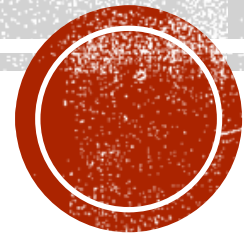


ENSURING ELECTION FOR THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE: AN INDONESIAN EXPERIENCE

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5 OCTOBER 2022



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INTRODUCTION

■ a. Background

- Election as one measure to achieve citizen's welfare
- People Expectation that elected leaders will bring changes which lead to prosperity
- In Reality, there is a possibility that even a democratic election may not end in the expected result
- Elected leaders in certain countries fail to deliver better condition for the people
- Theory argues competitive elections create incentives for politicians to provide broad-based public goods.
- Quantitative research finds democracy increases spending, but has little or no impact on education and health outcomes, after appropriate controls are introduced.
- Case studies suggest that democratic politics generate weak or negative incentives for politicians to promote reforms.
- When they do so, it is rarely because of electoral pressures.
- Democracy's impact on social services is much more complex, contingent, and nuanced than recent theorizing suggests.
- (Nelson, 2007)



WHY DEMOCRACY IS CHOSEN?

Robert A. Dahl (2001) provided ten reasons

- (1) Democracy helps to prevent the development of government by ruthless and devious autocracy class;
- (2) Democracy guarantees its citizen with a number of human rights standards which are not provided and cannot be provided by non democratic systems;
- (3) Democracy ensures greater personal freedom for its citizen compared to other possible alternatives;
- (4) Democracy assists people in protecting their main interests;
- (5) Only a democratic government is capable of providing as great opportunities for people as possible, to use their freedom of choice , i.e., to live under laws of their choice;
- (6) Only a democratic government is capable of providing as great opportunities as possible to discharge moral responsibility;
- (7) Democracy helps develop humanity more totally than other possible alternatives;
- (8) Only democratic government is capable of assisting the development of a relatively high degree of political equality;
- (9) Modern representative democratic countries do not fight against one another; and
- (10) Countries with democratic governments tend to be more prosperous than countries with non democratic governments.



ELECTION AS INSTRUMENT OF DEMOCRACY

- “Elections are not the only instruments of democracy. They must be supported by other organisations and rules that encourage communication and cooperation. However, elections are critical democratic instruments. They claim of establishing a system that compels or greatly encourages the policymakers to pay attention to citizens. There is a widespread consensus that the presence of competitive elections, more than any other feature, identifies a contemporary nation-state as a democratic political system”
- “In political systems with many people such as modern nations, government ‘by the people’ must, for the most part, be indirect. The people participate primarily by choosing policymakers in competitive elections. Such elections are instruments of democracy to the degree that they give the people influence over policy making.
- (Powell, 2000)



THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY ON ECONOMIC GROWTH

- The effect of democracy on income and economic growth is uncertain.
 - On the one hand, elections might build better institutions and improve governance, which in turn should increase growth.
 - There are, on the other hand, instances where democracy leads to local elite capture, that local elites gain undue influence with adverse effects for the local community
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- (Bardhan 2002; Acemoglu and Robinson 2008; United Nations Human Development Programme 2010: 70)



DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC WELFARE

- Regarding the relationship between democracy and economic welfare, Robert Dahl (2001) convincingly states that the experience in the 19th and 20th centuries demonstrates that democratic countries are prosperous and non democratic countries are generally poor.
- Dahl relates this matter in support of democracy for people's education, independent judiciary, and communication of which are useful to economic growth.
- A slightly different conclusion is presented by Sorensen (2003) who states that there is no direct relationship between the form of regime (democratic or authoritarian) and the results of development by simply reasoning that various types of democratic and authoritarian regimes have different development capacities.



- The relationship between democracy and development has been extensively debated.
- Most cross-country analyses suggest that democracy has no robust impact on growth. But using within-country variations, some authors have recently shown that democracy positively affects the rate of growth, notably when transition to democracy is consolidated (Papaioannou and Siourounis 2008a,b; Persson and Tabellini 2009).
- Elections are the key institutional technology of democracy. As contested elections have become more common, economic policy and governance in developing countries have improved markedly.

- (Lisa Chauvet, Paul Coller, 2009)



ELECTION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

- Most theoretical work on democracy and growth starts out from a principal- agent model (e.g. Xu 2011: 1106; Bardhan 2002: 190-192; Przeworski and Limongi 1993: 58).
- The electorate is the principal that, via election, charges the government – the agent – with executing specific tasks.
- The essential feature is that citizens have the ability to select and monitor the government.
- A better economic environment will emerge if elections decrease the incentives or ability of the government to create regulations in search of rents.
- This type of arguments can be extended to corruption in general: elected governments have lower ability and incentives to engage in corruption (Keefer 2009: 889).
- It is often expected that elections will reduce corruption and rent-seeking and enhance economic growth (e.g Barro 1996: 2; Shleifer and Vishny 1993).



OVERPROMISING SOCIAL WELFARE DURING ELECTORAL COMPETITION

- The overpromising of social welfare benefits is likely due to cognitive biases on the voter side allowing politicians to make promises without necessarily facing the negative consequences of under-delivery.
- In addition to the conventional perspective in the existing literature that views the positive effect of deepening electoral democracy —meaning elites’ increasing prioritization of social welfare issues over other ones—the key findings here add important nuance by demonstrating the negative effect of increased electoral democracy on the politics of social welfare. That is, taking advantage of voters’ cognitive biases, competition incentivizes political parties to overpromise social welfare benefits.
- (Jaemin Shim, 2022)



- Electoral democracy is often referred to as democracy in which election-seeking politicians become more responsive to voters through electoral competition (Coppedge et al. 2017)
- The extant literature in general demonstrates the positive effect of electoral democracy. For instance, it has been noted that democratization and intensified multiparty competition incentivize political elites to provide public goods to a wider range of the population, either to grasp or stay in power (De Mesquita et al. 2005).
- Along with the intensification of electoral competition, numerous social welfare promises made by politicians before elections tend to be eventually abandoned or postponed. Even if kept, many social welfare programs face problems during the implementation stage as a result of politicians' election-motivated rushed introduction of them. (Shim 2016).
- Faced with the growing electoral pressures, politicians are more likely to overpromise social welfare benefits to improve their electoral prospects (Shim 2022)



- Democratic reform processes often go hand in hand with expectations of social welfare improvements.
- While the connection between the emergence of democracy and the development of welfare states in the West has been the object of several studies, however, there is a scant empirical literature on the effects of recent democratization processes on welfare policies in developing countries.

▪ (Giovanni Carbone, 2011)



ELECTION IN INDONESIA



ELECTION: 1955 → 2024

- 1955 → Soekarno Era/ Old Era, Parliamentary Election and Constituant Member
- 1971,1977,1982, 1987, 1992,1997 → Soeharto Era/New Era, Parliamentary Elections
- 1999, 2004,2009,2014,2019 → Reformation Era, 1999 (Parliamentary Election), 2004 – 2019 (Parliamentary and Presidential Election)
- 2005 → 2019 Direct Local Election
- Next 2024 (Parliamentary, Presidential, and Local Election)



INDONESIA EXPERIENCE WITH LOCAL ELECTION

- The issue of how democracy affects economic growth has received a great deal of interest.
- The effect of local elections on local economic growth in Indonesia?
- There have been large differences in economic growth between Indonesian districts and there are also several case studies that suggest that governance differs between districts.
- However, there is no evidence that these differences are caused by differences in the degree of democracy: there is no general effect of direct local elections on local economic growth in Indonesia.
- There is significant and positive effect of elections in some estimations but the result is very fragile to changes in the specifications.
- The citizens do not choose higher-quality persons as district heads than those appointed in an indirect way through the local parliament.
- The lack of a growth effect suggests that local governance is not affected by local elections in Indonesia.

(Sara Moricz and Fredrik Sjöholm , 2014)



WELFARE ISSUE TOWARD 2024 GENERAL ELECTION

- There are 44.4% of young Indonesians who consider public welfare to be a strategic issue in the 2024 election.
- 21.3% of respondents who consider employment to be a strategic issue.
- 15.9% of respondents considered the problem of eradicating corruption to be a strategic issue.
- 8.8% of respondents stated that democracy and civil liberties are strategic issues in the 2024 elections.
- Health issues are considered strategic by 6.2% of respondents.
- A total of 2.3% of respondents considered the environment to be a strategic issue in the 2024 election.

Survey of 1,200 respondents aged 17-39 years throughout Indonesia on August 8-13, 2022.

(Center for Strategic and International Studies, Sep 2022)



ELECTION LAW & ENSURING ELECTION FOR WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE

Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections

Consideran : "that in order to ensure the achievement of national goals and objectives as stipulated in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, it is necessary to hold a general election..."

Article 4

Arrangements for organizing elections are aimed at:

- a. strengthen the democratic state administration system;
- b. realizing elections that are fair and with integrity;
- c. ensure consistency of electoral system arrangements;
- d. provide legal certainty and prevent duplication in electoral arrangements; and
- e. realize effective and efficient elections.



- Article I paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states that "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to the Constitution".
- The meaning of "sovereignty is in the hands of the people" namely that the people have sovereignty, responsibilities, rights and obligations to democratically elect leaders who will form a government to manage and serve all levels of society, as well as elect representatives of the people to oversee the running of the government ... (Explanation of the Law No. 7 of 2017)
- The holding of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election is carried out with the aim of choosing a President and Vice President who has strong support from the people so that they are able to carry out the functions of state government power in order to achieve national goals (Explanation of Law No. 7 of 2017)
- Elections for DPR members, DPD members, and DPRD members are held by guaranteeing the principle of representation, which means that every Indonesian citizen is guaranteed to have a representative sitting in a representative institution who will voice the aspirations of the people at every level of government, from the center to the regions. No. 7 of 2017)



SOME IMPORTANT NOTES

- 1. Ensuring that elections run honestly and fairly through the implementation of elections (by the KPU and all its staff), monitoring and enforcement of election law and electoral dispute resolution (electoral justice) by Bawaslu, law enforcers, the Constitutional Court
- 2. Monitoring/Supervision by the people, especially through various non-government institutions, monitors, in supervising the election and reporting to Bawaslu
- 3. Voter education to choose the best candidate, who has credibility and the ability to create prosperity; not choosing candidates who practice fraud / irregularities (such as doing money politics etc.)
- 4. Monitoring/evaluation of the people to executive leaders and people's representatives in the legislative body after they are elected, to ensure that they fulfill their promises during the election campaign and to bring prosperity to them
- 5. Giving negative consequences (not voting) for executive leaders and people's representatives in the legislative body in the following elections if they fail/ignore their own promises during the general election

