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Beyond the Ballots:

An Exploration of Indonesian Democracy Through the Lens of Campaigning and Dynasticism in
the 2024 Indonesian General Election

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Abstract

This paper offers a comprehensive exploration of Indonesian democracy, focusing on the dynamics of campaigning and dynasticism within the context of the 2024 Indonesian General Election. Drawing on the anthropological frameworks of historical particularism and functionalism, the research employs a mixed-method approach, combining cultural and participant observation, archival review, and interviews. Through cultural and participant observations in Bali and Java, the study unveils the intricate connections between political support, community unity, and the influence of vote-buying practices. Archival review delves into contentious issues surrounding electoral laws, particularly the Constitutional Court's exception to the age requirement for presidential candidates, revealing conflicts of interest and the implications for democracy. Interviews with Indonesian citizens and public figures, including former Governor Fauzi Bowo, offer insights into diverse perspectives on voting efficacy, political issues, historical education, and concerns about electoral fairness. The findings highlight the enduring influence of historical traditions, the evolving landscape of political dynasties, and the continued relevance of *Pancasila* ideals in shaping Indonesian democracy. Despite limitations in access to archives and language proficiency, this study contributes valuable insights into the complexities of Indonesian democracy, paving the way for future research and analysis.

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This has been an incredible opportunity that I would repeat in a heartbeat. I have learned so much in these past few months- about Indonesia, about myself, and about the world.

Introduction

Despite volcano views and jungle scenes in the distance, one of the first sights that piqued my interest in Indonesia was the party flag displays waving proudly from almost every home in Bali. These public displays of support are not uncommon in the United States, but what stood out to me was how each village, or *desa*, were all consistent in their support for one particular party or presidential candidate. These sights had me immediately interested in why this was, and subsequently, how campaigning in Indonesia works. My interests culminated into this investigation into the cultural factors that resulted in the campaigning methods and dynastic politics which were prevalent in the 2024 Indonesian general election. The key figures in the 2024 election are Joko Widodo, the current President of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, the Gerindra Party candidate for President of the Republic of Indonesia, and Gibran Rakabuming, who is the running mate of Prabowo for Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, and the son of Joko Widodo. The election took place on 14 February, 2024, and the official election results on 20 March, 2024 resulted in the victory of Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming.

Literature Review

Theory

This field research study focuses on the role of campaigning and dynastic politics in the 2024 Indonesian general election, which is heavily reliant on the culture, religion, and political history of Indonesia. To understand this, it is vital to first understand the roles that culture and religion play in politics, what makes a democracy and the different ways democracy is employed

in the nation, and subsequently the history of Indonesian politics in order to create a greater understanding of the modern Indonesian political environment.

Clifford Geertz, one of the most influential cultural anthropologists of the 20th century, defines culture as “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (Geertz 1973). Geertz, who centered much of his work on cultural observation in Java, defines culture in such a way that cannot be separated from politics: if the cultural affect influences all knowledge and ‘attitudes toward life’, then political behavior cannot be separated from the ‘system of inherited conceptions’ that permeates it. Michel Foucault, a philosopher known for his ideas on politics and power, suggests a similar relationship concerning power and truth, stating that “we are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth” (Foucault 1980), and in *Imagining Indonesia: Cultural Politics and Political Culture*, Kuntowijoyo adds that “nor can we separate the symbolic from the actual or cultural from political power” (Schiller and Martin-Schiller 1997). It is clear, based on the scholarship of these researchers that culture and politics are clearly tied in both the theoretical and actual sense.

An analysis of democracy in the Republic of Indonesia first requires an understanding of what a democracy is, and how these definitions may be employed within the government. The etymology of the word democracy itself comes from Ancient Greek: *demos*, meaning ‘people’, and *kratos*, meaning ‘rule’ (Morlino 2004). A review of Aristotle’s *Politics* finds that, in regards to statehood, “Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good” (Aristotle [350 BCE] 1888). In *Politics*, Aristotle refers to democracy as the best of the bad lot of

potential types of government, claiming that it being ruled by poor, ineligible people put the *polis* at risk. However, the ideal democracy would prevent tyranny and promote freedom of the people (Aristotle [350 BCE] 1888). Winston Churchill is inclined to agree with Aristotle, having said that “democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time” (Churchill, 2008). Abraham Lincoln, too, is credited with one of the most cited definitions of democracy: “democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people” (Lincoln, 1863). Democracy itself can be divided into two separate types. According to Encik Muhammad Fauzan in his book entitled *Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*, there is direct democracy and representative democracy, the latter, in which democracy is carried out through a representative system usually involving general elections, is the system used by the Republic of Indonesia (Fauzan 2013).

Historical Review

In Indonesia specifically, the issue of a cultural approach to government has been extremely important from the time of the Sukarno administration. In 1959 Sukarno argued before the Constituent Assembly that Indonesia's economic decline, military unruliness, and political conflict all stemmed from a “fundamental lack of fit between ‘Western’ liberal philosophies... and the authentic personality of the people” David Bouchier suggests that “ever since that time, a central theme of government rhetoric has been that the country’s political structures and procedure reflect a uniquely ‘Indonesian’ approach to authority and decision making” (Schiller and Martin-Schiller 1997). However, this idea then begs the question of what exactly is an ‘Indonesian’ approach to politics? The answer to this question lies in the conception of *Pancasila*.

The idea of *Pancasila*, or Five Principles, was formed because the synthesis of western liberal democratic ideas and Indonesian governing tradition “was necessary to resolve the contradictions which had to be faced in the process of becoming modern” (Schiller and Martin-Schiller 1997). The idea of *Pancasila* is crucial to the ideals provided by the 1945 constitution, and are the basis for the development of modern Indonesian democracy. These are crucial to understand the broader political culture of the country.

Mohammad Hatta, who was among those who wrote the 1945 constitution, cites three sources which popularized Indonesian democracy aside from *Pancasila* which are deeply tied to the culture of the country. These three sources form the basic outline for a historical review which encompasses the roots of Indonesian democracy.

The first source which is important both to the structure of Indonesian democracy and crucial to Indonesian history as a whole is the source of inspiration from Western democracy. The presence of European colonialism, especially that of the Dutch brought both ideals of western imperialism and capitalism which contributed to the forming of the 1945 constitution which is in use today. On the third of November 1945, Mohammad Hatta issued a decree “by which Indonesia adopted a Western style parliamentary democracy with many political parties” (Purwanto 2013). However, complications arose with this style of government, particularly with the arrival of allied military forces in the country, and focuses were set on maintaining independence in the face of Dutch and British troops arriving in Aceh in the Fall of 1945 (Sejarah Pemilu: Maklumat Hatta Nomor X Tahun 1945). After retaining independence, Soekarno insisted on a “state-centric democracy, a democracy based on Indonesian traditional values of mutual cooperation able to provide social justice to all the people” (Soekarno 1961). It was at this time that there was a “growing sense that globalization means not only the world

influencing Indonesia, but the other way around as well” (Schiller and Martin-Schiller 1997). Pancasila-ization then became “the officially sponsored trend” towards the homogenization of cultural politics in the country. (Schiller and Martin Schiller 1997).

At this point, the Western ideals brought forth in the Indonesian government were the “very opposite of the capitalist and liberal economy of the colonial state” (Hatta 1963), but rather through contact with western socialist ideals, like that of Karl Marx. Hatta then “expressed his preference for a socialist economy in Indonesia, an economy based on cooperatives for mutual prosperity and social justice with a strong notion of state responsibility and control over economic resources” (Purwanto 2013). These socialist ideals purported by Hatta also tie into the Islamic ideals that Hatta proposes as a second source to popularize democratic ideals in Indonesia.

This second source, Islamic values of justice, which understands the equality of all humans before God, relates to the ideals of democratic humanism that Hatta was drawn to in the socialist ideals brought from the West. These “Islamic teachings demand divine truth and justice in society and brotherhood between humans as God's creatures” (Hatta 1963). This idea relates to the aforementioned relationship between truth and power, as discussed by Michel Foucault, in which one cannot exist without the other (Foucault 1980). With the recognition of one monotheistic Godhead, truth and power are dealt out solely by God, and society then rejects any semblance of absolute power outside of God, which would be contrary to the spirit of monotheism.

The third, and final, source which Hatta uses to liven democracy in Indonesia is the democratic value derived from the smallest political level. In Java, this is the *desa*, the *nagari* in West Sumatra, and the *banjar* in Bali. Each of these types of villages show that the democratic

tradition has been growing in the village communal environment in which the people have been able to make common decisions, compromise, debate and finally support mutual agreement (Jalil 2021). This small-scale practice, according to Hatta, develops democratic attitudes and ideals which bolster the national democracy from the ground up. However, it is important to understand the original tradition of governance within the village system: feudalism. The term feudalism usually ignites thoughts of the European feudal system, which refers to the political, organizational, social and economic system of medieval Europe of land ownership of vassals or lords (Grimmelman, 2000). Karl Marx asserts that this sort of feudalism gives rise to class systems and subsequently class conflict (Epstein, 2007). Hatta, inspired by the western socialist values purported by Marx, found feudalism to be detrimental to Indonesian political society, as, “along with the Dutch colonization, it oppressed the Indonesian people” (Andoni, 2023).

However, Hatta yields that the basis for the feudal system in Indonesia is different. Prior to colonization, “many kingdoms dominated the archipelago, such as Samudra Pasai Kingdom in Aceh, Malay kingdom in North Sumatra, Minangkabau kingdom in West Sumatra, Sriwijaya in Palembang, Singosari, Majapahit, Mataram in the land Java and several kingdoms in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua” (Fauzan and Adela 2019), which were all ruled and “upheld through lineage and age-old myths” (Andoni 2023) and “feudalism fulfilled its obligations to society due to the concept of karma, where the harsh consequences of a tyrannical and oppressive ruler were recognized” (Andoni 2023). In this sense, the tradition of feudalism was different from the European system, which was characterized as more overtly oppressive in nature. However during the colonial period, the European colonists utilized the existing feudalism to shape “the feudal system in their colonial structure” (Fauzan and Adela 2019). In this sense, the traditional governing structure in Indonesia gave rise to an oppressive capitalist

system that Hatta was eager to turn the country away from while at the same time growing a democratic tradition at the smallest political level, as Hatta claims is one of the three sources that liven up democracy.

The presence of the feudal system in Indonesia, and the cultural myths and traditions that it was based off of likely contributed to the new feudal system in the country's politics: nepotism and political dynasties. Additionally, the idea that the power to the elites of the political system comes from the smallest political units- the *desas*- plays into how campaigning in the country is observed. This literature review introduces the theory and history that play into both the methodology and the findings of this research study, asking the question of what modern democracy looks like in Indonesia through the lens of campaigning and dynastic politics in the 2024 Indonesian general election.

Methodology

Methods Overview

The anthropological framework for this research takes both a historical particularist and a functionalist approach. Historical particularism relies on the ideas of Franz Boas, the anthropologist known for his idea of cultural relativism, in which the researcher keeps in mind that “each culture of each society has its own uniqueness and the society has its own distinctive historical development” (Scupin and DeCorse 2012). The other framework utilized throughout this research is functionalism. Functionalism “looks for the part that some aspects of culture or social life plays in maintaining a cultural system. These ideas are crucial for this topic, especially as it seeks to explore the historical and cultural development that led to the modern system of government from Indonesia and I am coming from a distinctly American viewpoint.

As this political-anthropological research utilizes multiple frameworks, it does the same with its mixed-method approach. This research employs three distinct methods for research: first, cultural and participant observation, second, an archival review, and third, interviews. This mixed ethnographic-archival method is used in this research for several reasons. Cultural and participant observation allowed me to understand from an outsider's point of view what campaigning and election day looked like in Indonesia. As this limited information is not enough to form a fully-encompassing picture of democracy in Indonesia, the research requires other methods. Interviews were conducted in order to gain first-hand opinions and viewpoints on Indonesian democracy through questions on voting, campaigning, political history, and dynasticism. Finally, the archival approach was utilized in order to understand more fully the basis for which democracy in Indonesia relies on and the laws on campaigning in order to understand more fully the customs around such topics. In addition to this reasoning, the archival approach was utilized because past research on democracy in Indonesia, such as in Fauzen and Adela, "Feudalism in Indonesia Democracy", *Imagining Indonesia*, and Purwanto's "Guided Economics" rely heavily on an archival method, particularly in their use of various Indonesian constitutions and speeches given by politicians.

Cultural and Participant Observation

The cultural and participant observations for this study include three separate subjects: campaign observations in Bali, specifically around the Kerambitan and Ubud areas, election day observations in Java, specifically in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, and social media observations from politicians and civilians, spanning the time period from prior to, during, and after the 2024 general election. While experiencing each of these subjects, I took notes about the sights and sounds and the potential political impact or meanings.

Archival Review

The archival review for this study focuses on the ideals of *Pancasila* within the 1945 Constitution, and campaign law, specifically the Electoral Law of 2017 (*Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017*) passed by the People's Representative Council. This paper will highlight sections of these documents that pertain to dynasticism, campaigning, and that which relates to cultural observations and interview answers.

Interviews

The interviews utilized in this research follow a semi-structured format in order to put the interlocutor at ease when talking about a potentially sensitive topic such as their own political views. This interview structure allowed me to produce a set of questions for the interviewee, but allowed each interlocutor to lead the discussion in order to make them feel more as if they are part of a discussion with a peer. Interview participants include Indonesian citizens and public figures: Several students from Universitas Udayana in Bali, a family friend who has lived in Indonesia his entire life, and Fauzi Bowo, the former governor of Jakarta and Indonesian ambassador to Germany.

The initial interviews with several students from Universitas Udayana were conducted in a group format, which had both benefits and drawbacks. Benefits of the group interview format were that it helped with translation when there was a political word or phrase that they didn't know how to communicate in English, or that I wouldn't know in Bahasa Indonesia. However, I felt as though some of the students were holding back on their own answers because of the group setting and the sensitivity of the topic of the current election cycle, so I elected to change the interview format going forward. I also had gotten to know each interlocutor well prior to

conducting the interview, which helped put the participants more at ease and more comfortable talking to me about their political opinions and experiences.

The guiding list of questions in both English and Bahasa Indonesian used for all interviews except for that with Fauzi Bowo are as follows:

- **Did you vote in the recent election?**
 - Apakah bapak/ibu ikut nyoblos pada pemilu tahun ini
- **When was the first time you voted?**
 - Kapan pertama ikut pemilu?
- **Do you feel like you should vote?**
 - Apakah bapak/ibu pikir harus ikut nyoblos?
- **Do you think that your vote has an impact on the outcome of an election?**
 - Apakah bapak/ibu pikir suara bapak punya pengaruh pada hasil pemilu?

These questions served as an outline to guide the conversations with students, and do not encompass every question that was asked. Full interviews including the questions asked can be found in the Appendix.

The guiding questions I asked Governor Bowo are different from the ones above because they were intended to gain insight into the experience of being a public elected official in Indonesia and to understand his personal experience with current president Joko Widodo and Governor Bowo's experience campaigning in 2007 and again in 2012. The interview conducted with Governor Bowo was completely in English, and the guiding questions are as follows:

- Will you tell me a little bit about your political experience generally? What positions did you hold, etc?
- What made you get into politics in the first place?

- What were the types of issues that you were most focused on in your time as governor?
- Can you tell me a bit about what it was like campaigning?
- Do you think social media is a big part of the campaign cycle now?
- The other part of what I'm interested in about elections in Indonesia is about dynastic politics.
- Did you ever feel like you should encourage your children, or your grandchildren to get into politics?
- Why do you think dynasties in politics here are so regular?
 - Speaking of which, how do you feel about Jokowi's dynasty being continued through his son(s)?
- Are you worried about what this might mean for politics and elections here going forward? Or rather that it'll all work out in the end?
- How did you come to become the Ambassador to Germany?

All interviewees were told that they did not have to answer any questions that they did not want to respond to, and it was made clear that they could end the interview at any time if they felt uncomfortable continuing to talk about politics. All interviewees gave verbal consent to be interviewed, and names of Indonesian citizens barring public officials will not be named in this research. Instead, interviewees will be referred to as Interlocutor A, Interlocutor B, etc.

Findings

Cultural and Participant Observation

As election day drew near in February 2024, those offering their support to a particular party or candidate became more obvious. I noticed that in Kerambitan, many of the flags waving support for the PDI-P party which had faded from a bright red to a dull orange in the intense

sunlight had been swapped for new bright red flags. Additionally, in early February, I witnessed a political rally across the street from my homestay. There was a large poster of PDI-P candidate Ganjar Pranowo, and several members of the *banjar* stood near it in a crowd chanting back to the person leading the rally. Unfortunately, at this point in time, my Bahasa Indonesia language skills were not advanced enough to understand what was being said. Therefore, I can only speak to the feelings and understandings that it spurred in me, and what I observed from an outsider's point of view. At the end of the rally, the chanting ended and music began playing in its place. The participants moved from the crowd they had been standing in and joined in singing and dancing to the music. These sights were interesting because it had seemed that the entire *banjar* had come out to support the candidate and celebrate together. This sight reflects Mohammad Hatta's claim of the importance of the smallest political unit in Indonesian democracy- the village. However, the unity between each town that I saw waving a different party flag led me to wonder why the uniformity was so prevalent. When asking an interlocutor about this, he told me that it was likely due to vote-buying, in which politicians promise money to the *banjars* in return for a guaranteed vote in their favor (See Appendix A).

The observations made on election day occurred in Java. On February fourteenth, the streets were empty, many businesses shut down, and even some of the most popular tourist destinations- Candi Borobudur and Candi Prambanan- were nearly empty, except for a few tourist groups. When talking with the *gurus* of the program, I was told that election day had become a national holiday, and even the universities, notably Gadjah Mada University (UGM) had been shut down for several days so that professors and students may return home to cast their vote. Delving deeper into this issue, I learned that there is no system in place for absentee voting- if you are not in your home district on election day, it is incredibly difficult to cast a vote.

(see Appendix A). This too, shows deference to the importance of the village unit in Indonesian democracy- votes have to be cast in your home district, which ensures that the village unit comes together to each cast their vote at the same place.

Archival Review

One of the most contentious subjects of the 2024 Indonesian general election occurred prior to the election in October of 2023 when the Constitutional Court allotted an exception to the 2017 Electoral Law Article 169(q), which allowed candidates to run for President or Vice-President even if they are under the age of 40. This exception allows those who have previously held a lower level of public office to run for the position despite being younger than 40 years old. The 2017 Electoral Law Article 169(q) states that “Requirements that must be fulfilled by a Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate are as follows: ...q. at least 40 (forty) years of age...” (Appendix B). One of the political parties who petitioned the original law was the Indonesia Solidarity Party, currently chaired by Kaesang Pangrep, son of Joko Widodo and brother to Gibran Rakabuming, the current Vice-President elect of Indonesia. This ruling was made by Anwar Usman, the former chairman of the Constitutional Court, who is the brother of Joko Widodo’s wife, Iriana. The clear conflict of interest in this ruling later caused the November 2023 dismissal of Anwar Usman as the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court. Usman’s ruling brings attention to other parts of the 2017 Electoral Law, namely Article 282 which states that “During campaign, state officers, structural officers, and functional officers in the civil service, and village heads are prohibited from making decisions and/or conducting activities that benefit or disbenefit any particular election contestant” (Appendix B). While not technically considered an officer within the civil service, the Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court held a hearing and ultimately dismissed Anwar Usman from his position.

This electoral law also highlights the importance that the village has on elections. Local leaders are appointed to ensure the fair and smooth running of elections, and local leaders are barred from actively participating in campaigns or making decisions that would benefit a particular candidate. This prohibition shows the expected value that villages place on their leaders, especially when it comes to making national decisions.

The connections between politicians in Indonesia is incredibly interesting and often complicated to understand. In order to more fully comprehend the web that connects some of the most powerful families in politics relating to this election, I made the following political family tree (Figure 1), which highlights the connections between the families of Prabowo Subianto, Joko Widodo, Suharto, and Sukarno. In this graph, the black lines of connection indicate a familial tie- marriages, siblings, and children. The lighter red lines of connection indicate a professional partnership- most notably that of Gibran Rakabuming and Prabowo Subianto, running mates in the 2024 general election.

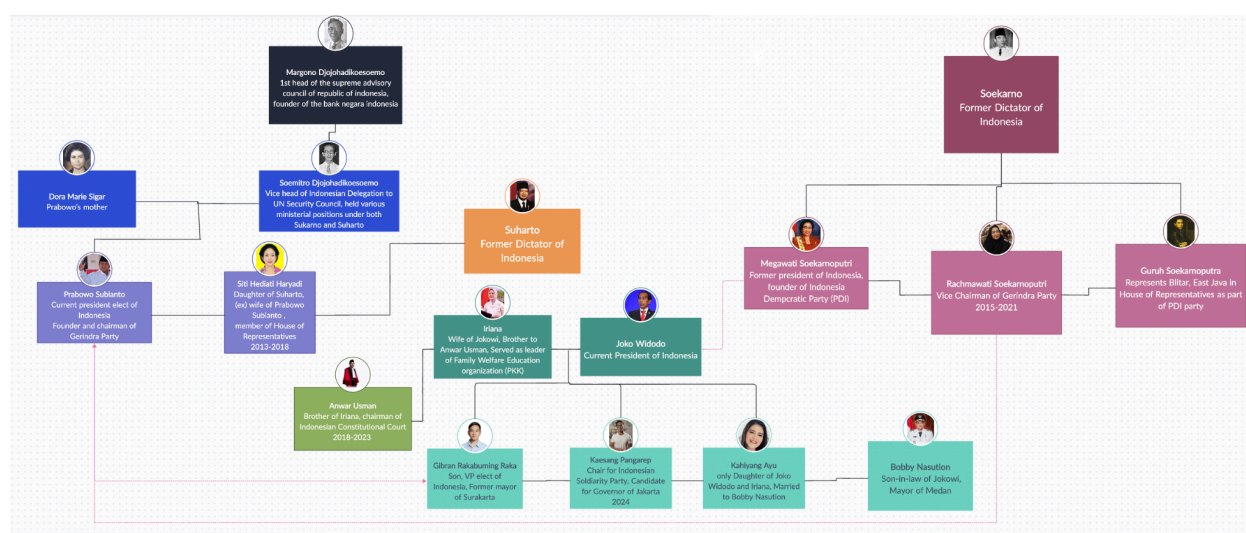


Figure 1

In addition to highlighting the changes to electoral law of this past year, it is also important to note the importance of *Pancasila* in Indonesian democracy. Article 280 of the 2017 Electoral Law states that “Electoral Campaign organizers, participants, and teams are prohibited to: a. question Pancasila and the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as the foundation of the state, and/or question the unitary state as the form of Republic of Indonesia” (Appendix B). The fourth principle of *Pancasila* is about democracy led by wisdom in deliberation, and as former Governor Bowo had put it in our interview, it “is very interesting because often interpreted as the principle of إجماع, the arabic word for consensus, in which there is no confrontation as such” instead, “people sit together and try to find a common denominator for what they want to formulate” Governor Bowo continued that this is strange in a democracy, but that is what our founding father wanted for a diverse country like Indonesia” (Appendix C). The continual importance placed on *Pancasila* in Indonesia highlights the vitality of its values for the continuation of the archipelago nation. These values can be seen not just in legal texts, but in the campaign messages from politicians and the desires that young people have for their country.

Interviews

Going into the interviews with students from Universitas Udayana, I wanted to ask about what efficacy people thought they had on the outcome of the election, especially because there were theories of fraud in the election results. I find that this is a question that is also often asked of young people in America, and which seems fitting as the populations of more than 50 countries are headed to the polls this year. The answer I received to this question was largely unsurprising, but revealing about the state of democracy in elections in this country: “I hope so”,

followed by an explanation that to these students, voting is more about making a difference in the parties themselves than in the general election results (Appendix D).

Another interesting answer to the question of which political issues they found most important in their country. These students had different ideas of what they found to be the most important- one in particular was focused on the politics at home, specifically the rights of blue-collar factory workers. To this student, making sure that people in her country had the necessary rights to live a healthier life is the most important thing to support in politics. For another student, the most important issue in politics is that of foreign relations. How Indonesia interacts with other countries is incredibly important to her, especially with their (lack of) involvement in the recent and ongoing conflicts between Ukraine and Russia and between Israel and Palestine. This student was concerned that in any conflict, her country's "response to war is always just support both sides" (see Appendix D). It was interesting to see how these two students have such different concerns from each other which I feel strongly reflects how the young population of Indonesia views politics as well. Many are strongly concerned with domestic politics, while others are more concerned with how Indonesia as a country interacts with the outside world. While the limited number of interviews conducted makes it difficult to extrapolate these findings to the broader Indonesian population, these reflections are important to note. These comments also reflect the ideation purported in Indonesia's *Pancasila* ideals, focusing on social justice for all the people in Indonesia as well as the just and civilized humanity for all people (Citation).

Something that surprised me during the interview was a student's insistence that their history education was unbiased of political thought. I often find that what is taught in school is often dependent on where one lives and the dominant political ideation of the lawmakers or

public officials in that area, which leads to an often biased account of historical events. While two of the interviewed students were insistent that no politics were taught to them in school, including through unconscious bias, one interviewee insisted that yes, she found that many of her history lessons were taught through the lens of politics. However, they all insisted that their main source for political knowledge came from teachings within the home, particularly what their parents thought and taught about politics.

As Indonesia is a relatively young democracy with a rich political history, the older generation's view on politics is incredibly important, especially considering the huge political changes that they have lived through. It is unsurprising, then, that these university students defer to their parents' and grandparents' experiences when forming their political thoughts and ideations. This leads me into the next interview section with Fauzi Bowo, Governor of Jakarta from 2007 to 2012.

Governor Bowo graciously invited me into his home and hosted me for over a week in Jakarta and invited me to celebrate *Idul Fitri* with his family. After getting to know him over this time period, I sat down with him for over two hours to talk about his political experience in Jakarta. It was then that I learned that he was the first elected governor of Jakarta- prior to his term, all previous governors were appointed by the President of Indonesia. I also learned that Governor Bowo has personal experience with Joko Widodo- in 2012 Bowo lost his reelection campaign to Widodo, who is now the sitting President of the Republic of Indonesia. When discussing whether or not he regretted losing to Widodo, Governor Bowo said that "No. [he is] convinced that it was not a fair election., and now it is proved that [Joko Widodo] is going at it again- he was backed by the strongest political party at that time...Because of [Governor Bowo's] belief that democracy should guarantee that elections are conducted in a fair and

transparent manner, and that was not the case...so [he] quit, and [he] did not want to continue in political life” (Appendix C).

According to Bowo, he was later asked by the President of Indonesia at the time and German Chancellor Angela Merkel to continue his political life as the ambassador to Germany, which he gladly accepted, saying that it was an opportunity to “still be involved in politics, but less within Indonesia” (Appendix C). Discussing the philosophy behind his decision, Governor Bowo said the following: In life, one should understand and know the signature of educated people- they usually and hopefully are wiser- and every wise man should know where to start and when to stop, if not, you will be driven by ego and ego never ends” (Appendix C). ‘Ego never ends’ is a particularly poignant note when considering the lengths Joko Widodo has gone to continue his political legacy in Indonesia.

When discussing further on the topic of election unfairness, especially in the wake of the 2024 general election results, Governor Bowo shared with me what he told a forum at Stanford University earlier this year: “I can tell you a few things, but don't ask me about the details. One democracy is going on, Two, corruption will be going up. Three, nobody will take care about the environment (because of number one and two). And then, we will have difficulties in providing job opportunities for the upcoming generation. This is a huge country with a large population and if you don't manage to get the proper economic growth, how can you provide employment to the people?” (Appendix C). Bowo’s concerns about the election results are twofold: first, the corruption in the country in relation to the political dynasty that Joko Widodo is building, and second, the economic decline that he is expecting in the years to come.

Governor Bowo also provided insight on his experience campaigning in Indonesia in 2007 and 2012. He told me that “the most effective [campaign method] is actually door to door”,

as opposed to media, town hall discussions, and every other method available to him (Appendix C). Governor Bowo also discussed other parts of his campaign strategy, noting that “some of the political parties are very strong at the leadership and weak at the bottom, but you need the other way around, you need to be strong at the grassroots level”, otherwise the candidate becomes completely dependent on the political party’s support, which can be tricky because people join a party not because of conviction or political principle”, but rather “people tend to choose a party because they want to be part of something big” (Appendix C).

Conclusion

The results of this research indicates that within modern Indonesian democracy, there is a strong tie to the original governing traditions of feudalism, both in the sense of pre- and post-colonization. The presence of nepotism and political dynasties seen in the 2024 Indonesian general election contributes to the sense that the political culture and history of the country has permeated modern democracy. The changes to the 2017 Electoral Law and the potential breaking of such laws in regards to campaign funding, as suggested in some interviews in combination with the isolated pockets of political support in the *banjars* in Bali indicates further evidence of corruption and nepotism in the Joko Widodo administration and dynasty. These observations also suggest the continued importance of the smallest political unit- the *desa* and the *banjar* within Indonesia. Finally, the ideation of the newest generation of voters in Indonesia indicate a continued strong tie to the ideals purported in *Pancasila* and a continued shared goal of keeping the country united, free under democracy, as well as a continued reference to the older generation’s political experience and knowledge.

Limitations and Future Recommendations

Unfortunately, as with many research projects, there were a few limitations to this research; however, many could likely be rectified with future study. One such limitation includes limited access to archives, especially those translated into English. One such archive which was difficult to access was the October 16th ruling from the Constitutional Court which allotted a bypass to the age minimum to run for President or Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia. This document was instead understood through readings of English-language news articles and the use of Google Translate to understand parts of the original document. In addition, my limited Bahasa Indonesia proficiency at times made it difficult to understand the nuances of interview answers.

Another limitation to this study was the timing. As most of it was conducted in April of 2024, the celebrations of *Idul Fitri* made it difficult to find time to complete interviews, as many students and professionals were on holiday at the time. Related to this, I would have like to speak to more public officials with varying relationships with the Joko Widodo administration and in varying public roles in Indonesia. As it is, I am very grateful for the opportunity to speak with former Governor Fauzi Bowo for an extended period of time.

Finally, the potential sensitivity of this research topic was limiting to this study. In the past in Indonesia, political dissent was met with military violence (citation), and for many, these instances are still fresh in their minds. In addition to this, several of the Universitas Udayana students seemed hesitant to speak on politics, especially with other students, for fear of “break[ing] relationships” (Appendix D). While these limitations are significant, I am confident that with further research in a longer period of time, similar conclusions to this paper may be made.

Glossary

Desa- village in Java

Demos- Greek, meaning people

Kratos- Greek, meaning rule

Pancasila- Five Principles which govern Indonesia stated in the fourth paragraph to the preamble of the 1945 Constitution:

1. Belief in the one and only God
2. Just and civilized humanity
3. The unity of Indonesia
4. Democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, as well
5. Social justice for all the people of Indonesia

Banjar- village in Bali

Nagari- village in West Sumatra

Guru- teacher

إجماع -Arabic, meaning consensus

Appendices

Appendix A:

Cultural Observation Notes

Flags in Kerambitan are all red, or orange from faded sunlight, with a bull on them

These are the flags of the PDI-P party

Driving from Kerambitan, Bali, to villages near Ubud, each town we pass through sports a different colored flag from those before it.

PDI-P flags seem most popular, but there are quite a few towns with yellow flags as well.

Picture of PDI-P flag spotted in Kerambitan, Indonesia



The gurus are not able to vote in this election because we will be in Yogyakarta and they are all from Bali.

Election Day- all the streets are very quiet, our schedule had to be changed because of the holiday at UGM. There was hardly anyone at Candi Prambanan yesterday, and even less at Borobudur today.

Appendix B

2017 Electoral Law Selections

ELECTION CONTESTANTS AND REQUIREMENTS TO CONTEST IN AN ELECTION

First Part

Requirements of a Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidate

Article 169

Requirements that must be fulfilled by a Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate are as follows:

- a. pious in service to the Lord Almighty;
- B. an Indonesian citizen since birth and has never, based on their own free will, received the citizenship of other country;
- c. the legally-wed spouse of a presidential or vice-presidential candidate must be an Indonesian citizen;
- d. having never committed any act of treason towards the state, and having never committed any acts of corruption or other serious crimes;
- e. physically and mentally able to conduct their tasks and responsibilities as a president or vice president, and free from the abuse of narcotics or other illegal substances;
- f. residing in Indonesia;
- g. having reported their wealth to the governmental institution authorized to audit the report of state leadership's wealth.
- h. free from the responsibility of any personal or organizational debt, which may disbenefit the nation's resources;
- i. currently not in a declaration of bankruptcy as per a court verdict;

- j. free from the conduct of any despicable deeds;
- k. currently not in the running as a legislative (DPR, DPD, or DPRD) candidate;
- l. registered as a voter;
- m. having a taxpayer's identification number (NPWP) and has fulfilled their tax responsibilities in the last 5 (five) years, proven by the submission of their taxpayer's responsibility statement letter for individual citizens;
- n. having not served as a president or vice president for 2 (two) tenures in the same position;
- o. faithful to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, the vision of the 17 August 1945 Proclamation of Independence;
- p. having not been criminally punished by a verdict of a court with a fixed legal power due to committing a criminal act punished by incarceration of 5 (five) or more years;
- q. at least 40 (forty) years of age;
- r. have at least a high school diploma or its equivalent (madrasah aliyah, vocational high school, vocational madrasah aliyah, or other diploma of the equal strata);
- s. not an ex-member of banner organizations such as the Indonesian Communist Party, including any of its derivative organizations, and not an active participant of the G30S/PKI; and, t. having a statement of vision, mission, and policy program to govern the Republic of Indonesia

Fourth Part

Prohibitions of Campaign

Article 280

(1) Electoral Campaign organizers, participants, and teams are prohibited to:

- a. question Pancasila and the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia as the foundation of the state, and/or question the unitary state as the form of Republic of Indonesia;
- b. conduct activities that threaten the unity of the Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia;
- c. insult a person, a candidate, or an election contestant's personal identity, religion, race, ethnicity, group;
- d. incite or spark horizontal conflict between individuals or groups within the society;
- e. disturb public order;
- f. threaten others with violence or make a call for violence by and/or against another individual, a group of people, and/or another election contestant;
- g. destroy and/or remove campaign tools of another election contestant;
- h. use state facilities, houses of worship, or venues for education;
- i. bring or use the name, symbol, icon, or other attributes of individuals or parties that are not contesting in a given election; and,
- j. promise or provide incentives in the form of money or other gifts to attendees or participants of a campaign activity.

(2) A campaign organizer and/or campaign team, in holding a campaign activity, is prohibited to involve:

- a. chief justice, deputy chief justice, junior secretary on court of the Supreme Court, and all justices in the Supreme Court as well as in the Constitutional Court;
- b. head, deputy head, and members of the Audit Board of Indonesia;
- c. governor, senior deputy governor, and deputy governor of the Bank of Indonesia;

- d. member of the board of directors, commissioners, supervisors, and employees of state or region owned enterprises;
- e. state officials that are not members of political parties, serving as a leader in non-structural institutions.
- f. civil servants;
- g. active members of the National Military (TNI) and the National Police Force Republic of Indonesia;
- h. village head;
- i. village staff;
- j. members of the village consultative body; and,
- k. an Indonesian citizen without the right to vote.

Article 282

During campaign, state officers, structural officers, and functional officers in the civil service, and village heads are prohibited from making decisions and/or conducting activities that benefit or disbenefit any particular election contestant.

Appendix C

Interview Notes- Fauzi Bowo

Will you tell me a little bit about your political experience generally? What positions did you hold, etc?

Governor officer, started from the bottom, graduated from germany, called back because the gov needed someone with the background of planning, city planning regional planning, and national planning, to work for the national planning agency part in charge with a team for the regional development started in the early 70s with emphasis on capital and surrounding area, JaBoTaBeK, Had to deal a lot with the very progressive thinking and acting governor of jakarta, not a very good working relationship because he was insisting mass transit for jakarta, but told no money, need to look for the money, because in the interim cannot sustain the area without mass rapid transit, train system, asked why he did not work for city of jakarta, why should he work for national government when could be more effective in jakarta, reached up the merit system,

Now about the politics- during the course of the 35 years, the system has changed, dramatically, until the year 1998, autocratic government, under suharto, sukarno was rather democratic, but also very authoritarian, but he led the political party develop themselves, communist party was even allowed, democratic, islamist parties, the consequences of this democratic flavor of leadership, then the government was toppled by the communist government, communist party its background was behind the change in government- after that the comust party was banned in indonesia, ince 1965 we didnt allow communist party in indonesia, no longer in existence, doesnt mean that the party is no longer there- the spirit is still there- pro poor, pro ignoring any religion, (atheist), pro people associated wit farming, fishermen, etc, independet, people at the bottom of

the social status, that was 1965, at that time, due to strong leadership of Suharto, the country managed to have a plan, development, and be progressing according to the plan, because of the political upheaval of Sukarno, it was up and down, during steadiness of Suharto's time it was steady upwards (development) 1998, there was a strong movement back to democracy, managed to topple Suharto, pushed to resign, and the new order came in Reformasi order, back to Jakarta until that point, Jakarta governor had always been appointed by the president, including allies Sedik, all of the governors of Jakarta were all generals, appointed without experience, there was no chance of a civilian officer to become the leader of the city, (this was the case until his governorship), because of the new order, the electoral system has been changed, the first stage was elected by the local council, 1998, because of the crisis, esp in Jakarta, economic and political crisis, the governor at that time, my boss, was looking for a CEO, he chose me, number three to the governor, 1997, during the crisis, we experienced a very bad budget situation, had to cut the budget and run the government 46% less than 50% of the total budget we were supposed to have at that time, multiparty council, political challenge at the same time, managed to survive, because after two years running the management, we were almost back to normal, the third year, the budget came back to almost normal, the system has changed, for the election, we have every five years an election, we had different election schedule for governorship, from province to province, subregion, regency, different from each one, but all elected by the city council, 2002, promoted from CEO to become the vice governor- second man in charge, with same gov, then had to become politician by doing, and in 2002, I had to be much closer with political party, because part of elected leadership,. In 2004, when I was vice gov, even drove the electoral system, more towards democratic goals and objectives, in 2007, the gov in all the provinces of Indonesia was elected by the people directly, first civilian gov in Jakarta, ran the gov

until 2012, trying hard to be reelected, but saw some sign that the the election was not as fair as the way i thought, i hoped, the way we had in 2007, i was actually, beaten by my successor, joko widodo, who is now the president. Do I regret it? No. I am convinced that it was not a fair election., and now it is proved that he is going it again, he was backed by the strongest political party at that time, but basically because of my belief that democracy should guarantee that elections are conducted fair, and transparent, but that was not the case, so i quit, did not want to continue in political life, the president at that time appointed joint agreement by german chancellor, ms merkel and our president, i can say that because on election day, i was hosting her lunch in jakarta, when after the lunch when she was entering her car, she told me, “if you win, and i wish you win, but if you do not, then germany will welcome you anytime”, it was a sign for me, later, the president called me, and asked me to represent indonesia in republic of germany, so still involved in politics, but less indonesia,.

What is the philosophy behind my decision?

In life, one should understand and know

The signature of educated people- they usually and hopefully are wiser, and every wise man should know where to start and when to stop, if not, you will be driven by ego and ego never ends.

Campaigning,

Has a lot of things to do also with the conditions of every region, province, electoral system, political parties are different,

I can tell you in detail about jakarta whe i was elected government, 1997

The majority the most powerful party at that time was the partai demokrasi indonesia - pdip

Put this in the opposite position- many also islamic parties- three or four- the strongest at that time were ppp- partai .. Pkb, other smaller, like partai bulan bintang (moon, star), pks, not that strong at the moment, but very aggressive, underline aggressive, performing the islamic principles on ruling government, and that was the reason also that they didn't get much sympathy, because indonesia has a very typical philosophy that is the pancasila, belief in god, humanity, unity, democracy, and wise decision, made by all of the people, and five is the social justice for everyone, number four is very interesting because often interpreted as the principle of إجماع, the arabic word for consensus, there is no confrontation as such, people sit together and try to find a common denominator for what they want to formulate, this is strange in a democracy, but that is what our founding father wanted for a diverse country like indonesia, has a dimension like the united states- if you fly from one end to the other more that 5 hours, more than 400 ethnic group living in archipelago, use a hard democratic measurement, this this country would easily become over a hundred smaller countries, remains united because of pancasila, i can tell you few example people

Indonesia is such a rich country, not inly in terms of culture, but also flora and fauna, the equator, divide the world, and divide east and west, divide indonesia into east and west, east flora and fauna not found in west, find strange animal - like anoa, butterflies, many kinds of things, birds, and fishes, orang indonesia, from the eastern part much darker than those coming from the western part, indonesian from papua more related to polynesia, they have curly hair like you, seldom found in western indonesia, thanks to pancasila, we are still united,

What were are afraid of is because of political countries is that this beautiful country would be divided into a bunch of smaller countries like the balkans, because of dividing, those countries have less power, we are the fourth largest country in population in the world

Back to party situation on 2007, because of that reason, i managed to beat all other parties with -- was my opponent, but it doesn't mean that at that time it was an easy win, because they managed to encroach the other islamic political party by selling the filsafat of islamic state (not officially),but they were trying to sell that idea, particularly to the youth, but finally the people of jakarta choose me because they don't want jakarta to go too close to the 'islamic state'

campaigning methods

Election law, change from election to election, at that time, there was no facebook, no instagram, we were using media, yes, but everything you use for your campaign has to be accountable, that's what the law said at the time, but we exploring everything, media, door to door, town hall discussion, but during a certain period only when allowed to do that, otherwise you have to do it silently, or manipulate something, the most effective way is actually door to door, we were using also consultant, it started all the way when i was election decided by city council i tried to learn how political parties work - if you make your some of the political parties are very strong at the leadership and weak at the bottom, you need the other way around, you need to be strong at the grassroot level , if you do not say if you totally depend at the political party, very diverse and divergent in character, how can you expect to get a total output, people join party not because of conviction or political principle (which just don't have tight principle) but people tend to choose party because they want to be part of something big, the winner because they want money.

Number 2 because president use state budget and giving it

Unfairness still there, started all the way in 2012, it's not the system of democracy, it's more because of the leadership.

I was just recently attend the invitation of the asian society of stanford, talking about china us relationship, because they know about jakarta, they were asking about the election

I can tell you a few things,

Don't ask me about detail

One democracy is going on,

Two, Corruption will be going up.

Three, Nobody will take care about the environment (because of number one and two)

And then we will have difficulties in providing job opportunities for the upcoming generation

This is a huge country with a large population dn if you don't manage to get the proper economic growth how can you provide employment to the people?

We need economic growth of 7 percent in order to be able to provide the number of employment that we need, less than that, we cannot catch up. Happy with growth of 5%, but unemployment is very huge here. We are lucky that they are not crying, they are trying to survive by working in the informal sector- part time job, contract, with no social security, almost no, they get sick then they will enter a cycle because there is not enough money to cover, for those informal sector they stand alone,

We are good at providing basic education for people, you can go everywhere and you'll find an elementary school run by government, but as soon as you move up to high school, then it become scarce, worse than education system is like clasping hand

Employment and education system, it has to match,

Education system in indonesia, driven not to scale and ability to work to do something properly but driven for a title, in every developing country, people are driven t higher education for the social status, some indonesians have at the from or back of their names, so many titles, even

professor, professor without teaching, then start talking to those people, you immediately know is this person educated, but this is a complex in indonesia,

What we should have is ...I'm partly educated in germany...

In europe in general particularly in austria, swiss, germany, they are more pragmatic, they don't need title, what they need is skill,, the backbone of strong manufacturing industry is skilled people, indonesia should follow this, this is something that you couldn't find in the states, 343 skill that are trained educate and built through a course systematic in germany that end up with certification, even if you are if you want to be a baker, you have to be certified baker , if you want to be a barber, hair stylist, you need certification, because it's more practical, you don't have to go to university, for many reason,

This is an alternative for many young generation to be independent and get a job asap, they still can go back and join university after working a few years,

Back to indonesia, i've been telling my government about this for many years, nobody wants to understand or listen to that

Since the world is having opening up borders of many countries and having free trade between countries, it means not just manufacturing countries, it's also skilled people, only skilled people with certifications are allowed, otherwise you are creating unemployment,

Unexpected of skilled people

Silicon valley, only few people from india, nowadays, there are many big communities of indian people working there, because of the US and silicon valley needs them, they are trained people in their countries, speak english from a very young age, you go to boston area, there are lot of indian restaurant,

Can you tell me a bit about what it was like campaigning?

2012, social media starting to be used, using twitter at that time for some of my colleagues, jakarta very much involved in environmental issues responding , initiator was bloomberg new york, colleagues from toronto mayor and mayor of african country, i think, tanzania, maybe, and we initiated move the during the the work largest international COP19 in copenhagen, we moved a motion towards the united nation that they should look at local governments to take part in important issues the doer is the local governments, waste management is not done by state or national government, this all has to be decided bt local government, by the community eventually, bloomberg no longer there, receded,

C40- major cities that took the initiative of this motion in 2009 maybe during the cop19 inc copenhagen, that has driven a lot of cities to be more conscious and do their part and reduce and respond to the climate change,

City traffic (pollution), the air conditioning, renewable energy, all happening in cities, in local within the reach of local government, waste processing, waste liquid and solid, how many cities has proper sewer system and has caused pollution to soil and caused flooding, landslides, etc because of lack of sewer system, reduction of world temperature, reduce renewable energy, new building code, all glass facets on skyscraper, singapore good example, plan facet of building, and the top floor garden, most impressive is marina center

Singapore is not democracy, democracy al la singapore, but they have no chance at all, to express their political visions, but that is the only way to rule a country of less than 5 million popel,

decision to jack up income per capita of singapore, one of the most one of the few countries with the highest income per capita in the world,

Environmental policy and infrastructure, make jakarta stand at par with any other modern cities, i was talking about infrastructure, i was giving a lot of attention to mass transit, i was the one starting it , the loan agreement with the japanese government, improving the capacity of the regional rail, still not completed yet but it can carry almost a million people from only 3 or 400000.

This is important because the city automatically become achievement of economy of indonesia everything get more expensive here, particularly housing, so they have to go a bit further from boundary of the city, so only a mass transit train can carry them, the job opportunities are in jakarta, even the informal sector, could only survive in jakarta, because of purchasing power here, people spend money for lunch, while walking to and from lunch, for their own needs, that is why the informal sector will survive, buying things in the shopping mall is more expensive than buying on the roadside, and then this transportation means has to be subsidized by the government, this cannot be run 10% by the private sector,

The subway has to be extended 2025, the eastwest supposed to be ray, not the north south completed yet, and then another problem that jakarta is facing is that jakarta is sinking, the city land subside because of people extracting water for their their daily needs, but nobody is responding to that properly, at the end of my term in office i managed to come up with a long time plan about how to cover water supply needs for the city, and how to stop people from extracting water from the land, planning to construct a giant seawall on the bay of jakarta, one of the purpose of this wall is to prevent the rising sea water and eventually climate change, like hurricane , its approaching, nearing this area, in manila area, they had never had a hurricane

before but something extreme happened, small hurricanes in the northern part of java, need to protect on the big scale, not incremental, something happened while i was talking about this that was at the same time as the when the new orleans experiencing the hurricane, built seawall too close and bow is obsolete,

In Holland, they used to dam the sea and also gain some land. By building this seawall, there are thirteen rivers flowing from Jakarta into the sea. If we can have a big dam, we can dam this fresh water and make this giant pond into a resource for fresh water for the needs of the people of jakarta. Its expensive but we have realized that it's the only way to prevent the northern part of jakarta from sinking further, and protect from the eventual

There was some modeling,

I have connections with some people in the Netherlands, the Dutch are well known in the world as specialists in hydro engineering. They have managed to keep Holland clean from flooding by introducing this system, everywhere you go in the world, hydro engineering is led by the dutch. China, singapore, australia, israel, all led by the dutch. The dutch people at the time had a contract in new orleans, had lots of contracts in russia, in st petersburg, former leningrad, now completed took 25 to 30 years to build a dam to protect st petersburg from flooding, what happened, they did a study around the world, maldives, which could easily disappear, and also for north coastal area of the island of java, they are doing some simulation, that if you don't do anything, by 2050, some area will be 3 meters over flooding by seawater, by tsunami flooding, this was the study that had me come up with the idea of the giant seawall,

To convince the world that the local government is as important as the national.

Environmentally, management, economically, the best decision is to move the government capital activities not too far from jakarta, it is not solving the density of the island of java, but it is relieving jakarta, number two, you can find you have to learn from other experiences, is there any other place in the world that has managed to move the capital successfully

Brasil, no life after 6 o'clock, its a dead city, rio, still thriving, though there is a lot of crime, very dense, etc etc. life is in rio. Three, joburg and pretoria, life is still in joburg, compared to cape town, south africa

Another good example, or bad example, is myanmar, rangoon, move 250 km away to the middle northern part of myanmar, and spend a lot of money. It's a dead city, with only government offices there. Myanmar is dictatorial they moved a bunch of armed forces over there. It has become a army fortress.

Making buildings is easy, moving life is hard. Constructing an airport -they want to officially open it by august 17 of this year, no embassies are moving there. Foreign office will not move then, a lot of people are looking to me for support from the local government

No hospital close by, grocery shops, initiate that by aug 17 by moving armed forces and police force, and change law on government officers, this is very tricky, against democracy, since jokowi managed to, what he always used to say- embraced all the political parties,- so that he could control all of them, he changed the law on government officers, since 1998, before i became the governor all were appointed by the president, generals, most of the important posts were not killed by all the 1,2,3 star generals, the civilians have to live with being a subordinate of roses people without the understanding what they are expected to do, now with the change of the law, they put it back, they say to everyone who don't want to move to the capital, they lose their job and filled by military officers.

In the low educated population, things like this can happen,
Worried about freeness and fairness of elections going forwards
Using government budget money, those are people's money,
Taxpaying people and he uses without approval of parliament,
Some of the interesting things is

He demonstrate distributes rice and those basic needs of the people in front of the palace, he took tons of this stuff and distributes it

There was a hearing in the constitutional court, the minister in charge of this, says he didn't know about it.

They, using el nino, is usually a force major, if they are anticipating this, you are not prepared for el nino and then it happens, and then you have to recruit some money, or you anticipate this and save some money

In the budget the last two years, there is no indication of el nino,

Without no particular consideration of the climate office, secondly, this is interesting, no el nino but budget for it used not for those suffering el nino, but used for campaigning,

Secondly, the those suffer from el nino are usually those who are farmers, fishermen, how can you justify distributing without selecting those people,

If there is a disaster, you have to give your support, your money or foodstuff to those really suffering with a certain criteria,

This is what I mean by unfair

Family involved in politics,

Educated not in the way you describe, i don't want

Dynasty goes back to history, have been colonized for many years, during that period of time, feudalism still most and foremost, in javanese tradition, feudalism is still very much in existence, you see in there and how they communicate also, still if you want to call a dynary or feudalism, tend to generalize, feudalism still very much in existence, not only in indonesia, in malaysia, the sultanist still dominant, in china because of communism, has been abolished, in a way a clan system is still in existence, it is still very much important, the boss and next to the boss the family of the boss,

My feeling that.. maybe... I hope I'm wrong... is that this president of Indonesia still considers that still has a wish that he could be the sultan or the king of Indonesia, that he can do whatever he wants.

It is very contradictory, on one had that he is trying to be as populist as he can, be very close to the people, spend most of the time also not running government but socializing with people, very much local, indonesia has no voice in international asean association southeast asian countries, indonesia is the largest, richest, most populated, but we have no voice, even Megawati very respected by the other countries, they respected indonesia, but they most of the time they simply ignore indonesia, they have not shown leadership in foreign policy in the last ten years, very unfortunate,

Some things remain the same, Social media, is important in registration, accepting votes, and campaign, It's not only campaign during election, but our life has been dominated by social media these days, even small kids, If you look at the survey in each country- Tik Tok number 1, Instagram 2, Google, Meta, X, etc etc

Everyone is using that, for many purposes,

The influence of those social media on the decision making process for election is very significant, look at statistic,

One can be very surprised

Social media laws campaigning,

Keep on principle, develop democratic system in indonesia

No way to ban it, limit it, campaign

Number 2, didn't say a lot, didn't make many statements, but just dancing, this is an advice by the social media team, buracai if you put him dancing on a tiktok, threats where they got most of the positive response, if you say something wrong or something good, on social media, you will be tortured by many parties, but dancing, everyone is trying to respond by oh he's good, hes lucu, people fed up by listening to lecture, but this guy is lucu, is cute,

Geared towards the youths, most of the youth is not highly educated, this is a survey, that is telling us that

The consultant is using this methods based on advice of the survey, 40% of youth in indonesia are less than high school educated, but are using handphone, are watching tiktok, they don't care about content of what they are seeing, but oh i know him, i feel like i am a part of the show, interesting to watch also what is the following election will be influenced by social media, next is coming regency and local elections,

Jokowi wants to have it before he ends his term of office, but election committee is going to say no we will stay with the old plan, two are immediately they younger son and the son in law, son in law is running for governorship in north sumatra, campaigning already for his son in law, the younger, i don't know where he will put his candidacy, I hope, If you have leadership like that all of a sudden i fear for what is going to happen to with someone that young.

Appendix D

Interview Notes- Universitas Udayana Students

*Note: The answers given are taken from interview notes conducted with four interviewees in a group setting. Most answers indicate responses given by one or more of the four interviewees and agreed upon by others. In instances where interviewees did not agree on answers, differing responses are indicated by number (1-4), rather than name in order to keep interviewees anonymous.

Q: Do you think your vote has an effect on the outcome of the election?

A: Hope so. There was a sort of gut feeling beforehand (before the election) of who would win, so it was more about making a difference within the parties for me more than the outcome itself.

Q: What party or issues do you find yourself most aligned with?

A: Party Buruh, they defend factory workers' rights, promote equality in wages and support blue collar workers.

Q: You all seem very interested in politics, have you ever thought about getting into politics yourself? Is that something that would be feasible for you?

A: It's definitely hard to get into politics as a non-political family.

Q: Tell me more about these political families. I know the recent election had a lot to do with that.

A: They use that power that they have by being in politics for their family, to help them gain power too. There's the Jokowi family, Megawati, Sukarno, military dynasties, you know, pay a lot, it's a higher position.

Q: We learned about Pancasila in one of our lectures. How do you think its being used in politics in Indonesia? Is it being upheld?

A: OMG pancasila! Haha, well let me think. Thinking of them all separately, I think that Pancasila 4 (the democracy one) is not working. But the other aspects definitely are- Pancasila 3, Unity is definitely working. And same with Pancasila 1- I think it's really important and so different from other countries that we are all unified under one God, I mean, we all get to practice our separate religions, but we all have God!

Q: What did you grow up hearing about politics? Have your views changed from when you were younger?

A: We didn't really learn politics in school, we just learned history.

Q: Do you think there was ever a political angle to the history you were learning?

A: Interviewee 1: Definitely. Interviewee 2: Hmmm, I'm not sure, I don't think there was, I think it was just, you know, history.

Q: But, sorry, back to the original question, where did you learn about politics?

A: From our families, mostly. I think for our generation, our fathers glorified Sukarno, but really his diplomacy backfired and he wasted money. He had promised citizenship for Chinese people, but there was no real follow through. And for Jokowi, who we really grew up hearing about, he was really good, but now he's been using his privilege and power for his son, which makes me feel not so good about him. Did you hear about the constitutional law change? And Raka's uncle! But yeah, I think a lot about what we hear about politics is really strongly tied to the economy. Suharto, you know, was really good for infrastructure. I think that's why people were excited about Prabowo. He's so rich, and for a lot of people, they see that a richer president means a richer economy and country. That's money for development of infrastructure right there.

Q: What kinds of issues do you support most in politics?

A: Interviewee 1: Workers rights. For me, that's the most important issue.

Interviewee 2: Foreign relations, I think. We want to be anti-neocolonialism. We don't side with wars, we just can give support and receive support, but the response to war is always just support both sides, like Ukraine and Russia, we just support both. And refugees, people do not want to accept them, no matter if they come from one side of the war or the other. Interviewee 3&4: nodded in agreement with one and two, did not add to the conversation at this point

Q: So it was just announced that officially Prabowo won the race, how does that make you feel about the future of Indonesia? Especially with his past with democracy advocates?

A: Interviewee 2: There will be many demonstrations, I think. I mean, there was so much with the human rights violations, but do you think is it real or not? Some people say that he was just doing what the upper man said, and he had to do what they said.

Interviewee 1: He could've walked out! Walked out on justice. He still has issues with reporters who talked about that stuff. Which made it so that not that many people knew, because people were afraid to report on it!

Interviewee 3&4: Did not add to conversation at this point

Q: Do you think this topic could be sensitive? Does it worry you to talk about politics? Especially about Prabowo?

A: Scared, yes, but in the sense that we are scared to break relationships, especially if people have different views, we really don't talk about it much, we are scared for ourselves.

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