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Assessing Local Democracy in Decentralized Indonesia by Local Democracy Advocates

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ADG	Alokasi Dana Gampong, Gampong Allocation Fund
ADHB	Atas Dasar Harga Berlaku, Regency Based Current Price
AIPMNH	Australia Indonesia Partnership for Maternal and Neonatal Health
AMH	Angka Melek Huruf, Literacy Rate Index
APBD	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah, Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget
APBK	Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Kabupaten, District Revenue and Expenditure
ATMA	Advokasi Transformasi Masyarakat, Advocacy for the Transformation of Society
Bankamdes	Bantuan Keamanan Desa, Village Security Assistance
BAP	Berita Acara Perkara, Official Report
BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah, Regional Development Planning Agency
BEM	Badan Eksekutif Mahasiswa, Student Executive Board
BKAG	Coordination Intra-Church Agency, Badan Koordinasi Antargereja
BKD	Badan Kepegawaian Daerah, Regional Civil Service Agency
BKD	Badan Kepegawaian Daerah, Regional Employment Agency
BKD	Badan Kepegawaian Daerah, Regional Civil Service Agency
BKKBN	Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, National Family Planning Coordinating Broad

BKP	Bantuan Keuangan Peumakmu Gampong, Financial Aid of Peumakmu Gampong
BKPRMI	Badan Komunikasi Pemuda Remaja Masjid Indonesia, Central Board Council of Indonesia Mosque Youth Assembly
BPD	Badan Permusyawaratan Desa, Village Parliament
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan, State Audit Agency
BPMK	Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kota, Urban Community Empowerment
BPS	Badan Statistik Indonesia, Statistic Indonesia
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CIS Timor	The Circle of Imagine Timor
CPNS	Calon Pegawai Negeri Sipil, Candidate of Civil Servant
CRC	Citizen Report Card
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAK	Dana Alokasi Khusus, Special Allocation Fund
DAP	Dewan Adat Papua, Papuan Adat Council
DAP	Dana Abadi Pendidikan, Education Endowment Fund
Dapil	Daerah Pemilihan, Electoral District
DAS	Dewan Adat Suku, Tribe Adat Council
DAU	Dana Alokasi Umum, General Allocation Fund
Dispenda	Dinas Pendapatan Daerah, Local Revenue Offices
Dispenduk	Dinas Pendudukan dan Catatan Sipil, Office of Population and Civil Registration
DKT	Diskusi Kelompok Terbatas, Limited Discussion Group
DOB	Daerah Otonomi Baru, New Autonomy Region
DOM	Daerah Operasi Militer, Area of Military Operations
DPD RI	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Regional Representatives Councils
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, Regional Representatives Councils
DPRA	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Aceh, The Aceh Provincial of Local House of Representatives

DPR I	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat I, Local House of Representatives I
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, House of Representatives
DPRD I/II	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah I/II, Local House of Representatives I/II
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, Local House of Representatives
DPRK	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Kabupaten, The Aceh Regency of Local House of Representatives
DPRP	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua, Papua House of Representative
DPT	Data Pemilih Tetap, Permanent Voters List
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FOKER LSM Papua	Forum Kerjasama LSM Papua, The Papua NGO's Cooperation Forum
Fokus Gempar	Forum Generasi Muda Aceh Rayeuk, Communication Forum of Youth Generation of Aceh Rayeuk
Forbes PG	Forum Bersama Peduli Gampong, Joint-Care Forum for Gampong
FORMALIN	Forum Mahasiswa Peduli Lingkungan, Student Forum on Environmental Cares
FPG	Forum Peduli Gampong, Joint-Care for Gampong
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, Free Aceh Movement
GDP	Produk Domestik Bruto, Gross Domestic Product
GMIT	Gereja Masehi Ijili di Timor, Evangelical Christian Church in Timor
GZT	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HDI	Indeks Pembangunan Manusia, Human Development Index
HIMAB	Himpunan Mahasiswa Aceh Besar, Student Association of Aceh Besar
HIMAB	Himpunan Mahasiswa Aceh Besar, Student Association of Aceh Besar
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia, Muslim Students' Association

IKAMAB USM	Ikatan Mahasiswa Aceh Besar Universitas Serambi Mekah, Aceh Besar Student Association of Universitas Serambi Mekah
IMB	Izin Mendirikan Bangunan, building permit
IMKM	Industri Mikro, Kecil, dan Menengah, Micro, Small and Medium Industry
INRES	Institute for Research and Empowering Society
Jasoil	Jaringan Advokasi Sosial Dan Lingkungan, Social and Enviromental Advocacy Networks
KBS/IKAS	Keluarga Besar Sumba-Sumba Big Family, Ikatan Keluarga Asal Sumba-Family Bondage of Sumba People
KDRT	Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga, domestic violence
Keluarga Besar Lamaholot	The Family of Lamaholot
Kemenpan	Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara, Ministry for State Apparatus Reforms
Kepmendagri	Keputusan Menteri dalam Negeri, Decree of Ministry of Home Affairs
Kesbangpol	Kesatuan Bangsa Politik dan Perlindungan Masyarakat, National Unity and Community Protection
KIPAS	Komite Independen Perempuan dan Anak, Woman and Child Independent Committee
KKLDM	Kelompok Kajian Lembaga Demokrasi Masyarakat, Study Group of Community Democracy Institution
KKN	Korupsi, Kolusi, Nepotisme, Corruption, Collution, Nepotism
KKP	Koalisi Kebijakan Partisipatif, Participatory Policy Coalition
Presma	Presiden Mahasiswa, The Presidency Student
KML	Komite Masyarakat Lhoong, Lhoong Society Committee
KNPI	Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia, Indonesian National Youth Council
KOMPIP	Konsorsium Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat untuk Monitoring dan Pemberdayaan Institusi, Publik Consortium for Monitoring and Empowering Public Institutions

KOMPIP	Konsorsium Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat untuk Monitoring dan Pemberdayaan Institusi Publik, Consortium for Monitoring and Empowering Public Institutions
Koramil	Komando Rayon Militer, Military Rayon Command
KPA	Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS, Commission of AIDS Prevention
KPAB	Kaukus Pemuda Aceh Besar, Youth Caucus of Aceh Besar
KPAB	Kaukus Pemuda Aceh Besar, Youth Caucus of Aceh Besar
KPPS	Kelompok Penyelenggara Pemungutan Suara, voting organizer group
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum, General Election Commission
KPUD	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah, Regional Election Committee
KSP	Kawasan Sentra Produksi, Regional Production Center
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk, National Identity Card
LAKIP	Laporan Akuntabilitas Kinerja, Performance Accountability Report
LDIP	Lembaga Data dan Informasi Pembangunan, Institute of Data and Information of Development
LeSKAP	Lembaga Studi Kebijakan Publik, Public Policy Institute
LKD	Laporan Keuangan Daerah, Regional Financial Report
LKM	Lembaga Keuangan Mikro, Micro Finance Institution
LKPJ	Laporan Kinerja Program Kegiatan, Performance Activity Report
LKPJ	Laporan Keterangan Pertanggungjawaban, Provincial Accountability Report
LMA	Lembaga Masyarakat Adat, Institution of Adat People
LMD	Lembaga Musyawarah Desa, Village Consultative Council
LMPK	Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kelurahan, Institute for Community Empowerment
LP3BH	Lembaga Penelitian, Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Bantuan, Hukum Institute of Research, Analysis, and Development for Legal Aid

LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information
LPM	Lembaga Pengabdian Masyarakat, Community Dedication Institution
LPPD	Laporan Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Daerah, Local Government Implementation Report
LPTP	Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan, Institute for Rural Technology Development
MA	Madrasah Aliyah
MAPANCAS	Pancasila's Student, Mahasiswa Pancasila
MI	Madrasah Ibtidaiyah
MoHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MP2	Mitra Perempuan Papua, Papuan Women Partner
MP2	Mitra Perempuan Papua, Papuan Women Partner
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia,
MRP	Majelis Rakyat Papua, The Papua Assembly
MRPB	Majelis Rakyat Papua Barat, West Papuan's People Council
MRPPB	Majelis Rakyat Provinsi Papua Barat, The People Council of West Papuan's Province
Mts	Madrasah Tsanawiyah
Muspida	Musyawarah Pimpinan Daerah, Regional Leadership Consultative Councils
Muspika	Musyawarah Pimpinan Kecamatan, Sub-district Consultative Leadership
Musrenbang Kota	Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota, Kota City Development Planning Consultation
Musrenbang	Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan, Development Planning Consultation
MYS	Menghitung Rata-rata Lama Sekolah, The Average Length of School Index
OKP	Organisasi Kepemudaan, Youth Organization

P2DTK	Program Percepatan Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal dan Khusus, Accelerating Development Programme in Disadvantaged Regions
PA	Partai Aceh, Aceh Party
PAD	Pendapatan Asli Daerah, the Regional Revenue
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional, National Mandate Party
Panwaslu	Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, the Elections Supervisory Committee
Partai Barnas	Partai Barisan Nasional, National Front Party
Partai Buruh	Labour Party
Partai Gerindra	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya, The Great Indonesia Movement Party
Partai Golkar	Partai Golongan Karya, The Party of the Functional Groups
Partai Hanura	Hati Nurani Rakyat, The People's Conscience Party
Partai Kedaulatan	Sovereignty Party
Partai Kedaulatan	Sovereignty Party
Partai Merdeka	The Freedom Party
Partai Patriot	Patriot Party
Partai Pelopor	Pioneers's Party
PAUD	Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini, Early Childhood Education
PAUD	Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini, Early Childhood Education
PB IPAR	Pengurus Besar Ikatan Pemuda Aceh Besar, Aceh Besar Youth League
PBB	Partai Bulan Bintang, Crescent Star Party
PBR	Partai Bintang Reformasi, Reform Star Party
PBSD	Partai Buruh Sosial Demokrat, Socialist Democratic Labor Party
PD	Perusahaan Daerah, Regional Company
PD	Partai Demokrat, Democrat Party
PDA	Partai Damai Aceh, Aceh Peace Party
PDAM	Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum, regional water companies

PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Indonesia, Democratic Party of Struggle
PDK	Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan, Democratic Nationhood Party
PDP	Partai Demokrasi Pembaruan, The Democratic Renewal Party
PDS	Partai Demokrasi Sejahtera, Prosperous Peace Party
PEM	Pengembangan Ekonomi Masyarakat, Community Economy Empowerment Development
Perda	Peraturan Daerah, Local Regulations
PERDU	Pengembangan Masyarakat dan Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam, Developing Society and Conserving Natural Resources
PERDU	Perkumpulan Terbatas Pengembangan Masyarakat & Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam, Developing Society and Conserving Natural Resources
Permendagri	Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri, The Regulations of Ministry of Home Affairs
Perppu	Peraturan Pengganti Undang-Undang, Lieu of Law
PGRI	Pendidikan Guru Republik Indonesia, Teacher Education of Republic Indonesia
PIAR	Perkumpulan Pengembangan Inisiatif dan Advokasi Rakyat, the Initiative for the Development of People's Advocacy
PII	Pelajar Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Student
PIS	Partai Indonesia Sejahtera, Prosperous Indonesia Party
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, The National Awakening Party
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat, community learning center
PKDI	Partai Kasih Demokrasi Indonesia, The Indonesian Democratic Party of Devotion
PKL	Pekerja Kaki Lima, street vendor
PKL	Pusat Kegiatan Lokal, Center of Local Activities

PKLP	Pusat Kegiatan Lokal Promosi, Center for Local Promotion Activities
PKNU	Partai Kebangkitan Nasional Ulama, Ulema National Awakening Party
PKP	Partai Karya Perjuangan, Functional Party of Struggle
PKP	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan, Indonesian Justice and Unity Party
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa, The Concern for the Nation Functional Party
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa, The Concern for the Nation Functional Party
PKPB	Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa, The Concern for the Nation Functional Party
PKPI	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia, Indonesian Justice and Unity Party
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, Prosperous Justice Party
PKWP	Pusat Kegiatan Wilayah Promosi, Regional Activity, Center for Promotion
PMA	Penanaman Modal Asing, Foreign Investment
PMB	Partai Matahari Bangsa, National Sun Party
PMDN	Penanaman Modal Dalam Negeri, The Domestic Direct Investment
PN	Pengadilan Negeri, District Court
PNBK	Partai Nasional Benteng Kerakyatan Indonesia, Indonesian National Populist Fortress Party
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia, Indonesian National Party
PNI Marhenisme	Partai Nasional Indonesia Marhaenisme, Indonesian National Party Marhaenisme
PNPM	Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, National Program for Community Empowerment
PNPM Mandiri	Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri, National Program for Community Empowerment
PNS	Pegawai Negeri Sipil, Civil Servant Officers
PNS	Pegawai Negeri Sipil, civil servant

Polresta	Polisi Resor Kota, City Resort Police
Polsek	Polisi Sektor, Sectoral Police
PORDA	Paguyuban Masyarakat Rote Ndao, Rote Ndao Community
GMIT	Gereja Masehi Injili di Tomor, Bible Messiah Church in Timor
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesian Ulama Council
Posyandu	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu, Integrated Health Post
POT	Persehatian Orang Timor, Timorese United
PP	Peraturan Pemerintah, Government Regulation
PPD	Partai Persatuan Daerah, The Regional Unity Party
PPDI	Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia, Indonesian Democratic Vanguard Party
PPDK	Partai Persatuan Demokrasi Kebangsaan, United Democratic Nationhood Party
PPI	Partai Pemuda Indonesia, The Indonesian Youth Party
PIIB	Partai Perhimpunan Indonesia Baru, The New Indonesia Alliance Party
PPK	Pusat Pelayanan Kegiatan, Center of Regional Service
PPL	Pusat Pelayanan Lingkungan, Center of Environmental Service
PPMI	Perhimpunan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia, Indonesian Student Press Association
PPNU	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah, Nahdlatul Ummah Unity Party
PPNUI	Partai Persatuan Nahdlatul Ummah Indonesia, Indonesian Nahdlatul Community Party
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, United Development Party
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PPPI	Partai Pengusaha dan Pekerja Indonesia, Indonesian Workers and Employers Party
PPPI	Partai Pengusaha dan Pekerja Indonesia, Indonesian Workers and Employers Party

PPRN	Partai Peduli Rakyat Indonesia, The National People's Concern Party
PPRN	Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional, The National People's Concern Party
PPRN	Partai Peduli Rakyat Nasional, The National People's Concern Party
Prolegda	Program Legislasi Daerah, Regional Policy Legislation
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Socialist Party of Indonesia
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia, Socialist Party of Indonesia
PTPAS	Pelayanan Terpadu Perempuan dan Anak, Integrated Service Centre for Woman and Children
PtPs	Perkumpulan Terbatas Peduli Sehat, Limited Group of Joint-care Health
Putusan MK	Supreme Court Decision
PWD	Power Welfare and Democracy
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
RKA	Rencana Kerja Anggaran, Work Plan Budget
RKKL	Rencana Kerja Kementerian dan Lembaga, Ministry and Institution Work Plan
RKPD	Rencana Kerja Pemerintah Daerah, Regional Development and Work Plan
RPJMD	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah, The Regional Medium-term Development Plan
RPJP	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang, Long-Term Development Plan
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia, Radio of the Republic Indonesia
RT	Rukun Tetangga, harmonious neighborhood
RTA	Rabitah Thaliban Aceh Besar
RTM	Rumah Tangga Miskin, poor household
RTRW	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah, Regional Spatial Plan
RW	Rukun Warga, harmonious citizens
SD	Sekolah Dasar, Elementary School

SIAK	Sistem Informasi Administrasi Kependudukan, Population Administration Information System
SKM	Sarjana kesehatan Masyarakat, Bachelor in Public Health
SKPD	Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah, Regional Working Unit
SLTP	Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama, Junior Highschool
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas, Senior Highschool
SMS	Short Message Service
SOMPIS	Solidaritas Masyarakat Pinggiran Solo, Solidarity Forum for the Peripheral People of Surakarta
SPEK-HAM	Solidaritas Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan dan Hak Asasi Manusia, Women's Solidarity for Humanity and Human Rights
SPP	Simpan Pinjam Perempuan, Women Savings-and-Loans
SPPD	Surat Perintah Perjalanan Dinas, Official Travel Orders
Susenas	Survey Sosial Ekonomi Nasional, National Socioeconomics Survey
TII	Tentara Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islam Soldier
TKPKD	Team Koordinasi Penanggulangan Kemiskinan Daerah, The Regional Institution of Coordination Team of Poverty Alleviation
TMP	Tidak Menyatakan Pendapat, Disclaimer of Opinion
TPA	Tempat Penitipan Anak, Childcare
TPK	Tim Pengelola Kegiatan, management team
TPS	Tempat Pemungutan Suara, polling stations
TVRI	Televisi Republik Indonesia, Television of the Republic of Indonesia
UKAW	Universitas Kristen Artha Wacana, Artha Wacana Christian University
UMKM	Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah, Micro, Small and Medium Business
Undana	Universitas Cendana, Nusa Cendana University
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund

Unwira	Universitas Katholik Widya Mandiri
UP4B	Unit Percepatan Pembangunan Provinsi Papua dan Provinsi Papua Barat, Unit for the Acceleration of Development in Papua and West Papua
VTO	Voter Turn Out, tingkat partisipasi pemilih
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, The Indonesian Forum for Environment
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, The Indonesian Forum for Environment
WCC	Women Crisis Centre
Yadupa	Yayasan Anak Dusun Papua,-Papua's Village Child Foundation
YAPHI	Yayasan Pengabdian Hukum Indonesia, Indonesian Foundation for Legal Service
Yayasan KAKAK	Yayasan Kepedulian Untuk Konsumen Anak, Love Our Children Foundation
Yayasan Mod Modey	Mod Modey Foundation

Assessing Local Democracy in Decentralized Indonesia by Local Democracy Advocates

Abdul Gaffar Karim, Hasrul Hanif and Amalinda Savirani

Background

Indonesian politics has transformed as it has undergone a massive and excessive process of decentralization and democratization since the late 90s. Political power no longer concentrates at the national level but has decentralized into local domains. For certain regions, especially Aceh, Papua and Yogyakarta, the central government also has given relatively broader autonomy in comparison with other regions in Indonesia.

This has meant that political processes are not conducted in monolithic manners but has dispersed due to considerable progress of democratization and decentralization. Political processes are no longer determined by elite struggle in the capital, Jakarta. Instead, the current political process gives an image where political actors are multiplying and bureaucracy is no longer the only dominant power. Simultaneously, many actors who formally have no authority are able to exert their influences on the day-to-day policy process. In short, state power has undergone a breakdown and has been dispersed in centrifugal pattern, which creates heterogeneous centres of power, both in national or local level (Hanif and Pratikno 2012).

The widely quoted promises of power devolution at the local level are that it would promote vibrant and democratic local politics; that it would make local government closer to the people; and lastly, that it would be responsive to the people's needs in local governance process (Sisk et al. 2001). The extent to which these promises can be seen in reality after the implementation of power devolution has incited

debates. There are at least two main debates: The first group agrees that the quality of democracy is strengthened after power is devolved. The second group remains critical on the promises. The first group based their assessment on formal criteria of democracy, such as political liberties, political participations, and the roles of local government in delivering their basic function (BAPPENAS-RI 2007). By implementing the criteria, previous studies indeed show the betterment of Indonesian local democracy. The limitation of these studies, however, is that they tend to hide practice of democracy, which operates behind these formal categories, such as oligarchy based on ethnic group at the local level that determines policymaking process, constellation of civil society, political structure, social fabrics and participation of civil society organizations. Furthermore, we argue that all of these formal indicators of democracy are situated in a specific social and political context upon which power devolution takes place. In short, as has been argued by many scholars, there is no single picture of local politics in contemporary Indonesia (eds. McIntyre and McLeod 2007; Robison and Hadiz 2004; Hadiz 2010; eds. Nordholt and Klinken 2007). Furthermore, we need to take into account the dynamics of local power relations in order to understand the practice of local democracy in Indonesia.

The Indonesian State of Local Democracy (SoLD) Assessment is aimed to cover both the formal and non-formal democracy indices. This assessment complements previous studies, which attempt to keep score at how Indonesia is doing with democracy. The assessment is needed not only to identify the achievement of political devolution but also to pinpoint the problems and opportunities following such process at the local level.

In fact, there have been some assessments on the extent to which the promises can be fulfilled. The government of Indonesia has initiated some assessments related to the issues of democracy and decentralization such as the Annual Indonesian Democracy Index, which was conducted by The National Development Planning Agency of Republic Indonesia (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia, BAPPENAS-RI) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Indonesia and Performance of Regional Government Rank by the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs. Others are initiated by non-governmental organizations, such as Indonesia Governance Index, which was conducted by Kemitraan Partnership.

However, SoLD is a unique type of assessment that has been initiated and created by International IDEA. Unlike many other assessments, SoLD emphasizes the citizen-led approach to practical use for the local people. In addition, SoLD is

essentially a reform-oriented and context-responsive qualitative assessment, which uses a combination of research, debate and dialogue among key stakeholders to draw a picture of the quality of democracy at local level. These are the reasons why SoLD is necessary, despite the fact that there have been previous assessments.

To achieve these principles, SoLD's instruments combine two criteria. On the one hand, it assesses qualitative aspect of local politics, which covers social and political structure of the local politics, constellation of civil society, political structure, social fabrics, and participation of civil society organizations. On the other hand, it also assesses quantitative formal criteria of democracy, such as political liberties, political participation, and the role of local government in delivering their basic function. To achieve the citizen-led approach and participatory principle, as well as to optimize this project, the local people play the main role in this assessment. The multiple local stakeholders at the local level have been recruited as local assessors.

Objectives

The main purpose of this study is to assess the state of local democracy in Indonesia. In addition, it aims to enrich the debates between the communities and their municipalities/councils with a view to deepening and expanding the quality of democracy at that level. The assessment involves research activities, which will also enrich an academic debate of local democracy in Indonesia, such as the issue of local power relations and power structures, practices of local democracy, performance of local government to provide welfare and people's participation as practised in daily life.

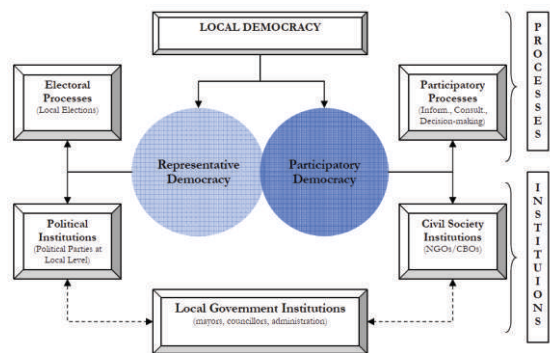
Framework

Based on 2002 version of SoLD assessment framework titled, *Leadership for Local Democracy: A Local Democracy Assessment Guide*¹, this assessment explores two principal elements of local democracy that are critically important to the quality of rule by the people: representative democracy (parties and candidates,

¹After implementing the assessment in more than 60 municipalities in 11 countries, International IDEA then revised this version by offering the new one in 2013 (see Kemp and Jimenez 2013). In this new version, International IDEA provided the State of Local Democracy Assessment (SoLD) Framework by providing a clear conceptual framework, assessing local democracy beyond representation and participation, making it applicable universally, including updated questionnaires and paying increased attention to issues of gender, diversity and conflict and security.

elected authorities and elections) and participatory democracy (civil society, forging consensus and civic engagement). In exploring these broad categories, we pay attention to the institutional aspects (rules, organizations and key actors) as well as the process dimensions (types and methods of practice and implementation).

Figure 1.1 SoLD Assessment Framework



Source: International IDEA 2011

However, this framework also has been customized in order to make it more workable to the Indonesian context. This customization pays specific attention to informal processes in Indonesian local politics, which often determine policy output and outcome. While doing so, this assessment also explores modes of governance in welfare production, distribution and redistribution in order to examine how local democracy work for social welfare.

The Core of Assessment

Indonesian Government Structure

Since the fall of authoritarian regimes in 1998, Indonesia has experienced a fast growth in the number of local governments through territorial splits (pemekaran daerah). Thus, Indonesia today consists of 34 provinces, 349 districts and 91 cities. Instead of special autonomy for Aceh, Papua and West Papua, Jakarta and Yogyakarta, the base of decentralization is district/city. The central government has decentralized almost all responsibilities and governmental affairs to local government (province and district/city) except for foreign affairs, fiscal and monetary affairs, religious affairs, defence and security affairs and law system.

Based on the Law No. 32/2004 on Regional Government, the provincial government as second tier of government is mandated as the central government’s representative at local level. A province (propinsi) is led by a governor (gubernur) and a provincial representative assembly (dewan perwakilan rakyat daerah). The Local House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD) consists of 35 to 100 members. Both governors and DPRD members are directly elected. Indonesia has five special regions among 34 provinces. In these special regions, the central government gives more autonomy more than other regions in Indonesia (Table 1.1.).

Table 1.1 Special Regions in Indonesia

Province	Special authorities (Examples)
Aceh	Islamic laws, flag and song, local political parties
Jakarta	No mayoral election
Yogyakarta	Political privilege of the Sultan
Papua and Papua Barat	Flag and song

Source: JPP 2011

District (*kabupaten*)² or city (*kota*) is the third tier of government that enjoys greater decentralization affairs. A district and a city differ in demography, size and economy. Cities usually are smaller and have non-agricultural economic activities compared to districts. A district is led by a *bupati* and has a DPRD, with 20 to 50 members while a city is led by a *walikota* and has a DPRD with 20 to 50 members. *Bupati*, *walikota* and DPRD members are directly elected. In the case of province of Jakarta, the governor appoints *walikota* of cities in Jakarta. The cities of Jakarta also do not have DPRD.

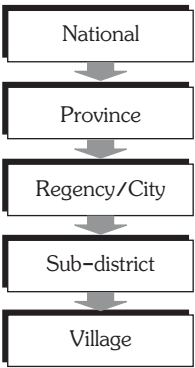
The lowest tiers of government are sub-district and village. Sub-district (*kecamatan* or *distrik* in Papua) is an administrative area within a district and city. Papua (*camat* or *kepala distrik*) heads the *kecamatan*. *Camat* or *kepala distrik* is appointed by the *bupati* or *walikota*.

Desa (in rural areas) enjoys more autonomy and headed by *kepala desa* (directly elected) whereas *kelurahan* (in urban areas) has limited power. *Kelurahan* is headed by *lurah*, a civil servant appointed by (and responsible to) sub-district head.

² The terms *bupati* and *kabupaten* reflect historical circumstances because they have been used since the old Javanese kingdoms with similar meanings to present day usage. The new Indonesian state merely formalized the status of the district government in accordance with national policy. Needless to say, the use of these terms also reflects the Javanese domination of Indonesia.

The village usually is divided into service units called *rukun warga* (RW)³ and *rukun tetangga* (RT)⁴.

Figure 1.2 Indonesia Government Structure



Source: Law No. 32/ 2004

The Selected Regions

The six research areas were selected using multiple criteria. The initial criterion was the rank in the Indonesian Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA) 2011 scores based on the Annual Report of Accountability and Performance of Local Government. This data ranked the local governments from the highest to the lowest performance. Based on this data, the assessment grouped the local governments into low, medium and high performance.

In the second step, the assessment looked at the power distribution in those areas. They were analysed based on the characteristic of power relation. Some areas were categorized as mono-centric (centralized) power relation and the others polycentric (dispersed) power relation. Mono-centric refers to the existence of dominant political actor in an area. This actor can be the bureaucracy, market, traditional leaders and so forth, while polycentric refers to a number of political actors in an area. From each group of local government two areas were chosen: one area with mono-centric power relation and one area with polycentric power relation. In doing so, the assessment took into account the representativeness of areas—western, central and eastern part of Indonesia. Table 1.2 shows how these district areas were brought to the assessment process.

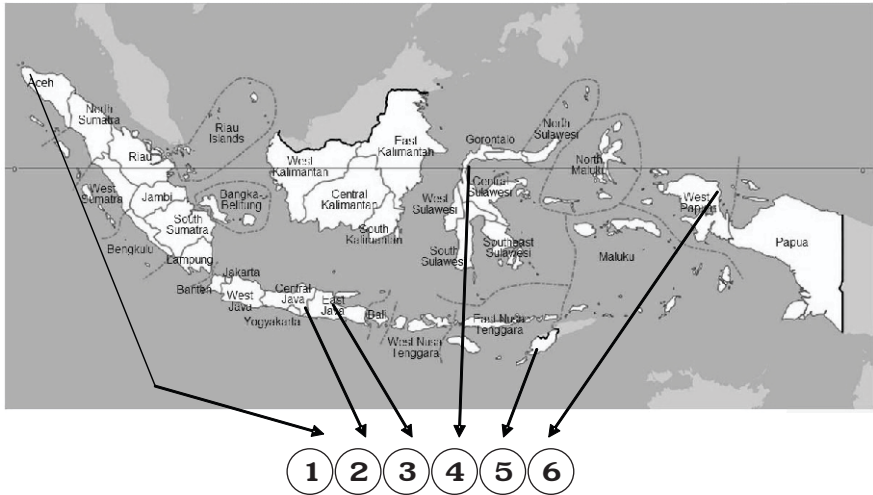
³ 'harmonious gathering of citizens'
⁴ 'harmonious gathering of neighbours'

Table 1.2 Power Distribution on Selected Regions

District/City	Areas	Performance of governance	Density of power relation
Surakarta, Central Java	Western	High	Polycentric
Jombang, East Java	Western	High	Mono-centric
Aceh Besar, Aceh	Western	Medium	Polycentric
Manokwari, West Papua	Eastern	Medium	Mono-centric
Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara	Eastern	Medium-Low	Polycentric
Parigi Moutong, Central Sulawesi	Central	Low	Mono-centric

Source: JPP 2011

Figure 1.3 Map of the Six Regions



Source: Statistic of Indonesia 2010

Table 1.3 Brief Description of Six Selected Regions

Towns	Area (km ²)	Population	Density per km ²	Year of formation	Major mode of production
Aceh Besar	2,974.12	388,422	12.92	1956	Agriculture
Surakarta	44.06	500,642	11.4	[1745] 1950	Trading and small industries
Jombang	1,159.50	1,348,199	1,159	[1910] 1950	Agriculture and Agribusiness
Parigi Moutong	2033.62	373,346	59,91	2002	Farming and plantation
Kupang	165.34	336,239	2,033.62	1996	Trading and service
Manokwari	14,488.50	187,591	12.99	[1957] 1963	Farming

Source: Statistic of Indonesia 2010

Organisation, Methods and Scope of Work

The Team Involved

This assessment was a mutual collaboration between International IDEA⁵ and Department of Politics and Government, Gadjah Mada University (GMU)⁶ Indonesia, along with the abovementioned local stakeholders. It also endorsed involvement of local stakeholders as local assessors, including the local authorities and put it as central to this assessment.

The four parties in this assessment, International IDEA, GMU teams and the local assessors, have their own roles. International IDEA's main responsibilities was providing basic guidelines and analytical framework for SoLD assessment in Indonesia and taking part in providing financial contribution to the SoLD assessment. GMU managed the activities jointly as national assessors while the multiple local stakeholders were the local assessors. The Ministry also used the recommendations gathered from SoLD assessment for policy reform in the country to improve decentralization policy in Indonesia. The GMU team was responsible on core activities of the assessment. It provided the basic guidelines and analytical framework according to the contexts of Indonesian local politics for the local stakeholders. It recruited and led the local assessors concerning content of the assessment. The local government officials were also at the core of this assessment. Together with civil society organizations, activists and academics, they played as the local assessors.

Nonetheless, since the very beginning, SoLD assessment in Indonesia has taken into account the recent empirical findings on the dynamics of local government in decentralized Indonesia. Based on empirical findings, there has been a politicization of local stakeholders at the arena of local politics – local government staff is fragmented, civil society is politicized and local media was taking sides in the local political fragmentation. In other words, these facts seriously made an impact on the methodology and result of the assessment. To minimize its effect on the assessment, there were two things that have been done: First, the GMU team made

⁵ International IDEA is an international organization with long experience in comparative studies, especially on state of democracy and state of local democracy.

⁶ Department of Politics and Government, GMU is now focusing on the issues of power, welfare and democracy (PWD) and has established a vast, nationwide network among civil society organizations (CSOs), academia as well as local governments with main research interest on local democracy, including research on 'asymmetrical decentralization' that is believed to be the ideal format for Indonesian local government.

sure to recruit the key stakeholders with diverse backgrounds as local assessors. In addition to this, the GMU team trained the local assessors, maintained close communication with them and monitored the assessment activities. Second, in the national level, the GMU team established a ‘consortium’ consisting of all local assessors in a forum of sharing and communication. The purpose of this ‘consortium’ was to exercise self-control and self-evaluation among the local stakeholders in the assessment areas. As far as the content of this assessment is concerned, the ‘consortium’ is also aimed to set a similar benchmark and standard of the assessment report.

Stages of Assessment

The assessment was divided into seven main stages, which were conducted from 2011 to 2012:

1. *Preparation and Customization.* GMU prepared for the research activity by establishing the assessment team and customizing the guidelines of assessment. GMU recruited the assessment team consisted of national and local assessors and consolidated the consortium among them. International IDEA and GMU then facilitated a workshop for customization and training for the assessment team.
2. *Desk review.* The assessment team, supported by GMU, made a desk review based on the assessment framework and secondary data, such as official documentary data and media news among others. This review assisted in information preparations and focus of fieldwork.
3. *Fieldwork.* The local assessors conducted fieldwork to collect primary data using various methods, including in-depth interviews, observation and focus group discussion (FGD). The national assessors monitored and supervised the fieldwork process.
4. *Preliminary report writing.* The national and local assessment team analysed secondary and primary data and drafted the preliminary report.
5. *Validation.* The research report was discussed for validation in the six areas and national level to get national and local inputs. Furthermore, such forums were key, not only for validation but also for preliminary dissemination of findings and maximizing utility of the report by the key stakeholders both in the municipalities/districts and at the national level

6. *Final report writing.* The national and local assessment team included the validation from the six local forums and national forum for the final report.
7. *Dissemination.* The national and local assessor disseminated the report to gain feedback from relevant stakeholders.

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Democracy in Indonesia

*Wigke Capri Arti*⁷

This chapter will discuss the practice of democracy in Indonesia within the context of the State of Local Democracy (SoLD) framework. The State of Local Democracy assessment framework (SoLD) was developed by International IDEA in support of citizen-led and locally owned democracy assessment at the local level (Kemp, B and Jiménez, M. 2013, p10).

Democratization in Indonesia was assessed in two areas of democracy: representative and participatory democracy. The assessment was conducted in the six regions in Indonesia using detailed and contextual questionnaires. It was conducted in coordination with the local communities and assessors who assisted in analyzing, critiquing and giving feedback. The result of the assessment in each region is discussed in each chapter, along with the general context of representative and participatory democracy process.

The section on representative democracy is focused on election, political parties and elected officials which will be describes on the dynamics of regulations. The most facinating fact is that the changes of indirect election to direct election has given different atmosphere to Indonesia's politics. In addition, the participatory democracy, which was assessed through civic engagement, non-governmental, community-based organizations and consensus-oriented policymaking is focused on how democracy works on the grassroots. How Indonesian citizens play their role in democracy from state-centered to people-centered mechanism is futher discussed in this section⁸

⁷ This chapter is written by the SoLD assessment team manager in Indonesia who works as researcher in Department of Politics and Government (PolGov), based on the FGD with Mada Sukmajati and AA GN Ari Dwipayana about representative democracy, as well as Abdul Gaffar Karim and Hasrul Hanif about participatory democracy

⁸ For detailed information on SoLD framework and questionnaire please go to page 295