administration by looking at several documents collected from media, articles, and government institutions. This research also compares the sources with other sources to understand the whole situation (Moleong, 2005).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Divided Government during Joko Widodo Administration

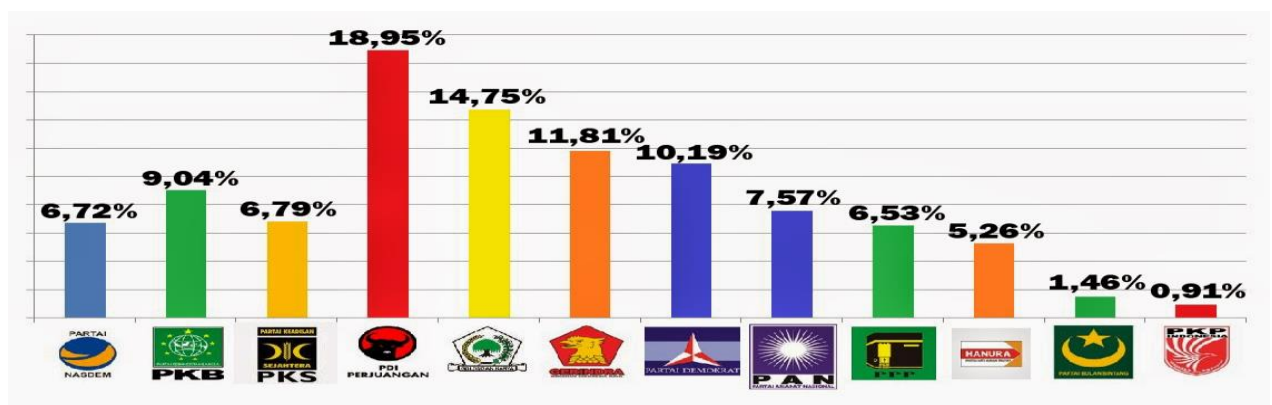
The divided government phenomenon in Indonesia happened for the first time in the democratic era under the administration of President Joko Widodo. This can be traced back to the general election result announced by the Indonesia Election Commission which later this result became determinant to the action of political elites during the administration of President Joko Widodo. The Political Configuration of the Legislative and Presidential Election 2014 shows as follows:

**Table.1
Indonesia Political Parties**

Secular Parties	Islamic Parties
Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat)	Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)
Party of Functional Groups (Partai Golkar)	National Mandate Party (PAN)
Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P)	United Development Party (PPP)
Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)	National Awakening Party (PKB)
People's Conscience Party (Hanura)	Crescent Star Party (PBB)
Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI)	
National Democrat (Nasdem)	

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Graphic 1
Legislative Election Result 2014**



Source: kpu.go.id

The official result showed that PDI-P won the election by 18.95% votes, followed by Golkar at 14.75% and Gerindra at 11.81%. Following the election result, Crescent Star Party (PBB) and Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI) did not pass the 3.5 % of parliamentary threshold.

Table 2
The Composition of the Indonesian People’s Representative Council

Political Parties	Number of Seats
PDI-P	109
Golkar	91
Gerindra	73
Demokrat	61
PKB	47
PAN	49
PKS	40
PPP	39
Nasdem	35
Hanura	16
Total	560

Source: kpu.go.id

However, in the presidential election, one party is eligible to submit their candidate if their party can reach 20% of the electoral threshold. This system made none of the political parties eligible to submit their candidate and had them establish a coalition for the presidential election. The two coalitions established that is Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (Great Indonesia Coalition) nominating Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla and Koalisi Merah Putih (Red and White Coalition) nominating Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa for the Presidential election.

Table 3
Composition of two polarized coalition in the legislature

Koalisi Indonesia Hebat	Koalisi Merah Putih
PDI-P: 109	Golkar: 91
PKB: 47	Gerindra: 73
Nasdem: 35	PAN: 49
Hanura: 16	PKS: 40
	Demokrat: 61
	PPP: 39
Total: 207	Total: 353

Source: kpu.go.id

In the presidential election, the candidate from the majority seats in the parliament did not automatically win because the President is directly elected by the people. In 2014, Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla whose coalition seats in parliament only 207 won over Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa by 53.15% to 46.85%.

Table 4
Presidential Election Result 2014

No	Candidate	Popular Votes	Percentage
1	Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa	62.576.444	46.85%
2	Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla	70.997.833	53.15%

Source: kpu.go.id

Joko Widodo is mathematically predicted to face more obstacles in his administration due to less majority support in the parliament. Joko Widodo must have a single majority of 50% + 1 in the parliament to have a strong government. However, the composition of the ruling coalition party can change depending on Joko Widodo's political maneuvers. This is the situation in that political theorists worry about the deficit of presidential and multiparty systems. According to Scott Mainwaring, the presidential system is potentially generating minority government and conflict between executive and legislative which contributes to democratic breakdowns (Mainwaring, 1990). In addition, Jose Antonio Cheibub said that the potential for deadlock and democratic breakdowns would always shadow the presidential system. A deadlock could happen if the executive is unable to control the majority seat in the legislative (Cheibub and Limongi, 2002).

Following the existing criticism theories on the combination of the presidential and multiparty system from many theorists, Indonesia did not go through the deadlock and democratic breakdown under the administration of President Joko Widodo. Moreover, it is important to see what the actors did during the divided government and how President Joko Widodo resolved the problem. The implication of a divided government can be seen in the process of appointing a People's Consultative Council (DPR) speaker. Referring to the revision of the constitution from UU No.27 Tahun 2009 to UU No 17 Tahun 2014, it stated that the DPR speaker is not automatically won by the

winning party in the election yet through the democratic mechanism. Through the democratic mechanism, the Red and White Coalition won all the positions of DPR speaker in the legislature. This situation motivated the ruling coalition party to walk out from the plenary session and initiated to form of a counter-DPR speaker. This circumstance has made DPR unable to work functionally for some time. This problem was finally resolved by the revision of the constitution and informal meetings between the executive and legislative to find a win-win solution.

During The administration of President Joko Widodo, the political parties in the Red and White Coalition have an internal problem regarding dual leadership. This situation is effectively seen as an opportunity for the executive to strengthen their position in the parliament. President Joko Widodo has taken part in the solution of the internal problem. The first party joining the ruling coalition parties is Partai Persatuan Pembangunan. PPP joined the ruling coalition parties because they are not satisfied with the way the Red and White Coalition did to exclude them from the process of appointing an MPR speaker (Liputan 6, 2014). The other reason is this party faced dual leadership between PPP under Romahurmuzy against PPP under Djan Faridz. In accordance with articles 3 and 4 of UU No.2 Tahun 2008 regarding political parties stated that the political party is legal if it gains legitimacy from the ministry of law and human rights. The government has officially announced that PPP under Roharmuzzy is legitimately legal.

The second party is Golkar which has the second most votes in the legislature. Golkar faced the same problem as PPP in terms of dual leadership. The dual leadership is between Golkar under Abu Rizal Bakrie versus Golkar under Agung Laksono. Agung laksono has officially declared his support for Joko Widodo since the presidential election and Aburizal Bakrie supported Prabowo Subianto. Yet the government through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights officially announced that Golkar under Agung Laksono is legitimately legal.

Finally, both leaders reconcile in the Golkar party's extraordinary national congress in Bali. This congress was opened and attended by President Joko Widodo (Tempo, 2016). From this congress the former DPR speaker Setya Novyanto who

resigned due to ethical code in the case of seeking a twenty percent stake in mining company Freeport Indonesia in exchange for an expedited contract renewal elected as the chairperson. The combination of PPP and Golkar in the new composition of the ruling coalition party made the present administration stronger than before. After the extraordinary congress in Bali, Ade Komarudin a member of Golkar party stepped down as the DPR speaker and was replaced by the former scandal-hit speaker Setya Novanto. On 30 November 2016, Setya Novanto is officially reinstated as the new DPR speaker (Tempo, 2016).

Table 5
The New Composition of Koalisi Indonesia Hebat and Koalisi Merah Putih

Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (Ruling Government)	Koalisi Merah Putih (Opposition)
PDI-P: 109	Gerindra: 73
PKB: 47	PAN: 49
Nasdem: 35	PKS: 40
Hanura: 16	Demokrat: 61
PPP: 39	
Golkar : 91	
Total: 335	Total: 223

Source: kpu.go.id

In the second reshuffled cabinet, Joko Widodo placed ministries from the newly joined political parties in his cabinet which were in line with his reformist ideology. This has pointed out that the divided government was resolved with political transactions among political elites. This is the precedence that every regime winning the election must practice stabilizing political conflict at the beginning to strengthen its administration with the political transaction in the end.

CONCLUSION

The divided government in Indonesia during the administration Joko Widodo occurred as the result of the general election showed that the winning president has less majority support in the parliament. Joko Widodo must have a single majority of 50% + 1 in the parliament to have a strong government, therefore Joko Widodo must do political maneuvers to gain support from another political party of the opposition side. This is in line with the theory stated by Cheibub and Limongi that to avoid deadlock or democratic

breakdown in the situation of a divided government the executive must be able to control the majority of seats in the legislative.

Joko Widodo was finally able to stabilize the political conflict between the ruling and opposition coalition. Through the internal problem of the dual leadership in PPP and Golkar, Joko Widodo with his approach to the elites of these two political parties was able to reconcile both leaders with his attendance at the Golkar party's extraordinary national congress in Bali. The ruling coalition party is stronger than before with the coming of two political parties from the opposition with significant seats in the parliament.

The coming of two political parties in the ruling coalition is not free of charge yet political transaction. In the second reshuffled cabinet, Joko Widodo placed ministries from the newly joined political parties into his cabinet. Although the divided government was finally resolved, it does not mean that this political phenomenon will not happen in the future. In the case of Indonesia, it clearly shows that the divided government was resolved due to the behavior of the prominent elites of political parties who pragmatically joined the ruling coalition party. If all the opposition elites insisted on their position against the ruling coalition party, there will be chaos in Indonesia. This is in line with the political theories that worry about the deficit of presidential and multiparty systems.

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