

# **What's in a Symbol?**

## **Emerging Parties and Anti-Corruption Symbols in Indonesia's 2014 National Legislative Election Campaigns**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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This thesis is my own original work. It contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text. Clearance was obtained from the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee for the project.

Signed .....

# Table of Contents

<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	ii
<b>A note on currency</b> .....	v
<b>A note on Indonesian terms</b> .....	v
<b>Abstract</b> .....	vi
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	viii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	x
Indonesia's political system .....	5
Emerging political parties.....	7
Emerging parties and the 2014 elections.....	10
Methodology.....	14
Limitations .....	19
Outline of thesis .....	20
<b>1. Political symbols, campaigns and corruption</b> .....	25
Symbols .....	27
Symbols in campaigns.....	29
Developing a narrative.....	32
Symbol diffusion across scales.....	36
Why (anti)corruption symbols? .....	40
Conclusion .....	44
<b>2. Tracing the history of anti-corruption</b> .....	47
After Independence .....	48
Defending Guided Democracy .....	54
The New Order .....	56
Corruption and the fall of Suharto .....	64
Reformasi.....	70
Presidential pressures .....	71
The rise of Yudhoyono .....	76
Conclusion .....	78
<b>3. Politics and corruption, 2009–2014</b> .....	81
The 2004 and 2009 elections .....	81
An unstable coalition .....	85
Corruption and anti-corruption as political themes.....	86
Attacks on the KPK.....	87
Centurygate .....	90

The driving simulator procurement case .....	93
The case of Gayus.....	95
The travellers' cheque scandal.....	96
Corruption in the Directorate General of Customs and Excise .....	97
Corruption in local government .....	98
The fall of the Democrats.....	99
The fall of PKS.....	102
Corruption in the Constitutional Court.....	104
Public opinion.....	106
Conclusion.....	111
<b>4. Emerging parties and campaigning on corruption.....</b>	<b>113</b>
The anti-corruption strategy.....	114
Creating and mobilizing the symbol.....	117
Party publications.....	118
Party leaders.....	121
Parties in the media .....	124
Parties' Online Presence .....	129
Conclusion.....	135
<b>5. Candidates on the campaign trail.....</b>	<b>137</b>
Hanura, East Java.....	139
Nasdem, South Sulawesi.....	151
Gerindra, North Sumatra.....	158
Intra-party relationships.....	166
Conclusion.....	169
<b>6. A successful strategy?.....</b>	<b>173</b>
Justifying the use of an anti-corruption symbol.....	173
Salient and primed .....	175
The art of persuasion .....	176
Candidates matter .....	180
Diffusion of symbols.....	183
Mixed messages .....	188
Conclusion.....	193
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>195</b>
Appendices.....	200
Bibliography .....	203

**List of Figures**

[Figure 6.1](#).....182

**List of Tables**

[Table 3.1](#)..... 84

[Table 3.2](#).....108

[Table 3.3](#).....109

[Table 6.1](#).....184

# Abbreviations

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia (Armed Forces of Indonesia)
Bawaslu	Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Electoral Supervisory Board)
BNN	Badan Narkotika Nasional (National Narcotics Agency)
BPK	Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan (National Audit Agency)
Bulog	Badan Urusan Logistik (State Logistics Agency)
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia
Dapil	Daerah Pemilihan (Constituency)
DKI Jakarta	Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta (Special Capital Region of Jakarta)
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council)
DPR I	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah tingkat propinsi, (Regional People's Representative Council, provincial level)
DPR II	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah tingkat kabupaten/kota, (Regional People's Representative Council, regency or city level)
DPR-RI	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat- Republic Indonesia (National People's Representative Council)
G30S	Gerakan 30 September (30 September Movement)
Gerindra	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Great Indonesia Movement Party) Golongan Karya (Party of Functional Groups)
Golkar	Golongan Putih ('White Group' or people who chose not to vote in elections)
Golput	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (People's Conscience Party)
Hanura	Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Farmer's Association)
HKTI	
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Muslim Students' Association)
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals)
ICS	Indonesia Survey Center
ICW	Indonesian Corruption Watch
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INES	Indonesian Network Election Survey
KKN	Korupsi, Kolusi dan Nepotisme (Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism)
Kopassus	Komando Pasukan Khusus (Indonesian Special Forces)
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Corruption Eradication Commission)

KPKPN	Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara (Commission to Examine the Wealth of State Officials)
KPU	Komisi Pemilihan Umum (General Election Commission)
LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (Indonesian Institute of Social Science)
LSI	Lembaga Survey Indonesia (Indonesia Survey Institute)
LSN	Lembaga Survei Nasional (National Survey Institute)
Malari	Malapetaka Limabelas Januari (15 January Incident)
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars)
Nasdem	Partai Nasdem (National Democratic Party)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
OPSTIB	Operasi Tertib (Operation to Improve Order)
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
PDI	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party)
PDIP	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)
PEKUNEG	Tim Penerbitan Keuangan Negara (Team to Regularize State Finances)
Perludem	Rumah Pemilu untuk Demokrasi (Election House for Democracy) Pemilihan Umum (General Election)
Pemilu	Perusahaan Pertambangan Minyak dan Gas Bumi Negara (State Oil and Natural Gas Mining Company)
Pertamina	
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKK	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Development)
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PNI	Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
PPATK	Pusat Pelaporan dan Analisis Transaksi Keuangan (Centre for Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
PRD	Partai Rakyat Demokratis (Democratic People's Party)
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Party)
PUKAT	Universitas Gadjah Mada Pusat Kajian Anti-Korupsi (University of Gadjah Mada Center for Anti-Corruption Studies)

Rp	Rupiah (Indonesian currency)
SMRC	Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting
TGPTPK	Tim Gabungan Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi (Joint Team to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption)
TII	Transparency International Indonesia
Tim Tastipikor	Tim Koordinasi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi, (Coordination Team for the Eradication of the Crime of Corruption)
Tipikor	Pengadilan Tindak Pidana Korupsi (Anti-Corruption Courts)
TPK	Tim Pemberantasan Korupsi (Anti-Corruption Team)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USD	United States Dollar

## **A note on currency**

Monetary amounts throughout this thesis have been given in Rupiah (Rp.), Indonesia's national currency. There are some exceptions when source material provides the amount in US dollars (USD) only, especially for sources written during the Old Order period (1949–1965). In the historical sections of this thesis, this amount is given in Rupiah and US dollars (where possible), in order to reflect the real-time value of the currency.

For sections discussing Indonesia in the *Reformasi* period (1998–), amounts are given in Rupiah only. However, this thesis acknowledges that there was currency fluctuation during this time. Between 1998 and the time of writing, the Rupiah peaked at Rp.6,758.42 to USD1 in July 1999 and dipped to a low of Rp.12,023.3 to USD1 in January 2014. Historical conversions can be made using foreign exchange information found at OANDA ([www.oanda.com](http://www.oanda.com)). All monetary conversions in this thesis are approximations.

## **A note on Indonesian terms**

Where appropriate, key Indonesian terms for specific phenomena discussed in this thesis are given both in English and Indonesian language.

Where relevant, the short names for individuals used throughout the thesis are based on the names commonly used by Indonesians themselves. This can be the person's first name, family name or a portmanteau (for example Joko Widodo is commonly known as 'Jokowi').

Any study of Indonesia politics or history is sure to be full of acronyms and portmanteau, which are commonly used in Indonesia, especially (but not exclusively) in spoken language. This thesis has given the full name of any organization or term followed by any common acronym or portmanteau in brackets. A full list of Indonesian acronyms used throughout can be found at the beginning of the thesis.

# Abstract

This thesis explores the use of anti-corruption symbols during Indonesia's 2014 legislative elections from a national party and individual candidate perspective. Anti-corruption has long been a political issue in Indonesia, and the entrenched nature of associated rhetoric facilitates the ongoing emphasis on anti-corruption symbols. However, recent history and the perceived misuse of such symbols by some political parties meant that mobilizing them carried risks in 2014. This study addresses two key empirical questions: why were anti-corruption symbols adopted by emerging parties and their candidates, and how were these symbols used? Examining these questions allows us to consider a broader paradox in Indonesia; that while anti-corruption rhetoric is prominent, so too is corruption—including money politics and vote-buying during political campaigns.

Theoretically, the thesis speaks to the literature on electoral campaigns and the diffusion of ideas across scales, drawing on Edelman's conceptualization of political symbols as signifiers of morality and aspiration that are ultimately intended to sway audiences in order to gain power. A political symbol comes into being when parties attempt to bind themselves to particular discourses or ideas in order to win favour with voters. The concept of the symbol, whether it is effective or weak, is based on how successful parties are in their attempts to become synonymous with a particular cause, with this analysis focused particularly on the anti-corruption symbol. The application of Edelman's theory of symbolic politics to the Indonesian case provides an opportunity to extend theoretical discussions of the use of symbols as tools of persuasion during elections. The incorporation of diffusion theory to interpret the parameters and constraints of campaigning represents an original approach to the study of electoral campaigns, not just in Indonesia but more widely. The combination of these theoretical frameworks presents an innovative way of understanding enduring questions regarding coexisting, yet contradictory, political phenomena in Indonesia.

Focusing on case studies from three different emerging parties, this thesis finds that the use of anti-corruption symbols varied considerably between the national level and the candidates, even if the symbols adopted were ostensibly the same. Parties' executive committees embraced anti-corruption symbols because they believed voters would respond favourably to them, in spite of the inherent hazards involved. However, candidates exercise great autonomy in the construction of their personal

campaigns, and could choose to follow or ignore their party's anti-corruption symbol. In the cases examined here, the extent to which the symbol was adopted depended heavily on a candidate's personal history, through which personal 'ownership' of the issue was established. The nature of intra-party relations and traditional campaign techniques in Indonesia reinforced these intrinsically different campaign arenas, often referred to colloquially as the 'air campaign' (national level) and 'ground campaign' (candidate level). Given the different audiences and interactions with voters in each arena, there was scope for discrepancy even though national party committees and individual candidates essentially shared the same goal of wanting to maximize votes.

The thesis argues that the disconnect that exists between the anti-corruption symbol constructed in national campaigns and local practice is inherently linked to the simultaneous prominence of anti-corruption rhetoric and money politics in campaigns. At the same time that parties compete to be seen as the 'cleanest', individual candidates are pressured to buy votes, knowing that it may be their best chance for success. The incongruity between what happens in different campaign arenas not only demonstrates the fragmented nature of political parties, but also confirms that the values and decisions of candidates play a crucial role in the perpetuation of money politics. This finding challenges the normative assumption that political parties are single, coherent entities and advances a new way of understanding the relationships between anti-corruption rhetoric and election campaign outcomes for Indonesia's emerging parties.

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# Introduction

A positive image is identified as paramount for winning political office, especially when party loyalty is low amongst citizens (Catterberg and Moreno 2006; Mainwaring 1998: 71; Rose 1994), as it often is in young democracies such as Indonesia. Investigating how intra-party relations and local context affect decision-making in political campaigns sheds light on the development of this image and have been identified as important realms for research (Farrell 2006: 130; Rohrschneider 2002). To further explore how these relationships play out in the context of a national election and, in turn, influence party image, this thesis explores the use of anti-corruption symbols in the Indonesian national parliamentary elections of 2014. Focusing on the political campaigns of three emerging parties, it investigates how these parties attempted to own anti-corruption issues and develop a political symbol that could be disseminated nationally and by individual candidates. Emerging parties provide a suitable focus as their pre-existing reputation is not as entrenched as those of older parties, and therefore the 2014 campaigns potentially had a more significant impact in shaping public opinion towards them.

There exists a paradox in Indonesia: although corruption seems a normal part of political dealings—both for government decision-making processes and during electoral campaigns—anti-corruption sentiment is also pervasive. Political actors in Indonesia have long used corruption as a political tool in their attempts to compete for and preserve power. In addition, it is easier to campaign on issues with which voters identify as part of their daily life, rather than on issues that must be supplied and explained (Popkin 1991: 101). There is no need to explain that corruption is a problem in Indonesia as there is already a widespread public perception that corruption is rampant and needs to be quelled. As a result, several political actors believe that creating an identity which is synonymous with the fight against corruption will boost their popularity. The use of anti-corruption symbols in Indonesian election campaigns, including in the national legislative elections of 2014, is therefore predictable.

Parties do not need to convince voters that combating corruption should be a national priority; this is seemingly self-evident. However, the use of anti-corruption symbolism can still be perilous. If a party promotes itself as clean and corruption-free, it risks being branded as hypocritical if any of its members are later found guilty of

corruption. During the 2009-2014 parliamentary term, several parties were pilloried for this reason, revealing the dangers inherent in the strategy. But, judging by the attempts of parties to align themselves with the anti-corruption agenda that was prominent in 2014, many parties did not deem these risks to be serious enough to shy away from exploiting anti-corruption sentiment. The aim was not only to convince voters that they were committed to eradicating corruption, but that they were more committed than their rivals.

This study examines the use of anti-corruption symbols for campaign purposes, drawing upon conceptualizations first pioneered by American political scientist Murray Edelman. Edelman (1964;1971) describes political interactions as symbolic in terms of both the rituals associated with public procedures and in the use of rhetoric to influence the public.<sup>1</sup> Edelman (1988: 12) argues that social problems are exploited by politicians, who use them as symbols that act as:

reinforcements of ideologies, not simply because they are there or because they are important for wellbeing. They signify who are virtuous and useful and who are dangerous or inadequate, which actions will be rewarded and which penalized. They constitute people as subjects with particular kinds of aspirations, self-concepts, and fears, and they create beliefs about the relative importance of events and objects. They are critical in determining who exercises authority and who accepts it.

Well-chosen political symbols can evoke emotions and trigger a strong personal response in favour of the political party or candidate using that symbol (Popkin 1991: 102; Rabinowitz and Macdonald 1989: 94). Edelman's work on political symbols inspired a range of subsequent studies theorizing how the public are affected by the rituals and rhetoric of politics. Edelman's framework provided a foundation for investigating the development and significance of symbols in electoral campaigns. In particular, the theory of political symbolism has inspired ideas of 'issue ownership'—that is, how candidates establish a positive association with specific political issues in the minds of voters— in campaigns (Bélanger and Meguid 2008; Druckman *et al.* 2004; Petrocik 1996; van der Brug 2004) and 'directional voting', relating to how

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Edelman (1964: 3) argues that elections themselves can be understood as a symbolic ritual because although they give citizens 'a chance to express discontents and enthusiasms, to enjoy a sense of involvement...only in a minor degree is it participation in policy formation'.

voters decide who to select (Rabinowitz and Macdonald 1989).<sup>2</sup> While some of his conclusions were scorned for their cynicism—particularly claims regarding the futility of individual actions and the difficulties citizens face in avoiding manipulation by political elites—the fundamental premise of his work continues to resonate today.<sup>3</sup>

Edelman's approach to political symbolism also allow us to understand campaigning on anti-corruption issues as an attempt to align with the symbol's broader figurative implications: to be 'anti-corruption' is to subscribe to a whole range of 'public-service related' values such as trust, honesty, humanity, equity and responsibility; the moral 'non-negotiables' (Collins 2012: 6). Consequently, establishing an anti-corruption symbol speaks to a (declared) commitment to eradicating corruption while also portraying the party as a representative of what is good and morally right. Moreover, this theory also posits that while political symbols aim to conjure positive associations in the minds' of citizens, they are essentially constructed for the purpose of acquiring and/or maintaining power.<sup>4</sup> An appreciation of the context in which political symbols are used is essential to realize this desire for power as 'even the most transcendental images occur in particular social and ontological spaces, facing audiences, making use of performers and their skills, presupposing certain assumptions about how actions occur and what sorts of beings inhabit the world, and requiring economic and social resources' (Keane 1997: 11). Furthermore, as Keane (1997: 19) argues, the mere act of selecting a particular symbol reflects our own understanding of the existing context because the ability of symbols to influence

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<sup>2</sup> Particularly relevant to this thesis are studies that examine how citizens are influenced by political campaigns, which will be elaborated upon in Chapter One. Additionally, there are a number of other academic realms in which Edelman's work has played a crucial role, for example, the persuasive role of the media (Chadwick 2001; Cottle 2006; Entman and Rojecki 1993), the use of political spectacle in the American education system (Smith *et al.* 2004), the political uses of symbolic women (Sapiro 1993) and the rhetoric of moral protests and public campaigns (Lahusen 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Edelman drew largely on Marxist ideas and was consequently out of favour with many academics working in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s (Bennett 2005: 354; DeCanio 2005: 399). His work was accused of becoming increasingly pessimistic, culminating in a sharply cynical argument in his books, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (1988) and *The Politics of Misinformation* (2001), which both posited that existing democratic systems had failed because citizens were in the grip of manipulative political elites whose primary interest was to maintain power (Bennett 2005: 354). His work has also been criticized for being overly deterministic regarding the psychology of the masses as he makes a number of generalizations about voter behaviour and their overall interactions with political ideas (Fenster 2005). Other critiques of Edelman's work include: Kraus and Giles (1989), Sapiro (1993), and Ewick and Sarat (2004).

<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this thesis it is important to note that Edelman's work did not centre on the manipulation of symbols by elites, but rather on how the use of symbols affects the psychology of the masses, usually to the extent that it produces quiescence (Sapiro 1993: 142).

stems from the way that people associate them with actions and objects in their own lives.

This thesis also uses the study of anti-corruption symbols to explore deeper issues of scalar influence, diffusion and party cohesion, representing a starting point for understanding how political campaigns in Indonesia are imagined and executed at different scales and the intra-party interaction and synergy (if any) that occurs. Examining the scalar dimensions of political campaigns challenges a tendency in the literature to talk about political parties as monolithic entities when in fact they are complex institutions comprised of subunits, internal systems and conflicts (Sartori 1976: 71).<sup>5</sup> Redressing the normative construct of parties as more or less singular units, this thesis examines the relationship between national discourse and individual campaign strategy in emerging political parties, noting Hicken's (2009: 5) assertion that political parties offer candidates a 'brand name' and economies of scale through intra-party coordination under the common goal of party promotion. This study investigates how the symbol of anti-corruption was conceptualized at national and local levels, how national level discourse influenced what was said and done in the local campaigns of particular candidates, and what other influences candidates had to consider.

This thesis focuses on four research questions:

1. How did emerging political parties justify using an anti-corruption symbol in their campaigns?
2. How did they construct their anti-corruption symbol?
3. How did they deliver and sell the symbol to voters?
4. What were the differences between the conceptualization and the delivery of the anti-corruption symbol at the national level and the local level?

Each of these questions provides a basis for analysing the design and execution of the 2014 electoral campaign and understanding the prominent use of this particular symbol by emerging parties. In addressing these questions, this study found that the unique features of a country's history, electoral laws, media systems, and political parties influence how campaigns are conceptualized and implemented (Bowler and

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<sup>5</sup> Kitschelt (1989: 400-401) contends that academic studies often conceptualize political parties as 'highly static' in terms of their behaviour and that there is a lack of studies investigating the internal working of parties. More recent studies that make a similar point include Deschouwer (2003) and Fabre (2011).

Farrell 1992b: 7-8). Furthermore, individual candidates had a great deal of autonomy in the selection and development of their personal campaign symbols. As a result, while their personal symbols sometimes aligned with those of the party, at other times party symbols were reimagined or even ignored, depending on how determined the candidates were to establish an anti-corruption symbol. This was, in turn, influenced by their backgrounds, local circumstances and voters' demands. Although parties and their candidates ostensibly shared the same goals—to win the election—the nature of the Indonesian party system and candidate recruitment accounted for much of the incongruence between national and individual campaigns.

### **Indonesia's political system**

The Indonesian national parliament, known as the People's Consultative Assembly (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat, MPR), is comprised of the elected representatives from different electorates, forming the People's Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, DPR-RI), and provincial representatives, which comprise the Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD). The DPR-RI has 560 seats and the DPD has 132 seats. DPR-RI candidates must be nominated by an approved political party, while DPD candidates are not required to have a party affiliation (though many do). In addition to the national level parliament, Indonesians also vote for legislative representatives for the provincial (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah tingkat propinsi, DPRD I) and district (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah tingkat kabupaten/kota, DPRD II) legislatures.<sup>6</sup> Elections for all these positions occurred simultaneously on 9 April 2014. The results were verified by the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU) and official tallies were released on 9 May 2014.

Electoral systems themselves often present barriers for new parties (Berrington 1985: 446), and this holds true in Indonesia. Political parties must meet a number of eligibility requirements to compete in Indonesia's national elections. They must have a regional office in each province, as well as a permanent office in 75 per cent of provinces, districts or municipalities and a chapter in at least half of each of the sub-districts, answering to a permanent office (though these chapters do not need to be permanent). They must also have at least 1000 official members.<sup>7</sup> The KPU makes the

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<sup>6</sup> For a comprehensive outline of the national parliamentary structure see DPR-RI (2014a).

<sup>7</sup> The province of Aceh is an exception to these requirements as local parties are permitted to compete under the special autonomy agreement with the central government. See Hillman (2012) for further details.

final determination as to whether parties have met these requirements. Parties must also pass a threshold of at least 3.5 per cent of votes in order to assume their place in the parliament.<sup>8</sup> Forming a party that meets all these requirements takes time, money and resources, not to mention ongoing costs once the party has been validated.

The DPR-RI candidates nominated by each party stand for election in a specific electorate, known as a *daerah pemilihan* (dapil). Each electorate is allocated between three and ten seats, so parties commonly field multiple candidates.<sup>9</sup> The parties rank each candidate and this corresponds to their place on the ballot. For example, a candidate may be assigned the number '3', signifying that their name will appear third on the ballot sheet. Until 2009, party list ranking was crucial because parties determined the order in which candidates were allocated votes. However, voters are now able to direct their votes to specific individuals. Despite its lack of practical significance, candidate order continues to incite much intra-party debate because the party list ranking is seen as a reflection of the candidate's status within the party and the level of party support they can expect to receive.

Once parties have nominated and ranked their candidates, the individual candidates organize their own campaigns. While the official campaign period is short (in 2014 from 16 March to 5 April) the candidates spend a much longer preparing their strategy and organizing their campaigns. This study defines the campaign period broadly to include all activities undertaken to advertise the party and candidates to members of the public in the lead-up to the election, a process which began far earlier than the officially-mandated campaign period. In the lead up to the official campaign period, candidates hold consultations with community groups, business people, and

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<sup>8</sup> Law No. 10/2008 on the General Election of Members of the People's Representative Council, the Regional Representative Council and the Regional People's Representative Council originally stated that the threshold for participation in the national parliament was 2.5 per cent. This was amended in April 2012 to 3.5 per cent.

<sup>9</sup> The full details of voting procedure and vote allocation by parties is detailed in Law No. 8/2012 on the General Election of the Members of the House of Representatives, People's Representative Council and Regional House of representatives.

other stakeholders to source support and discuss the terms of this support.<sup>10</sup> Some candidates also negotiate with voters and/or vote brokers, particularly if they plan to offer incentives to voters in return for support.<sup>11</sup> This thesis takes the view, in line with Bowler and Farrell (1992b: 11), that an 'election campaign' incorporates these periods of preparation and planning.

The results of the national parliamentary elections are important not only because they determine the influence of parties in the legislature, but also because they affect their ability to nominate a presidential candidates. Under Law No. 42/2008 on the General Election of the President and Vice-President, parties must have over 20 per cent of seats in the DPR-RI or 25 per cent of the popular vote to nominate a presidential candidate. In 2014 no party achieved either of these targets, and coalitions with other parties had to be formed in order to nominate a presidential candidate. Given that many parties in Indonesia are vehicles for presidential hopefuls, the national legislative elections take on an additional significance because a poor result can thwart aspirations.

### **Emerging political parties**

Institutionalized political parties provide a mechanism for channelling social demands and ensuring effective democratic governance (Hicken and Kuhonta 2011: 2). Political parties are here defined as formal political organizations that aim to influence the political nature of the state by participating in elections and gaining power through their outcomes. During an election parties also play a role in aggregating, organizing and coordinating candidates, political donations and voters (Hicken 2009: 5). While some definitions of political parties are narrower, this definition provides a useful theoretical label without inadvertently limiting its

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<sup>10</sup> Under Law No. 01/2013 Guidelines for the Implementation of Election Campaigns by Members for the DPR-RI, DPD and DPRD), Article 13, campaigns activities include: (a) closed meetings with voters, (b) face-to-face meetings, (c) disseminating campaign material to the public, (d) installing advertising material in public places, (e) advertising in print and electronic media, (f) general meetings and (g) any other campaign activity not mentioned here that are not prohibited by other existing laws. Article 25 of the laws states that activities (a), (b), (c) and (d) are permissible from three days after the party has officially nominated the candidate up until the 'quiet period' (*masa tenang*) (which is mandated by the KPU) while (e) and (f) are only allowed during the official campaign period. The law, in Article 26, also states that the official campaign period is determined by the KPU.

<sup>11</sup> Some examples of common incentives used to garner support include paraphernalia such as t-shirts, calendars and clocks that are often distributed in the months leading up to the elections, as well as the display of promotional posters. More costly incentives include donations to religious institutions or community organizations, assistance with small infrastructure projects, prize giveaways, and distributing cash payments.

applicability.<sup>12</sup> A broad definition is particularly valuable as new parties may be yet to contest an election or establish themselves in accordance with legislative requirements. Similarly, measurements of public support or percentages of votes in previous elections cannot be applied to parties competing in elections for the first time. Defining 'new' political parties also presents a challenge given that many parties arise from splits with older parties or the merging of parties, while others view a new name as a sufficient qualification to be considered new (Barnea and Rahat 2011: 305). Janda (1980: 22) asserts that if a 'new' party retains an old name, then it can be deemed an old party; however, if a party adopts a new name then it is attempting to dissociate itself from its past, marking itself as a novel alternative. Other ways to identify new parties include their use of strikingly different ideologies to existing parties and/or their bringing together of a new 'coalition of voters'. Some theorists argue, for example, that the people who vote for the party are what define it, and the more new voters a party has attracted, the more its newness has resonated (Barnea and Rahat 2011: 307).

When referring to parties as 'new' or 'emerging' this thesis adopts the definition presented by Harmel (1985: 405-406) that posits 'new' as both a reference to the age of the party and as a commentary on their impact in the political sphere. Emerging parties may be 'contender parties', which genuinely believe that they have an opportunity for electoral success, or 'promoter parties', which recognize that electoral success is unlikely but exist to channel attention to particular causes (Harmel and Robertson 1985: 517). Whatever the motivation, these parties present themselves as a break from the political norm, even if in reality they share many similarities with older parties. Reflecting this conceptualization, this thesis also takes into account the party's own self-identification as being new.<sup>13</sup> By definition, emerging parties are also oppositional, vying for power against more entrenched parties. As their political history grows longer, their identification as an emerging party necessarily wanes.

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<sup>12</sup> For example, some definitions limit political parties to organizations that nominate candidates in state elections or impose a minimum level of representation to denote the significance of a party (Harmel 1985: 405).

<sup>13</sup> This is important given that the emerging parties in this study were formed by figures who had previously been members of other political parties. While, in reality, the parties continue to espouse many of the values that these figures held during their tenure in their former parties, they nevertheless attempt to present themselves as being new and different.

Studying new parties offers an opportunity to ‘observe the formation of a new type of political organization’ (Harmel 1985: 411), as well as offering a lens for exploring change and continuity within a political system. The popularity of new parties may reflect deep discontent with older parties or with the political system in general. Many new parties arise as ‘protest parties’, seizing upon dissatisfaction with the political status quo (Harmel and Robertson 1985: 502), sometimes even with no real expectation of taking power (Harmel and Robertson 1985: 517; Powell 1982: 94). There may also be cases where new parties do not actually represent any genuine differences from other existing parties, provoking questions as to why a new party was formed at all (Berrington 1985: 442). As previously mentioned, several parties in Indonesia are considered vehicles for elites seeking to gain power, suggesting that new parties may be mediums for acquiring power, rather than issue-focused.<sup>14</sup> The leaders of the emerging parties examined in this study had all, at one time or another, attempted to take over the leadership of an ‘old’ party before leaving to form their own (Sherlock 2013: 4; Tomsa 2009), implying this to be the case.

Emerging parties face a number of challenges in their bid for power. These include establishing legitimacy, building recognition among voters—referred to in Indonesia as ‘socialization’ (*sosialisasi*)—and boosting their competitiveness against better-established rivals. They must balance promoting themselves as a new hope for the country with the fact that they have little or no track record in government. How can political parties prove that they offer voters new hope and represent a break from the past? One way that emerging parties do this is by portraying themselves as forces of change, what Sikk (2012: 478) describes as a ‘project of newness’. To argue that change, in itself, is a desirable political outcome is a popular strategy because it does not rely on clear policies or practical solutions. New leaders, as distinct from old-guard political elites, become a rallying point for the project of newness, even if the party’s ideas are not novel (Edelman 1988: 51). As long as a party can convince voters that they represent something ‘better’ than what currently exists, it has the opportunity to appeal to disillusioned voters. New parties also have the prospect of constructing a ‘political enemy’ on the grounds that the old parties have failed to meet public aspirations (Edelman 1988: 66). When constructing their position in relation

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<sup>14</sup> The terms ‘elites’ can be used to describe ‘ruling elites’, who have control over the day-to-day running of the state; ‘opposition elites’, who control opposition parties, movements or NGOs that place pressure on the regime to meet their demands; and ‘economic elites’, who control the vast majority of business interests in the country (Tolstrup 2014: 127). While this thesis focuses on ruling and opposition elites, they often intertwine with economic interests making it difficult to discretely categorize elite.

to older parties, emerging parties benefit from having had little negative publicity in the past and can make accusations against rivals without fear of being branded hypocrites. For example, they can accuse other parties or politicians of corruption without having suffered from any major scandals themselves. They can also, in other cases, criticize economic, religious and social policy stances without ever having been responsible for any unpopular decisions in the past.

Voter tendencies also present an obstacle for emerging parties. In most contexts, when competing against older, more established parties, new parties are generally seen to be at a disadvantage. A study by Dalton and Weldon (2005: 942) concludes that even in situations where citizens are generally distrustful of political parties, they tend to remain loyal to more established parties.<sup>15</sup> Emerging parties must therefore battle natural tendencies to vote for the familiar, as well as the temptation for citizens to forfeit their vote as a form of protest—a practice commonly referred to in Indonesian as belonging to the ‘white group’ (*golongan putih*, golput).<sup>16</sup> This means new parties face the additional challenge of presenting themselves as a viable, preferable alternative to pre-existing parties to which the public have already grown accustomed. This is all the more difficult in the Indonesia, where voter cynicism towards political parties is high.<sup>17</sup>

## **Emerging parties and the 2014 elections**

Three emerging political parties competed in the 2014 Indonesian national legislative elections: the People’s Conscience Party (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, Hanura); the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra); and the National Democratic Party (Partai Nasdem). All three were born out of the political ambitions of prominent, wealthy individuals who had tried but were unable to take

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<sup>15</sup> In related studies, Mainwaring (1998: 71-72) asserts that the more institutionalized political party systems are, the less opportunities there are for new parties. Dalton (2002: 32) contends that even in countries where partisan ties are declining, voters continue to use party identifications to help them determine which party best aligns with their own political beliefs. Popkin (1991: 96-98) argues that voters search for ‘connections’ and the longer a party’s history, the easier it is to make connections between future results and past actions. Thus, common decision making strategies favour older political parties.

<sup>16</sup> This phrase originates from the fact that voters chose not to vote for any party, thus leaving their ballot ‘white’. The meaning has also been extended to include people who also do not physically vote, either as a political statement or out of apathy. Official estimates in 2014 showed that voter turnout was approximately 75.11 per cent, an increase of 4.12 per cent from 2009, while 7.86 per cent of those votes were deemed spoilt or null (Pemilu 2014).

<sup>17</sup> Further discussion of voter attitudes towards political parties, particularly those found in surveys between 2013 and 2014, can be found in Chapter Three.

over the leadership of an existing party (Sherlock 2003: 4). To realize their political ambitions, they formed new parties—a practical necessity to achieve their presidential aspirations. In terms of ideology, these new parties have many similarities. They all proclaim strong nationalistic ideals, with a fervent allegiance to the national ethos of Pancasila and Indonesia's 1945 Constitution.<sup>18</sup> The differences between the parties are more difficult to discern, thus the role of leadership figures as a basis for differentiation was vital.

Hanura is the political vehicle of Wiranto, a former high-ranking military officer with considerable influence during the late New Order. He served as Suharto's aide de camp and as commander of the army during 1998, a critical period in the transition to Reformasi (1998–). After 1998, he served as Coordinating Minister of Politics and Security under President Abdurrahman Wahid. This appointment lasted only three months as President Wahid faced pressure to dismiss Wiranto following his indictment by the National Human Rights Commission for failing to effectively safeguard human rights following East Timor's independence referendum in August 1999 (Crouch 2010: 138), although ultimately not charged by the Attorney-General's office. In 2004 Wiranto contested the Presidential election as the candidate for the Golkar Party, the electoral vehicle of former President Suharto.<sup>19</sup> He finished third in the presidential race, blaming his failure on a lack of support from within his own party (Kawamura 2013: 16). Seeing no future for himself in Golkar, he established Hanura in preparation for the 2009 elections (Tomsa 2009). In his party launch speech, Wiranto criticized the current leadership for not having the nation's best interest at heart (Hanura 2008), but played down his political ambitions, instead describing the formation of Hanura as a direct response to the government's failure to

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<sup>18</sup> Pancasila is Indonesia's national philosophy. It includes five tenets: belief in the one and only God, a just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom and unanimity arising from consensus amongst representatives, and social justice for all of the people of Indonesia. Several of the tenets were born out of the goals of the pre-independence nationalist movement. These were: humanity, unity, sovereignty of the people and social justice. Sukarno first introduced his political philosophy of Pancasila in 1945 in a speech on 1 June 1945. The philosophy continues to be the ideological basis for the Indonesian State and of several political parties. For further details on the history and political and cultural significance of Pancasila see: Feith and Castles (1970); Liddle (1992); Schwarz (2004); Sundhaussen (1981).

<sup>19</sup> Golkar was established by Suharto for the 1971 elections. Liddle (1985: 72) described the party as: 'the government's party, an electoral vehicle ... to deny a parliamentary majority to the other parties. Its seats are filled with men and women who have or have had bureaucratic careers or are in other ways connected to the bureaucracy. In Parliament and the Assembly, the Golkar delegations have never taken an autonomous initiative, but serve instead as the sponsors of policies arrived at elsewhere in the government.'

fulfil the aspirations of the 1945 National Constitution.<sup>20</sup> Hanura describes itself as a 'nationalist-religious' party, which draws its moral influence both from national doctrines such as Pancasila and religion (Wiranto 2009a). The party purported to accept moral input from all nationally-recognized religions, claiming that equality is a fundamental goal, that people should be treated equally regardless of tribe, religion, race, political belief, social status and gender.

The establishment of Gerindra was comparable to that of Hanura in several ways. It was also established by a former military leader, Prabowo Subianto, the former son-in-law of President Suharto, who is best-known for leading the Indonesian Special Forces (Kopassus).<sup>21</sup> While Prabowo's political career floundered after 1998, he returned to politics in 2004, hoping to gain presidential pre-selection with Golkar but was defeated by Wiranto. After securing control of the National Farmer's Association (Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia, HKTI) in 2004, Prabowo established Gerindra in order to realize his presidential ambitions (Tomsa 2009). Gerindra's official declaration also argued that the government had failed its citizens (Gerindra 2008). Gerindra presented itself as a people's party that would work to 'build Indonesia's spirit and body,' and would fight for prosperity and justice. Like Hanura, the party also pledged a commitment to Pancasila and the Constitution of 1945 (Gerindra 2012c). But Prabowo's controversial military past proved difficult to overcome, even though he was a popular candidate in some circles (Mietzner 2010: 188). This controversy included allegations that he oversaw and condoned human rights violations in East Timor and in Jakarta during the riots in 1998. His presidential prospects improved from 2009 to 2014, accompanied by an elaborate and expensive political campaign (*Tempo* 2014; Timur and Priamarizki 2014). In the end, he failed to win the presidential election, receiving 46.85 per cent of overall votes compared to 53.15 per cent of votes garnered by rival Joko Widodo (popularly known as 'Jokowi') (Komisi Pemilihan Umum 2014b).

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<sup>20</sup> Also referred to as the Revolutionary Constitution of 1945, which included the tenets of the Pancasila doctrine in its preamble as well as chapters addressing the unitary nature of the Indonesian state, the powers of various levels of government (namely the legislature and executive), the human rights and religious freedoms guaranteed to all citizens, the obligation that the government must spend 20 per cent of its budget on education, state ownership of the major means of production, and the state's social welfare responsibilities (Republic of Indonesia 1945).

<sup>21</sup> Prabowo and Suharto's daughter, Siti Hediati Hariyadi (commonly known by her nickname, 'Titiek') divorced in 1998 after Suharto resigned from the presidency (Winarno 2014).

Unlike Hanura and Gerindra, Nasdem did not have a former military person at its helm, though there were a number of ex-officers amongst its leadership. Nasdem was regarded as the political vehicle of media magnate Surya Paloh, who was defeated in his bid for Golkar Party leadership by business tycoon Aburizal Bakrie in 2011. The support structure for a political party pre-dated the official launch of the Nasdem party in July 2011 in the form of a mass organization called the National Democrats established in 2010. 2014 marked Nasdem's first national parliamentary election and it was the only party that had never contested a national election before. In rationalising the need to form a new party, Nasdem leadership claimed that Reformasi had failed and that there was a need to return to basics, a restoration of Indonesia based on the goals of the 1945 Constitution (Nasdem 2011a). In its party manifesto, Nasdem pledged its commitment to a democracy that served all Indonesian citizens, not only elites, and fundamentally rejected the current trend of 'routinely recirculating power [amongst elites] without the emergence of a leader of quality or worth' (Nasdem 2011b).

Forming a new party was a necessary condition to achieve the presidential aspirations of these individuals, given the requirement that a party hold a minimum of 20 per cent of seats in order to nominate a presidential candidate without being obliged to form a coalition. Both Hanura and Gerindra actively promoted their leaders as presidential candidates in the lead up to the legislative elections. Nasdem declined to do this, primarily because it did not actually believe that they would gain over 20 per cent of seats in the election.<sup>22</sup> Finally, only Gerindra's leader, Prabowo Subianto, went on to contest the presidential elections, as Hanura fell short of the threshold and subsequently opted to form a coalition with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP). Supporting the presidential bid of the eventual winner, Jokowi, Hanura used its campaign machines to promote him. A number of party members were subsequently selected for Jokowi's cabinet and there has been discussion about the influence that these party leaders, particularly Surya Paloh from Nasdem, have had on Jokowi's decisions.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with Nasdem party official, 11 April 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Discussion of this influence can be found in numerous media report following Jokowi's election. For example, respected news magazine *Tempo* published an article in November 2014 on Paloh's strong influence over President Jokowi's decisions and has unparalleled access to the president (*Tempo English* 2014; Widiarsi *et al.* 2014). Other examples of media reports positing that Surya Paloh holds significant sway with Jokowi include: Fakhruddin (2014); Kiswondari (2014); Sutrisno (2014). Politicians associated with Nasdem were three granted ministerial positions in Jokowi's October 2014 cabinet as well as the position of attorney-general, while Hanura-affiliated member received two positions.

Equally important in the presidential election was the prominence of Gerindra, who fielded the only other presidential candidate in the 2014 race. While Gerindra's national legislative outcome did not qualify them to nominate Prabowo without a coalition of parties, their campaign machine was so effective that the what originally seemed like a clear-cut race became a closely contested battle—Prabowo lost by only 46.85 per cent of votes to the 53.15 per cent garnered by Jokowi and his running mate Jusuf Kalla. These new parties have proven that they are not merely a footnote in Indonesia's political history, but have established themselves as principal actors in the political game. While they cannot yet claim the long history or popularity of some other parties, their respective leaderships are playing a strategic game which will continue to influence Indonesia's political sphere into the future.

## **Methodology**

In studying these parties and individual candidates, I have adopted a mixed-methods approach. First, I drew from 'grounded theory', which emphasizes that researchers 'set aside theoretical ideas' when collating data to 'let the substantive theory emerge' (Urquhart 2013: 5). Data for this project was collected over three separate periods of field work: December 2011-February 2012, July 2012-July 2013 and March 2014-April 2014.<sup>24</sup> In the initial proposal for this study I set out to research conceptualizations of corruption in Indonesia. Early reading focused generally on the history of corruption in Indonesia and debates about its impact. My thesis topic narrowed as a consequence of observations made during my first period of fieldwork to focus on emerging parties and the 2014 election. It was at this stage that I identified the case study method, an intensive study of specific instances of the phenomenon (Swanborn 2010), as the most useful means for gathering and analysing further data.

I subsequently refined my conceptual framework through a comprehensive overview of relevant literature, providing a basis for theoretical propositions and analytic generalization.<sup>25</sup> An important part of this process was to deepen my understanding of the term 'corruption' and to identify a way to step back from the ethical problem of corrupt practices and analyse how discourses *around* corruption are used in

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<sup>24</sup> Approval for this field work was received from the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) on 22 August 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Yin (2014: 41) asserts that in case studies, analytical generalization is based on corroborating, modifying, rejecting or advancing new concepts as a result of the study. The ensuing generalizations made are thus at a conceptual level which is higher than that of the specific case.

campaigns. The term 'corruption' is regularly used as a catch-all for a range of distinct social pathologies including mismanagement of public resources, weak government institutions, and complex relationships between political actors and public economic assets (Cheng and Zaum 2008: 302). One widely used definition of corruption describes it as the abuse of public roles for private gain (Johnston 2005), while another prevalent definition is proposed by Nye (1967: 965-966), identifying corruption as behaviour that deviates from the formal practice of a public role due to personal ('private-regarding') gains, or that violate the rules of exercising influence. These definitions, however, are criticized for over-generalizing the problem, failing to adequately define what exactly constitutes 'abuse' or 'personal gain' (Philp 2008: 311-312).<sup>26</sup> Broadly speaking, corruption is normatively accepted as involving some form of deceit with 'the pretence of being absolutely loyal to the principal whilst in actual fact being intent on benefiting oneself and/or third parties' (Brasz 1963: 112). Whatever form corruption takes it is commonly understood as having a negative political and economic effect on ordinary citizens. Such understandings consequently lead citizens to regard corruption as a form of injustice (Anduiza *et al.* 2013: 1665).

Despite the general attitude that corruption is bad, conceptualizations of corruption based on the law, morality and social norms are not necessarily congruent. Legal definitions of corruption are those found in state legislation whereas moral definitions are determined by social context.<sup>27</sup> Moral interpretations of corruption are often (but not exclusively) drawn from religion and culture, and identify corrupt actions as those which are evil (Marquette 2012: 14) whereas sociological definitions are derived from the social norms of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour within a society (Leys 1990: 55). The contrast between these different perspectives is apparent when considering Ley's (1990: 54) assertion that for every corrupt act deemed bad by one person, there is at least one other person who regards it as good. In Indonesia, this incongruence is visible in the fact that corruption is widely

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<sup>26</sup> There is extensive debate over the definition of corruption in academic literature. For examples see Bull and Newell (1997); Cheng and Zaum (2008); Friedrich (1990); Heidenheimer *et al.* (1990); Heywood (1997); Johnston (2005); Mény (1996); Rose-Ackerman (1999); Warren (2004).

<sup>27</sup> The Indonesian state has implemented a number of initiatives in its efforts to combat corruption, such as the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, KPK) and the Anti-Corruption Courts (Pengadilan Tindak Pidana Korupsi, Tipikor), designed to implement a number of anti-corruption laws including: Law No. 28/1999 on State Organizers Who Are Free from Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism, Law No. 31/1999 on the Eradication of the Criminal Act of Corruption, Law No. 71/2000 on Procedures for Implementation of Public Participation and Provision of Appreciation in the Prevention and Eradication of the Criminal Act of Corruption, and Law No. 8/2010 on the Criminal Act of Money Laundering.

condemned, yet prevalent. What is regarded as corruption under the law may clash with social norms, for example, what King (2000: 618) describes as rifts between legal norms and 'folk norms' such as social networks, kinship ties, friendships, patron-client relations and family loyalty. The difficulty in establishing a workable definition for corruption lends it a malleability and propensity for manipulation that make it an attractive issue for political parties in Indonesia.

In seeking to explain how understandings of what does and does not constitute corruption play into broader narratives of morality within political campaigns, it became evident that the ways in which political parties and individual candidates define corruption are important. In the discourses adopted by parties and candidates during electoral campaigns, one of the principal interpretations of corruption revolves around the use of incentives to attract voters. This is often described as 'money politics' and 'vote-buying', terms used to describe the distribution of money (or goods) in order to gain or maintain office (Goodpaster 2002: 100; Mietzner 2007). In Indonesia, these practices are illegal under Law No. 10/2008 on the General Election of Members for the DPR, DPD and DPRD, which states in article 87(1) that candidates will be sanctioned if it is proven that a campaigner has promised or given money or other goods, directly or indirectly, in return for participants to (a) not use their right to vote, (b) use their right to vote in such a way that they select a candidate in a way that invalidates their vote, (c) vote for a specific political party participating in the election, (d) select a specific candidate for DPR, DPRD I, DPRD II or (e) select a specific candidate for the DPD. Money politics is a 'household phrase' in Indonesia due to its normalcy during electoral campaigns (Mietzner 2007: 239). However, as Aspinall and Sukmajati (Forthcoming-b: 7) argue, the term 'money politics' is imprecise.<sup>28</sup> Recognizing this shortcoming, this terminology is nevertheless adopted because, despite its fluidity, it is commonly used in Indonesia by parties and candidates themselves. Identifying how these terms are used to conceptualize corruption is important for understanding how symbols are imagined and anti-corruption images are incorporated into campaigns.

In studying the use of anti-corruption symbols by emerging parties, I decided to adopt a multi-scalar approach within each case study, examining two different 'units' of

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<sup>28</sup> Instead, Aspinall and Sukmajati (Forthcoming-b) adopt the terms 'patronage' and 'clientelism' as more specific descriptions of the phenomena observed.

analysis.<sup>29</sup> First, the three case study parties are examined at the national level (the first unit of analysis), looking at both materials produced by the party head office—including, but not limited to, information on each parties' 'vision and mission' and other documentation regarding the parties' objectives and *raison d'être*, postings on the official website and social media posts made by those in the central party committee (Dewan Perwakilan Partai, DPP) and public statements made by party leaders and official spokespersons—and interviews with members of the DPP. Second, I conducted detailed observations of three parliamentary candidates (the second unit of analysis), one representing each party. By observing campaign planning and execution, as well as having direct, personal, access to the candidates, the case studies developed reflect how these individuals formulated the anti-corruption symbol in their own campaigns (i.e. how they linked themselves to the symbol) and why they chose to deliver the symbol in the way they did.

In the initial stages of this project, the question of access to interview subjects caused some consternation as I did not have any direct relationships with members from the political parties I wished to research. However, basing myself in Jakarta and drawing upon contacts provided through my pre-existing networks there, I was eventually able to organize interviews with party members from almost all political parties that competed in the 2014 national elections. These interviews, in turn, allowed access to other party officials for interviews. It was during this time that the feasibility of a study of emerging parties was confirmed, as I felt I had a workable level of access to senior party members for the purposes of this research.<sup>30</sup> The fact that I speak Indonesian also enabled me to develop closer relationships with interviewees (although some did speak English) that would not have been possible using an interpreter. This experience resonates with theories about participant observation, which encourage researchers to use the local language and engage through informal interaction (DeWalt and DeWalt 2010: 4).

The second round of fieldwork provided an opportunity to conduct more targeted interviews with members from the selected cases. These interviews initially focused upon senior party members based in Jakarta, with a view to establish how national party leadership conceptualize anti-corruption issues and the importance of anti-corruption symbols for their respective parties. In March 2013 I approached five

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<sup>29</sup> 'Embedded case study design' refers to case studies that 'involve units of analysis at more than one level' (Yin 2014: 53).

<sup>30</sup> Further details of the fieldwork conducted can be found in Kramer (2014b).

different parliamentary candidates (all of whom I had already interviewed) to ask if they would allow me to accompany them as an embedded observer while in their local electorates for parts of their campaign. Three candidates agreed and permitted me to travel with them in their electorates, in the provinces of East Java, South Sulawesi and North Sumatra as they organized and executed their electoral campaigns.

A third period of fieldwork provided an opportunity to gather more specific data during the official campaign period between 16 March 2014 and 6 April 2014. Access afforded during time spent in the electorates included: attendance at strategy meetings, logistical planning and procurement discussions, attendance at community meetings and rallies, as well as the 'off' time of travel, lunch and resting after the day's activities. The latter provided an opportunity to ask questions and reflect on the days' events.<sup>31</sup> Visits to the local electorate were interspersed with interviews conducted in Jakarta, where each of the candidates usually resided. In total, the candidates were formally interviewed a minimum of six times over the course of campaign planning and execution, in addition to time spent together in their electorate. During these periods I took detailed field notes in order to build a narrative surrounding how the candidate behaved, what their priorities were and whether corruption remained a focus of their campaign. In the interim, I communicated with the candidates face-to-face in Jakarta, and via email and text messages. The narrative development drew upon an ethnographic methodology in which I, as the researcher, established a physical presence at my site designed to help me understand the 'around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations' (Marcus 1995: 105). In addition, using non-physical communication to discuss progress, targets and campaign issues also allowed me to develop a full picture of candidates and their strategies over the year preceding the election. Having amassed first-hand data, I then returned to the literature (primary and secondary) to examine historical events more closely in order to trace changes and continuities in anti-corruption symbolism, with an eye to understanding its prominence in contemporary Indonesia.

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<sup>31</sup> The level of interaction during these periods depended on the candidate and circumstances. Sometimes the candidates would invite me for dinner and we would stay in the same hotel/house overnight. Other times this was not possible. I left it to the candidate to determine the level of interaction they were comfortable with during these 'off' times.

Analysis of data gathered from interviews and observations was done first through a bottom-up coding process, which was used to identify themes suggested by the data rather than the literature.<sup>32</sup> The thematic coding was built upon common phrases and ideas embedded in the interview texts. For interviews with party officials (not the case study subjects), interviews were coded to see if there were similarities and disparities in how the individuals understood their party's anti-corruption symbol. The coded material was then cross-referenced to the themes and rhetoric found in the party's official documents, media reporting and online presence in order to gain a holistic idea of how the party constructed its anti-corruption symbol. For the three case study candidates interviews were also coded thematically, but the initial analysis compared the prominence of themes over time within each case and then compared the three cases against each other. In this way, the analysis tracked changes within the individual candidate's own campaign and attitude toward the anti-corruption symbol over time, as well as contextualizing it against the other cases.

## **Limitations**

This study focuses on how the symbol of corruption as identified, developed and used by an individual parliamentary candidate from each of three emerging political parties. As a consequence, there are limitations in its scope. While Indonesian political parties share many similarities, the results of this thesis are not intended to be generalized. It also is impossible to draw universal conclusions about the relationship between national rhetoric and individual candidates based on these three cases. Furthermore, given the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity within Indonesia, each of the case studies reflects the particularities of its geographic location. The individual case studies for this research were taken from North Sumatra, South Sulawesi and East Java — three very different contexts. At times during the research I heard anecdotal evidence explaining why certain candidates had advantages or disadvantages according to religion, gender and family background. While the analysis of candidate behaviour accounts for these differences, it does not attempt an in-depth background study on the cultural differences between the regions and how this affected candidate behaviour or constituents' reaction to them.

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<sup>32</sup> For further details on bottom-up coding see Urquhart (2013: 38). Other relevant discussion is found in Yin (2014: 136-137) detailing the process of 'working your data from the "ground up"'.

Another limitation of this study is that it does not include any assessment of how the parties' anti-corruption symbols are understood and interpreted by the voters, although relevant literature has been cited where applicable. Because the focus of this thesis is to understand the rationale and relationships within the party, it has not set out to assess the impact of these symbols on the public. The information gathered is based mainly on interviews with members of parties, rather than those deciding their fate. However, while the citizen perspective of anti-corruption symbols is outside the bounds of this particular project, it would be a potential topic for future research.

When discussing issues of corruption and elections in Indonesia, the topic of 'money politics' invariably emerges. Understanding the circumstances that promote the use of cash, goods, or favours in exchange for votes is an important area of research that has been taken up by other academic researchers. This work is referenced throughout this thesis.<sup>33</sup> But while this study does not shy away from observations relating to the use of money politics, these observations are described in order to understand the rationale behind certain campaign strategies adopted by individual candidates, rather than to assess the prevalence of money politics itself. Moreover, this thesis does not attempt to explain in any detail why voters seek material goods or financial benefits. While this question is pertinent to electoral politics in Indonesia, it falls outside the parameters of this study. Any direct observations on this topic included in this study are significant in the context of the three case studies, but are not intended to capture the extent of vote-buying in Indonesia as a whole.

## **Outline of thesis**

This thesis begins with a discussion of relevant theoretical literature pertaining to the development of a political symbol and how it is communicated across scales to the intended audience (i.e. voters) within the context of election campaigns. This literature underscores the instrumental significance of campaigns and that the construction of political symbols is a deliberate process shaped through language and driven by the desire to maximize votes. Electoral campaigns are designed to influence voters to act in a certain way and the effective use of symbols is crucial during this process. If parties or candidates miss the mark in their framing of symbols they risk experiencing voter backlash. This chapter also explores the appeal of using anti-corruption symbols in political campaigns more generally arguing that, while

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<sup>33</sup> In particular see *Electoral Dynamics in Indonesia: Money Politics, Patronage and Clientelism at the Grassroots*, edited by Aspinall and Sukmajati and due for publication in 2015.

appealing to moral panics can be useful for parties, there are also hazards in convincing the public that their anti-corruption intentions are genuine.

Chapter Two takes up this point, charting the political history of corruption in Indonesia since the late colonial period up until the national elections in 2004, and in doing so pays close attention to how it has been co-opted by political actors over time. Indonesia's government has, thus far, been characterized by three very different regimes—the Old Order under Sukarno (1945–65), Suharto's New Order (1966–98), and the era of democratization that has come to be known as Reformasi (1998–). There are common threads in the use of anti-corruption rhetoric throughout these regimes. It was routinely used by governments to denounce their detractors during both the Old and New Orders, and it has been openly used in political jostling between parties since the end of the New Order. Thus, while the governments may have changed markedly, the mobilization of anti-corruption issues has been a continuous theme.

Chapter Three provides a more detailed overview of the Indonesian state from 2004 to 2014, covering two terms of government under former Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In understanding this period more deeply, the scene is set for an analysis of the electoral campaigns that took place in 2014. In particular, the prominence of corruption scandals, affecting several parties but most notably Yudhoyono's own Democratic Party (Partai Demokrat), were of major significance for the ruling elite. They fostered the scepticism of citizens toward politicians, demonstrated by very low levels of public satisfaction with the government, and provided an opportunity for emerging parties to portray themselves as a clean alternative to the corrupt and self-interested elites in power. It was in this context that emerging parties moved to attach themselves to anti-corruption symbols.

Building upon this contextual analysis, Chapter Four explores how emerging parties constructed their anti-corruption image at the national level, particularly in terms of rhetoric and the means they used to publicize this image. Analysing party documents, the use of leadership figures and the media, this chapter compares and contrasts the techniques employed to project anti-corruption symbols from the national level. While there were differences in how the symbol was constructed, there is no doubt that all three parties wanted to portray a public image of being clean and vehemently against corruption. Each party employed a variety of channels for broadcasting this

image across the Indonesian archipelago, including official websites, traditional and social media and rallies by national level figures. These efforts, however, fell short and none of the parties performed as well as they had hoped.

So how did these national campaigns influence campaigning by individual candidates? How were these national anti-corruption symbols incorporated, if at all, in the campaigns of particular parliamentary hopefuls? These questions are addressed in Chapter Five, which describes how one candidate from each of the three emerging parties chose to use the anti-corruption symbol that their parties had promoted so strongly at the national level. In analysing their experiences, decisions, and rationales, the chapter concludes that the adoption and preservation of national level symbols is highly dependent upon the mentality and personal convictions of the individual candidate.

The analysis is continued in Chapter Six, which draws the study's findings together in order to assess the success and significance of using anti-corruption symbols. It concludes that political symbols are chosen because they reflect the important political issues of the time, as identified by political parties. But their use also reflects the candidate's personal ideals and their local context. Tensions arise when the actions of candidates, especially the use of money politics and vote-buying, undermine the anti-corruption symbol that parties have worked so hard to establish on the national scale. If election candidates wish to present a credible image that is persuasive, they must consider how voters will view the use of the symbol vis-à-vis their use of money and goods. The fact that money politics and vote-buying remains so rife in Indonesia can be interpreted not only as a perpetuation of ingrained political customs, but also as evidence that political candidates either fail to effectively 'own' the anti-corruption symbol or that they are unable to persuade voters that eradicating corruption is a priority. Thus, they are forced to resort to other forms of persuasion.

The thesis concludes by underscoring that political symbol-creation is influenced by the scale it is constructed at and type of diffusion used to broadcast it. The diffusion of symbols in national election campaigns, conceptualized by the DPP, is a relatively uni-directional and top-down process in which parties use propaganda to influence voters. However, individual candidates adopt and reconstitute the symbol in the way that they believe will be most influential for gaining votes. It imbued with the

candidate's own personal history and ideals. The incongruence between national and individual symbols can be explained by the different factors shaping campaigns at these two separate scales. The fragmented nature of Indonesian political parties is amplified by the lack of party coordination and control over the actions of individual candidates who, while representing the party, have a lot of autonomy in choosing how they campaign and face immense pressure to engage in money politics.



# Chapter One

## Political symbols, campaigns and corruption

The use of political symbols, created when parties attempt to bind themselves to particular social, political or economic issues in order to shape their public image and mobilize support, is intended to create a bond between voter and party.

Through the use of these symbols, political actors seek to boost their 'validity and legitimacy' and 'symbolic capital' in order to garner popularity (Lahusen 1996: 48), and with the ever-increasing reach of the media, political parties and candidates face more scrutiny than ever (Balkin 1999: 395-402; Rosenberg *et al.* 1991: 345; Street 2001). Indeed, a number of studies have argued that image is more important in determining voter preferences than other factors such as policy (Dalton 2000: 923-924; Edelman 1988; Kraus and Giles 1989; Rosenberg *et al.* 1991; Smith 2001; Trilling 1975). Due to their age, emerging parties face additional challenges in demonstrating their legitimacy and credentials, as well as marketing their image, in their bid to seize power from more established political rivals.<sup>1</sup>

People derive impressions of politics from their everyday experiences, and political campaigns represent a conscious attempt to exploit these daily inputs in order to influence voters (Schmitt-Beck and Farrell 2002: 183-184). Downs (1957) asserts that because most people are unable or unwilling to invest large amounts of time in gathering information in order to make electoral decisions, voters use 'information shortcuts' in order to make sense of politics.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the 'mental picture' of a political party held by most voters is often vague and contradictory and therefore prone to manipulation (Trilling 1975: 285). As such, targeted campaigns can play a role in influencing people, especially those with no firm political allegiance. For

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<sup>1</sup> Bowler and Farrell (1992b: 4) argue that, in its most rational form, an electoral campaign aims to win, almost at any cost. It should be noted, however, that electoral triumph is not necessarily the end goal for all parties. For example, some may be considered 'promoter parties', which exist namely to highlight particular issues. These parties may not have sufficient appeal or resources to actually win an election but use the campaign process to focus attention on specific concerns (Barnea and Rahat 2011: 310; Berrington 1985: 457; Harmel and Robertson 1985: 517).

<sup>2</sup> Downs' 1957 work *The Economic Theory of Democracy* is recognized as a seminal text in studying how voters and government make rational decisions in the democratic context. Numerous studies draw upon this early work in their own research, for example: Bowler and Farrell (1992b); Capelos (2010); Conover and Feldman (1989); Green and Hobolt (2008); Kitschelt (2000); Rohrschneider (2002) and van der Brug (2004).

newer parties, voter uncertainties about what parties actually stand for offers an opportunity to connect with voters; to put down ‘political roots’.<sup>3</sup> Basinger and Lavine (2005: 181-182) contend that while not all voters will be swayed by campaigns, they provide an opportunity to ‘inform and persuade’ those who are ambivalent. By choosing symbols that resonate with voters, parties endeavour to garner enough public support to achieve electoral victory (Gibson and Römmele 2001; Graber 1976: 19-21; Kaufmann 2004; Smith 2001).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, even in defeat, campaigns serve to build the party’s profile, with a view to future elections.

The creation, transmission and mutation of political symbols are core aspects of campaigning (Howard 2003: 213). Campaigns can be understood as comprising four basic elements: the messages that the campaign wishes to communicate; the channel(s) of communication employed to relay these messages; the impact of these messages upon target audiences; and the feedback loop from the audience back to the campaigning organization (Norris 2002: 128). While selecting pertinent political symbols is important, framing these symbols effectively is also paramount.<sup>5</sup> Once a party has decided which symbols it wishes to project, campaign strategies and propaganda must construct them in meaningful ways that are attractive to voters (Herrnson 1988: 14-15). Without an effective communication strategy that takes into account the socio-political context of the campaign, parties will fail to maximize the influence of their message (Grofman 1985). Finally, the ‘feedback loop’ allows for the ongoing adaptation of messages and communication mechanisms as the campaign progresses, in response to audience input.

The prominence of corruption as a moral and political problem in Indonesia makes the anti-corruption symbol attractive to parties and candidates. Corruption—and

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<sup>3</sup> For further discussion on the concept of ‘political roots’ see Mainwaring (1998: 72).

<sup>4</sup> Farrell (2006: 129) argues that parties have shifted from ‘selling’ to ‘marketing’ themselves, gathering information about voter wants and attitudes, and framing their symbol within these narratives in order to pursue votes. As a consequence, campaigns involve much more planning than they once did and preparation times are longer (Farrell 2006; Iyengar and Simon 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Framing is the process by which actors are ‘actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonists, and bystanders or observers’ (Benford and Snow 2000: 613). In imbuing symbols with meaning, actors use them to generate frames that support their viewpoint, while possibly challenging existing frames. For further discussions on framing see Benford and Snow (2000); Cappella and Jamieson (1996); Chong and Druckman (2007); Fischer (2003).

efforts to combat it—date back to the colonial era.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, the perceived lack of progress in eradicating corruption and public belief that it is an entrenched facet of politics renders the issue a sensitive one.<sup>7</sup> Politicians must balance their attempts to mobilize the issue in a way that fosters their credibility while also allaying public cynicism. Individual politicians may shy away from the anti-corruption issue altogether, even when combating corruption is a party priority, fearing that sceptical voters will scorn them for it. They may even directly contradict their own party's attempts to build an anti-corruption symbol by trying to assure their victory by engaging in corrupt practices. Incongruent rhetoric and actions within a political party's election campaign may undermine the united front of the party, subsequently fuelling further scepticism and public backlash from voters.

This chapter discusses theories on symbol use in campaigns and why corruption, in particular, may be a popular political issue for emerging parties to discuss. It begins with an examination of why symbols are important for parties and the considerations required to effectively promote them. It also discusses how a party invokes symbols across different scales and the different types of influence exerted by the party's national executive and by individual candidates. It then reflects upon the abstract benefits and disadvantages of using corruption as a political symbol, which are particularly pertinent given its history in the Indonesian context. The chapter argues that even in theoretical terms there are dangers in using corruption as a campaign issue, especially given that, in the minds of many, the government and corruption go hand-in-hand.

## **Symbols**

Symbols constitute 'carefully executed attempts to influence the public agenda in order to shape election outcomes' (Green and Hobolt 2008: 473). Parties attempt to frame their image in terms that correspond with public 'patterns of perception, interpretation and evaluation', mobilizing and interpreting grievances in order to appeal to voters (Lahusen 1996: 46). They may 'mobilize' voters by appealing to ideological priorities, or 'chase' them by focusing on polls and crafting rhetoric in line with what they believe the public wants to hear (Rohrschneider 2002: 368-

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<sup>6</sup> Corruption was already considered an entrenched aspect of the government bureaucracy during the Dutch colonial period (Wertheim 1963). The history of corruption and anti-corruption efforts in modern Indonesia will be discussed at length in Chapter Two.

<sup>7</sup> Citizens' attitudes towards parties and politicians in the Indonesian context are discussed in Chapter Three.

369).<sup>8</sup> As symbols are intended to persuade, parties tend towards mainstream issues that lack fine detail, affording voters the opportunity to interpret them in accordance with their own world views.

Bowler and Farrell (1992b: 15) contend that electoral success hinges on a well-conceived and well-executed campaign built on three foundations: party image, leader image and the party's manifesto proposals.<sup>9</sup> Political symbols aim to generate positive associations across these elements. Harrop (1990: 278) likens the campaign process to 'services sold on trust', in which voters choose the supplier (the party and/or the candidate) that they believe will most likely offer 'future satisfaction'. As such, parties must convince voters that they are competent, reliable and consistent. Furthermore, voters are generally sceptical of grand promises, and therefore parties must be careful to build symbols that are appealing *and* credible (Tomz and Van Houweling 2008: 303). Settling on the best symbols to adopt is also difficult because they must appeal to swing voters without alienating the existing support base (Herrnson 1988: 12).<sup>10</sup>

Against the backdrop of a party's nation-wide campaign, the political image of its leaders and of individual candidates is crucial. This image can be influenced by physical elements, including candidates' appearance and presentation skills, as well as a successful use of rhetoric to frame symbols.<sup>11</sup> The creation of a positive personal image promotes the 'validity and legitimacy' of an actor and his/her goals,

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<sup>8</sup> Jowett and O'Donnell (2006: 33) identify two means through which people seek to persuade: either by confirming existing beliefs or by challenging them. Challenging existing beliefs often faces resistance. Consequently many political strategies, particularly during election campaigns, focus upon concerns that will easily gain traction rather than attempting to change what people already think.

<sup>9</sup> These three key tenants are of varying significance during an election campaign.

<sup>10</sup> Swing voters are often identified as the core audience for political campaigns, as it is the undecided, 'centre-ground, floating voters' that are believed to hold the key to electoral triumph (Evans 2004: 137).

<sup>11</sup> According to Druckman *et al.* (2004: 1184), political psychologists highlight four images or personality characteristics that the public finds appealing and may be strategically attractive to campaigns: competence, strength, warmth, and trust. They argue that competence is generally identified by voters as the most important trait, giving candidates an incentive 'to boost voters' perceptions of their competence and strength to handle tough problems'.

known as ‘symbolic capital’ (Lahusen 1996: 48).<sup>12</sup> Harrop (1990: 279) contends that since voters like to put a human face to the party, it is up to individual members to establish the new party’s credibility, then engender trust from the community. For some voters, leaders come to embody the symbols and rhetoric of their party, so much so that party credibility comes to depend on a close alignment between personal and party image (Capelos 2010; Harrop 1990).

The success that parties have in aligning themselves with certain political symbols is also important in establishing ‘cues’ for voters. Recalling Downs’ (1957) assertion that voters use ‘information shortcuts’ to understand politics, cues are one such shortcut that assist voters to make inferences about parties and candidates (Conover and Feldman 1989: 914; Hicken 2009: 5). For example, it may be desirable to build an anti-corruption symbol because of its links to a whole range of ‘public-service related’ values such as trust, honesty, humanity, equity and responsibility that feed into matters of social justice and equality before the law (Collins 2012: 6). If a party is able to create a popular symbol, individual candidates may benefit from being linked to the party’s ‘brand’ (Geys and Vermeir 2014: 1030; Popkin 1991: 100). In building their brand, parties hope to achieve ‘issue ownership’—when a party or candidate has so successfully bound themselves to a particular symbol that they become directly equated with it—and the more salient the issue, the more appealing it is to be associated with it.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Symbols in campaigns***

Petrocik’s theory of ‘issue ownership’ (1996) is a useful conceptual tool for examining how parties try to attach themselves to salient issues. Petrocik (1996: 826) contends that electoral outcomes are, to some extent, based on a candidate’s ability to convince voters that they are better positioned to handle certain issues

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<sup>12</sup> There are different forms of capital. In addition to symbolic capital, these include economic capital (cash, saving, property, etc.), which fund the campaign; cultural capital (knowledge and know-how assembled by political actors); and social capital (because networks can compel people to vote a certain way) (Lahusen 1996: 48). The higher these levels of capital, the more likely a candidate is to succeed. In his study of the legitimacy of aid organizations using celebrity endorsement for political mobilization, Lahusen (1996: 48-49) contends that symbolic capital plays an essential role in ‘capital transformation’ because it spurs the conversion of other forms of capital into active support.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Salience’ is a term frequently used to denote the importance assigned to a particular issue, designating the weight that individuals attach to political information. Issue salience can be increased through ‘elite communication’ with an agenda-setting function, amplified by the media and by international commentary (McCann and Domínguez 1998: 485; Zaller 1992: 268). However, there is some debate around the exact meaning of the word (Wlezien 2005).

than their opponents—in other words, they come to ‘own’ that issue.<sup>14</sup> According to this theory, the most straightforward way for a party to gain ownership of an issue is via a ‘history of attention, initiative, and innovation towards these problems, which leads voters to believe that one of the parties (and its candidates) is more sincere and committed to doing something about them’ (Petrocik 1996: 826).<sup>15</sup> For example, in the United States the Democrats are traditionally associated with issues of education and welfare, whereas Republicans are more closely associated with social issues such as fighting crime and protecting moral values. This ownership has become entrenched over years of political discourse and rivalry between the parties and these associations would be difficult to reverse (Petrocik 1996). Ownership can also be ‘performance based’, such as in the fields of economic management, national security and bureaucratic performance, which are not automatically owned by a particular party but, rather, are attributed based on policy successes and failures (Petrocik *et al.* 2003: 599). Thus there are both ‘associative’ and ‘competence’ dimensions to issue ownership, whereby voters associate a party with an issue, as well as judge its capability to address it (Druckman *et al.* 2004: 1182; Walgrave *et al.* 2012: 772-773).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Petrocik’s theory has been further developed by a number of studies, for example: Bélanger and Meguid (2008); Green and Hobolt (2008); Kaufmann (2004); Sellers (1998) and van der Brug (2004). He acknowledges that his work draws heavily from Rabinowitz and Macdonald’s (1989) ‘directional theory’ of issue voting, which posited that the salience of issues for voters could be measured by whether they conjured positive or negative feelings (marking direction) and whether those feelings were strong or weak (marking intensity). Rabinowitz and Macdonald, in turn, drew their analysis from observations by Edelman (1964) that most citizens operate with low levels of information and therefore most political decisions are based on emotional responses (Rabinowitz and Macdonald 1989: 94). Another related theory was put forward by Cox and McCubbins (1986), who argue that it is not so much issues, but rather the promise to redistribute favours and benefits once elected, that drives support for certain candidates. This theory is based on the premise that voters are primarily driven by self-interest and will support the candidate that promises to channel the most benefits to them. While this argument holds a different theoretical basis to Petrocik’s concept of ‘issue ownership’, it does not negate the importance of issue ownership as a means for promoting a candidate’s promises.

<sup>15</sup> This is not the sole theory advanced to explain voter decisions. Tomz and Van Houweling (2008) outline three different theories on how voters judge political candidates: proximity theory, which holds that citizens prefer candidates whose position is closest to their own; discounting, which posits that voters realize that candidates rarely deliver fully on their campaign promises and therefore voters select the candidate they believe will fall closest to their own views once compromises have been made; and directional theory, which has already been discussed. These theories argue for different decision-making processes but all agree on the importance of gaining issue ownership.

<sup>16</sup> Studies have found that while the competence dimension tends to have a direct impact on voter preferences, the associative dimension is only important if the voter already deems an issue to be important (Green and Hobolt 2008; Walgrave *et al.* 2012).

Petrocik (1996: 828) argues that the ownership of issues is changeable as ‘reputations ... [are] regularly tested and reinforced’. This is pertinent to emerging parties that may not have had the opportunity to entrench, or even demonstrate, their performance credentials. Issue ownership by a party may also come by virtue of being untainted by the problems facing other parties. Corruption is one political concern over which parties can seize ownership from rivals. For instance, if a party suffers a corruption scandal and lose public confidence, rivals have the opportunity to appropriate ownership of the issue (Pujas 2006: 36). However, ownership gained under such circumstances is likely to be short-term less (or ‘leased’) and less entrenched than that which is based on history. In addition, particular candidates can come to ‘own’ issues that are not traditionally linked to their parties if they have an individual history which affords them credibility on certain issues (Kaufmann 2004; Sellers 1998). In the Indonesian case, several emerging party politicians—including the leaders of all three parties examined here—previously belonged to other parties, and bring with them the reputations that they established to their new roles. Those entering politics from other fields, such as activists or business people, may also ‘own’ an issue by virtue of their past professional experience.

Issue ownership is significant because it promotes the belief that certain parties and/or candidates are better able to handle particular political concerns, allowing voters to select parties that they believe will best address the issues they prioritize (Bélanger and Meguid 2008). Not only are parties actively advertising themselves and their symbols to the masses (Gibson and Römmele 2001: 32; Smith 2001), but the masses are searching for hints as to who will best meet their political expectations. However, advertising is not a straightforward process as campaigns need to account for citizens’ prior knowledge and long-held beliefs about parties and candidates (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994: 335; Dalton and Weldon 2005). Campaigns do not occur in a vacuum and effective issue ownership needs to have some basis, either in the history of the party (or lack thereof in the case of emerging parties) and/or the candidate, and symbols must be developed through effective narratives. Otherwise, campaigns run the risk of being unconvincing, or even appearing hypocritical, if they try to gain ownership over an issue on which the party or candidate has a poor track record.

In attaching themselves to a symbol, political parties and candidates must ensure not only that their message is being relayed effectively, but also that the audience is

as receptive as possible to the message. One strategy used to improve the salience of symbols is 'issue priming' whereby 'extensive media coverage or candidate discussion of specific policy areas ... prime voters to give more weight to those areas assessing candidates' (Druckman *et al.* 2004: 1180).<sup>17</sup> In an attempt to nurture discussion focused on issues related to their chosen political symbols, parties and candidates repeatedly underscore the issue in public forums, hoping to convince voters that it should be their priority too. Through successful issue priming, the salience of the chosen issue is increased, hopefully leading to public support for the party's (or candidate's) stance and/or recognition of the issue as being of national importance (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000; Traugott and Lavrakas 2000).

Issue priming may be influenced by the candidate's own views but must also take into account existing public discourse and external events that may limit or broaden the public agenda. Voter decisions may be influenced, in part, by the political campaign, but the impact of issue priming will also depend upon a person's individual beliefs, religion, ideology and personal history.<sup>18</sup> Some voters are staunch supporters of a particular political party or faction (Reid 1988: 42). These people are generally not the targets of political campaigns, which are aimed at swing voters who are more likely to respond to discussions on contemporary issues. Conversely, as (Capelos 2010) contends, if a voter is sympathetic to a particular candidate, they may also tend to agree with them in their evaluation of policy issues. Amongst these voters, the candidate represents the primary vehicle of debate, providing a justification for candidate-centric campaigns (Reid 1988: 38).

### ***Developing a narrative***

Political symbols can be constructed in two main ways. The first, as discussed in the work of Petrocik, is through long-term attention towards a particular issue or some other demonstration of commitment through performance. The second is through persuasion. Persuasive narratives represent a key method of constructing, preserving and selling political symbols. If a party cannot demonstrate an ongoing historical commitment to the issue it wishes to use as a symbol, it must develop a

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<sup>17</sup> Issue priming is also referred to as 'agenda setting' (Iyengar and Simon 2000: 157).

<sup>18</sup> Huckfeldt and Sprague (1992: 83) note that individuals' political preferences are influenced not just by parties as organizations, but also by factors such as education, age, gender, religion and ethnic attachment. In addition, a number of studies investigate voters' perceptions and reactions to political candidates. This research was primarily pioneered by political scientists in the United States, such as Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1948). For other examples see Huckfeldt and Sprague (1992); Lodge *et al.* (1995); Rahn *et al.* (1994).

coherent and convincing narrative that positions the party in relation to that symbol. Bennett and Edelman (1985: 159) define narratives as ‘socially existent, patterned interpretations of the world ... that frame people’s views of situations, of “rationality, of objectivity, of morality, and of their conceptions of themselves and others”’. Political communication is based on the creation of ‘stock political plots’: formulaic stories that dissolve ambiguity by creating ‘black and white replays of political dramas’ which are designed to pacify the public.<sup>19</sup> Apter (2006: 223) describes such discourses as ‘master narratives’, in which politicians take issues of everyday concern, playing upon moral discontent, to create ‘expressions of good and evil as the ultimate political divide’.

Political symbols are primarily broadcast through language and actions that are deliberately fashioned to persuade voters.<sup>20</sup> In his treatise on rhetoric, Burke (1969: 41) describes it as the art of persuasion itself with the basic intention of inducing actions in human agents.<sup>21</sup> Rhetoric can take a number of forms, but is broadly defined by the intention to persuade observers, to organize their attitudes and alter their views of objects and issues (Gusfield 1986: 170). It is a behaviour that is both instrumental and symbolic: instrumental because it is intended to provoke a particular action and symbolic because it draws upon examples/words in order to elicit much broader ideas or emotions within the audience (Bowers and Ochs 1971: 2). Specific vocabularies are developed to deliver these narratives, resulting in ‘a particular mode or ethos of moral reasoning ... that includes not only particular forms of moral argumentation, but also particular symbols, signs, code words, and other *moral resources* [emphasis in the original]’ (Lowe 2002: 108). In terms of

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<sup>19</sup> Pioneered by Bennett and Edelman, the ‘narrative approach’ to political communication views it as the adaptation of facts, news and events to create “stock political plots” intended to persuade voters (Lahusen 1996: 21). It should be noted, though, that the fact that a political plot is considered ‘stock’, does not mean that it is not controversial—indeed, a controversial plot may be more useful because it garners more attention. What parties must do with such issues is ensure that they fall on the ‘right’ side of the controversial debate in order to appeal to their target audience (Edelman 1988: 14).

<sup>20</sup> This ‘art of persuasion’ refers both to the act of communication (from the listener’s perspective), and persuasion being the intention/successful outcome of that communication (from the speaker’s perspective) (Chateris-Black 2005: 8).

<sup>21</sup> Burke (1952: x-xvi; 1969;1989), a pioneer in the study of political language, argues that language and symbols are quintessentially significant to political and social processes. Moreover, the function of language is ‘wholly realistic, and is continually born anew; the use of language as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols’ (Burke 1969: 43). Burke proposed a ‘dramatism pentad’, in which motive is attributed to language based on an analysis of act (what happened), scene (where it was done), agent (who did it), agency (how they did it and what methods or techniques they used) and purpose (why it happened) (Burke 1989:14-15). He contends that textual analysis using this technique allows observers to discern the motives behind rhetoric.

political marketing, words also matter; they create a 'positive residual stimulus' while also attracting attention via sound-bites (Reid 1988: 37).

The classical notion of successful rhetoric was first defined by Aristotle as the demonstration of ethos, logos and pathos—to have moral 'worthiness' or credibility (ethos), proof to support argument (logos), and the capacity to arouse feelings in the audience (pathos) (cited in Chateris-Black 2005: 11). Investigating these three elements provides a valuable starting point for assessing why rhetoric may succeed or fail in its aims. For example, a speech by a politician may evoke a sense of moral worthiness, but if the orator fails to provide proof to support the argument, or deliver it persuasively, then the rhetoric will fail to move the audience.

Aristotle's theory does not clarify the relative importance of each of these elements, but with the significance of image and personality in politics, the *method* of communicating has become increasingly meaningful. With regard to pathos, the impact of charisma and rhetoric on emotions such as fear, weakness and ignorance—or what is sometimes referred to as demagoguery—can be particularly influential, depending on the context and audience.<sup>22</sup> Charisma can never be entirely divorced from actions (Keane 1997: 12), but what a leader lacks in moral credibility and proof may be compensated for by his or her ability to stir the emotions of the audience, using both an arresting style of delivery and symbols. Drawing from Weber's theory of charismatic leadership, the benefits of this charisma can be transferred to other members of the party through the coordinated adoption of matching symbols, linking others in the group with the image of its charismatic leader (Starratt 1993: 12).<sup>23</sup> In other words, if communicated effectively, the symbols with which the leader is associated may come to be associated with the party as a whole. In the absence of charisma or demagoguery, a narrative must demonstrate a logical and meaningful relationship between the facts, events, objects and persons involved if it is to be credible to an audience (Lahusen 1996: 24). Without such a relationship, the narrative becomes unintelligible and incoherent.

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<sup>22</sup> Lindholm (1990: 7) defines charisma as a relationship between leader and followers in which the leader is imbued with extraordinary qualities. For example, people who are 'downtrodden and oppressed by a system they consider illegitimate' may look to a 'charismatic saviour' to address their concerns (Lindholm 1990: 175).

<sup>23</sup> Weber (1947: 328) defines three 'pure' types of legitimate authority: rational grounds, traditional grounds and charismatic grounds. Charismatic legitimacy is based on 'devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him'.

Returning to Aristotle's facets of successful rhetoric, rhetoric cannot succeed if the linguistic choices of the speaker (the *logos*) do not match the listener's evaluation of the speaker's *ethos*.<sup>24</sup>

The notion that the desire to influence opinion determines language choice is also the foundation for the concept of 'dramatism' (Burke 1952;1989; Gusfield 1986). Dramatism represents the distinction between political action as 'significant per se' and 'as a means to an ends' (Gusfield 1986: 166).<sup>25</sup> Language, here, is dramatic because its primary motive is to inspire a certain action in the audience. The concept of dramatism, or 'politics-as-theatre', also provides a framework for understanding the motivations behind certain promises or tokenistic actions that may be very visible but yield little in the form of actual change.<sup>26</sup> Apter (2006: 222) claims that decisions made by politicians should be viewed as instrumental, as their ultimate intention is to manipulate public opinion in order to generate or maintain power.<sup>27</sup> The influence of political theatre should not be underestimated because:

It offers opportunities to beguile, entice, or entrap audience, a public, or a citizen. It is also a way of encouraging a preference for passion over reason ... In short it is, among other things, a method of instrumental gulling ... It can be simply fun, entertaining, but not when that prevents citizens from taking a more proper measure of truth (Apter 2006: 247).

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<sup>24</sup> The failure to understand the relationship between these two facets has led to a negative view of rhetoric as merely an 'over-decorative use of language' (Chateris-Black 2005: 9). Rhetoric is often negatively equated with style over substance, though this understanding ignores the notion that credibility is, in fact, an intrinsic facet of successful rhetoric.

<sup>25</sup> Burke's theory of dramatism was expanded in the political context by Gusfield (1986) in his seminal work on the American temperance movement. Through this study, Gusfield elaborated the idea of dramatism in politics and the 'state-as-theatre', arguing that the use of symbols is of crucial significance for shaping public opinion.

<sup>26</sup> Blackburn (1987: 149), in his study of German politics from 1848-1933, contends that the concept of politics as theatre first emerged in 1848 when a loosely coordinated revolution erupted in the German states agitating for the unification of all German-speaking states. The revolution was unsuccessful, but this period became renowned for the charisma and public image developed by revolutionaries: 'Few who have written on the events of that year have failed to note in passing the self-consciousness of the revolutionaries, their verbal, gestural and sartorial theatricality.'

<sup>27</sup> Anderson (1990: 152-193) outlines several forms of political communication in Indonesia that can be viewed through the lens of dramatism, including the building of monuments. Aiming to rouse nationalist sentiment amongst the masses, several monuments were built in Jakarta during the Sukarno Period, each with its own associated narrative. The act of building these monuments was a dramatic gesture intended to demonstrate Sukarno's own commitment to the nation whilst also encouraging an impassioned response from citizens to support his regime, even while it was failing politically and economically. The political and economic history of Sukarno's Old Order rule is discussed further in Chapter Two.

There is nothing banal about politics-as-theatre since the purpose of dramatism lies in the manipulation of public sentiment, which is in turn used to seize, retain and exercise power (Apter 1992).<sup>28</sup> Because people are generally distrustful of political rhetoric, a politician's success lies not only in their ability to select pertinent political symbols but also to portray them in a way that convinces voters that their 'dramatic' self is a true reflection of their 'authentic' self (Giesen 2006: 354-355).

## **Symbol diffusion across scales**

As Sartori (1976: 71) argues, far from being a single unit, parties are in fact miniature political systems.<sup>29</sup> Within these systems, symbols are defined and communicated differently at different levels. Theories of diffusion, which seek to explain how ideas spread, provide a way of understanding these differences in terms of the types of interactions that varying levels of a party may have with voters.<sup>30</sup> Classical diffusion theory holds that ideas can travel through relational, non-relational or mediated channels (Givan *et al.* 2010: 2; Tarrow 2011: 192). Relational channels rely on direct contact between people, most often those who trust each other. Non-relational diffusion occurs directly between people who do not have a relationship or indirectly through the sharing of ideas via the media. Mediated diffusion occurs through 'brokers' who talk about the ideas of others, acting as a bridge between people who might not otherwise have known each other.<sup>31</sup> More recent discussions of diffusion assert that the process is fluid and often the idea being diffused is neither clear nor even a finished product. Attention

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<sup>28</sup> For example, Rauer (2006) describes the outpouring of national and international support garnered through the symbolic action of German Chancellor Willy Brandt kneeling at the Warsaw Memorial in 1971, which honoured members of the Jewish Ghetto Uprising of 1943. Treisman (1998: 15), in another academic discussion of the power of political symbols, contends that in Russia's democratic transition during the 1990s, the use of controversial issues, language that flattered voters and sexual imagery led to an election that focused less on the 'credibility and attractiveness of policies than on entertainment value and the cathartic release of the political spectacle itself'.

<sup>29</sup> Sartori's analysis focuses upon the units that comprise a party and intra-party relations. He does not seek to explain how the different elements of parties' internal political systems affect the flow of political symbols and the product finally presented to voters.

<sup>30</sup> Predominantly associated with studies of social movements, the theory of diffusion was adopted by academics during the 1990s to understand how ideas spread within, and between, social movements (Chabot and Duyvendak 2002). Early studies focused upon how innovations spread from transmitter to adopter communities (Strang and Soule 1998). The concept later expanded to include the transmission of ideas (Baybeck and Huckfeldt 2002: 197).

<sup>31</sup> While there is a general consensus in the literature that these three channels, either alone or in combination, are a means for the transfer of ideas, for examples see McAdam and Rucht (1993); Strang and Meyer (1993), there has also been debate over the essentialist nature of diffusion theory in its classical form (Chabot and Duyvendak 2002).

must be paid to how a group receiving an outside idea makes it their own. Also, diffusion does not necessarily occur in lineal progressive stages but is rather a dynamic process that is multidirectional in its movements across scales and can skip steps (Chabot and Duyvendak 2002).<sup>32</sup>

The notion of diffusion as a process that occurs across scales, but not necessarily in a unidirectional manner, provides a framework for analysing how political symbols are both influenced and transmitted. In a political campaign, the diffusion of symbols works primarily in two different ways. First, there are national campaigns that reach-out voters via non-relational channels, such as advertising and reporting in the national media. In a sense, these 'skip' a level because the message is broadcast directly from party headquarters to individuals, by-passing party officials at the local level. In a centrally-organized election campaign, the central party leadership selects what it believes to be the most pertinent symbols, then creates a campaign that presents them as being representative of the party as a whole. It decides upon narrative and campaign techniques. Discussions amongst senior party members determine the overall campaign priorities of the party and the use of resources at the national level. Centralized funds earmarked for publicity are used to disseminate the symbols through various advertising methods. With the 'professionalization' of election campaigns, the central party office also has an increased importance as a site of coordination for the different facets of a professional campaign, including traditional communications and events, television, and new technologies (Farrell and Webb 1998: 4-6; Gibson and Römmele 2001).<sup>33</sup> Parties hire media and marketing professionals as campaign consultants to develop targeted messages, which are then broadcast to voters across the country using various non-relational channels. The marketing team are generally charged with lobbying national media outlets, as well as using them for paid advertising (Hopmann *et al.* 2012), further consolidating the role of symbol development at the national scale.

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<sup>32</sup> In his study of the Indonesian pro-democracy movement, Uhlin (1995) employs diffusion theory to explain the spread of democratic ideas from foreign countries to Indonesia. While this thesis focuses on the transfer of ideas domestically, it draws from similar understandings of diffusion theory.

<sup>33</sup> Farrell and Webb (1998: 4) define traditional means of campaigning as communication through party press, posters, mass rallies and canvassing as well as events centred around party leaders, such as 'whistlestop tours' and mass rallies.

Second, the candidates themselves can be viewed as conduits that transmit the symbol via relational diffusion. Party symbols are conceptualized and recorded in manifestos, 'vision and mission' documents, and action plans, it is shared with the individual candidates. Once in the field, it is the candidates who are singing the praises of the party and trying to persuade voters that their group is the best. However, once candidates are 'released' into the election wild, so to speak, they decide, based on their own ideas and experiences, how best to exhibit the symbol in order to optimize results (i.e. gain the most votes). In reality then, candidates are not only a channel for the party's ideas, but also a symbol creator themselves, instilling their own values, history and personality into the symbols as they translate them into their local context. Indonesia's democratic system requires that parties nominate candidates to represent them in each electorate and to compete in national elections, but the campaign focus of most candidates is at the local level (a few, though not many, may be active on the national scale). The lack of oversight of local campaigns by the central party office fosters an environment in which candidates have a great deal of autonomy over the image they project and the campaign strategies they use. As a consequence, candidates feel entitled to adopt their own symbols, regardless of what has been decided at the national level.

Given that voters are already exposed to party symbols via non-relational means, it would appear to make sense for individual candidates to appropriate these symbols into their own electioneering, building upon the efforts of the national level campaign.<sup>34</sup> However, candidates do not always use symbols identified by decision-makers at the national level in the same way, if at all. They may hold very different ideas about voter interests from professional advisors based in Jakarta, or the attitudes, habits and beliefs of voters may force them to adapt their campaign (Fionna 2014: 12-13).<sup>35</sup> The political symbol is thus (re)constituted with the priorities of local voters in mind.<sup>36</sup> The social context is significant here: for example, if a community is mostly pessimistic in its view of politics or a particular

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<sup>34</sup> Hicken (2009: 5) refers to this in terms of 'economies of scale', noting that there are advantages to cooperating with other candidates under a common party banner because all candidates can benefit from party investment in voter education or efforts to increase turnout.

<sup>35</sup> Results of an Indikator (an Indonesian polling company) poll conducted in December 2013 suggest that voter education and income play a significant role in attitudes towards vote-buying in Indonesia, with more affluent and better educated voters more likely to shun such practices (Halim 2013). This may account for disparities in the acceptance of vote-buying between different regions in Indonesia, further underscoring the importance of local context.

<sup>36</sup> These points are addressed in further detail in Chapters Five and Six.

candidate, then social networks will ensure that this view spreads. In these cases, candidates may find that political symbols have no effect on voters that may in turn lead them to vote-buying, which, although illegal, is common in the Indonesian context.<sup>37</sup>

Candidates themselves also carry their own ideas, views, histories and narratives, which influence how they construct their symbols. For example, a long-time anti-corruption campaigner is likely to use this anti-corruption symbol regardless of whether it resonates with the local voters, whereas a businessperson-turned-candidate may avoid an anti-corruption symbol because s/he has paid bribes to officials in the past and fears exposure as a hypocrite. Some candidates may identify very strongly with the narrative of being a 'clean' candidate, while others may have no qualms about offering cash in return for votes. Moreover, since 'one person's bribe is another person's gift' (Rose-Ackerman 1999: 5), candidates may understand different types of practices in various ways. For some candidates, giving gifts, money or favours to voters does not constitute bribery, but is instead framed as part of socially-embedded and expected practices of clientelism which demonstrate respect or gratitude, or are intended as a reimbursement for the time and effort of voters.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, candidates will not necessarily adhere to one particular strategy. Randall (1988: 177) refers to this 'schizophrenic blend' of corruption/clientelism and ideology, that 'ambitious' politicians may use to diversify their strategy, to demonstrate that symbols may be considered one of many campaign tools available to candidates, and a total commitment to the symbol is by no means a prerequisite for its attempted use.

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<sup>37</sup> Law No. 10/2008 on the General Election of members for the DPR, DPD and DPRD states in article 87(1) that candidates will be sanctioned if it is proven that a campaigner has promised or given money or other goods, directly or indirectly, in return for participants to (a) not use their right to vote, (b) use their right to vote in such a way that they select a candidate in a way that invalidates their vote, (c) vote for a specific political party participating in the election, (d) select a specific candidate for DPR, DPRD I, DPRD II or (e) select a specific candidate for the DPD.

<sup>38</sup> Clientelism, defined by Hicken (2011: 289-290) as 'the combination of particularistic targeting and contingency-based exchange' within a dyadic relationship between patron and client, can also be viewed simply as a normal and necessary component of securing support for elections rather than a form of iniquity. Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) also distinguish between clientelistic and programmatic linkages in terms of the target of benefits. For example, clientelistic linkages target individuals and small groups while programmatic linkages deliver benefits to large groups or represent a collective good. For further discussion on the definition of clientelism see Hicken (2011); Hutchcroft (2000: 214-216); Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007); Randall (2001: 249-251).

## Why (anti)corruption symbols?

Selecting symbols that draw heavily upon ideas of what constitutes right and wrong is a popular strategy amongst political parties. Contextual understandings of morality— the criteria used to evaluate social behaviour and goals as good or bad, desirable or undesirable (Lidz and Walker 1980), orienting and directing social action within boundaries of cultural acceptability (Ben-Yehuda 1986: 495)— play a role in determining what symbols a party may choose. According to Ben-Yehuda (1986), the use of moral arguments—specifically ‘moral panics’ in politics—can be viewed in two ways: from a moral perspective they reflect struggles within society itself. From an interest perspective, moral arguments are used to advance the political interests of certain people/groups and challenge existing power relations. While the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, the interest perspective explains the motivation for political parties to latch onto a particular moral issue during campaigning and to use it as a symbol in the contest against other parties.

As Becker (1973: 2) asserts, there is a sense of *communitas* for those who identify with these ideas of morality that promotes the social attachment that parties seek from voters.<sup>39</sup> Those who exploit morality, using the fear generated by moral panics for their own benefit, are described as ‘moral entrepreneurs’ (Becker 1973). Their manipulation of morality suggests that they are driven by functionalism rather than an actual sense of injustice, ‘imply[ing] that morality may be used for nonmoral issues’ (Ben-Yehuda 1986: 496). In a context where corruption is seen as ubiquitous, the identification of corruption as a form of deviance from acceptable social behaviour serves a particular political function. Since the behaviour is not out of the ordinary, anti-corruption discourses must draw on moral (and sometimes legal) understandings of corruption rather than on sociological understandings. The ease with which the idea can be engineered, and who can be deemed corrupt, is

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<sup>39</sup> Lahusen (1996: 51) identifies Bourdieu’s concept of the ‘class habitus’ in relation to this point. A community may be united by a ‘specific pattern of perception, judgements and evaluations that determines what particular individuals and clusters of individuals judge as being moral or immoral, as making sense or no sense, being meaningful or meaningless, tasteful or tasteless’.

appealing to political campaigners aiming to attract support, inspire trust, represent 'good' and attack enemies in one fell swoop.<sup>40</sup>

While corruption is normatively understood as having a negative impact, intensifying societal inequalities and undermining democratic systems (Mény 1996: 309-310; Sampson 2010; United Nations Development Programme 1997), it is inextricably linked to the practicalities of holding political office.<sup>41</sup> As Gronbeck (1978: 156) contends:

We are dealing... with a range of political offences which perhaps characterize any government at any time—graft, kickbacks, overzealous promotion through the meritocracy, slush funds which have public effects without public accountability, favors which bypass normal channels. We are dealing, in sum, with those behaviors which many people take as part of the everyday cost of government. Indeed it is the very routineness of political corruption which makes its public airing and treatment so fascinating rhetorically. Its routineness and ubiquity... make it at once farcical and tragic.

Yet while some Indonesians may view corruption as normal (or even necessary), this does not mean that anti-corruption symbols must be avoided. As noted earlier, there are politically 'safe' symbols that people are so accustomed to the ideological formulation of these stock plots that they seem to be 'natural and adequate characterizations of reality' (Bennett and Edelman 1985: 185). The simplification of corruption within a moral framework of good versus evil means that politicians are only required to elaborate on the issue in order to affirm that they fall on the virtuous side of the divide. As a topic that is neither radical nor polarizing,

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<sup>40</sup> Highlighting corruption as a political concern is not unique to Indonesia. McCoy and Heckel (2001) argue that a global anti-corruption norm emerged in the 1990s. Examples of country-specific studies include: McCann and Domínguez (1998), who discuss the role of anti-corruption discourse in mobilizing voters in Mexico between 1986 and 1995, concluding that longstanding corruption issues did not necessarily lead to support for opposition parties; Lawson (2009), who researched the anti-corruption symbols used in Kenya and Nigeria, where such campaigns have suffered from issues of legitimacy; and Costas-Pérez *et al.* (2012), who studied the impact of corruption scandals on incumbents in Spain, finding that a candidate can lose up to 14 per cent of their vote if media coverage is extensive, but may lose very few votes if the scandal is not widely publicized.

<sup>41</sup> Functionalist arguments portray corruption as playing an important role in facilitating government processes because it can promote flexibility and 'unblock systems' in order to get things done, particularly in states with bureaucracies that are difficult to navigate (Becquart-Leclercq 1990: 193).

corruption is a broad and malleable issue which can be used to influence undecided voters without alienating existing supporters. Moreover, since corruption is notorious in Indonesia, the issue has already been primed and parties do not need to spend time convincing voters of its significance. The strong, almost universal, identification of corruption as a grave political, economic and social problem has led to a general consensus, at least publicly, that it needs to be eradicated.

Campaigning on an anti-corruption platform presents an opportunity for politicians to position themselves within a moral framework which has broader implications than just the eradication of corruption. To build an image of being staunchly against corruption speaks not only to a (declared) commitment to fighting corruption, but also paints the party in a positive light overall. Cultivating a 'persona' is an integral part of the political campaign process, and being 'anti-corruption' is not only publicly palatable but brands the party by associating it with key political values like ensuring rule of law and equal access to goods and services from the government. An image of being corruption-free also plays into the electability of a party/candidate. Parties that have not suffered from corruption scandals (like new parties) are well-placed to adopt an anti-corruption symbol given their (relatively) 'clean' histories. This provides them a comparative advantage which facilitates issue ownership (Iyengar and Simon 2000: 157) and thus increases their symbolic capital. If a party can convince the public that their dedication to combating corruption is stronger than that of their rivals, it will boost their support amongst voters who agree that eradicating corruption should be prioritized.

Opposition parties and candidates may have a number of other motivations to use anti-corruption symbols. First, drawing attention to corruption issues during the early stages of campaigning, particularly aspects related to electoral fraud, allows them a basis to question unfavourable results (McCann et al. 1998: 485). Second, using such symbols assists in attacking opponents, especially incumbents, levying charges of impropriety or corruption against them, promoting campaigns focused on moral character, personal finances, family life and daily habits (Welch and Hibbing 1997: 228). Opposition parties often appeal to voters for support on the grounds that they are best placed to 'banish electoral fraud and corruption forever' in situations where the incumbent government has failed in this regard (McCann et al. 1998: 485). Third, anti-corruption rhetoric may also provide a means for conveying veiled criticisms of other parties, cloaking unpalatable power struggles.

As an instrumental symbol, it does not openly insult opponents, but provides what Graber (1976: 25) terms a 'coded message' of criticism.

However, adoption of an anti-corruption symbol may also be perilous. Corruption reinforces asymmetrical power relations and thus benefits those with a vested interest in maintaining the system. Moreover, because corruption and power are so closely associated, candidates' attempts to portray themselves or their parties as 'anti-corruption' may be greeted with scepticism. Becquart-Leclercq (1990: 191) argues that the public can easily become deaf to politicians claiming that they are not or will never be corrupt, because they believe politics is an inherently dirty game:

Feelings of dislike, even disgust, for politics are quite frequent and translate into apathy, or cynicism, or a rejection of politics. These sentiments are ambivalent, because corruption seems inherent to the exercise of power. The link can be fatal: could one do better in the place of those who govern? Is it possible to play politics without dirtying one's hand?

If corruption is considered an inherent aspect of wielding power, then an anti-corruption symbol may not have the desired effect on voters because they expect politicians to be corrupt, and therefore the exposure of corrupt activities is just the confirmation of something already suspected (Welch and Hibbing 1997: 238). Voter sympathies can also lead them to rationalize corruption scandals involving parties that they have previously supported. A study by Anduiza *et al.* (2013) in Spain found that voters are more lenient towards corruption if it affects a party to which they are sympathetic.<sup>42</sup> The argument here is that cognitive dissonance between a preferred party and a corrupt candidate is addressed by modifying one of the cognitions, such that voters are more likely to downplay the importance of corruption rather than change their political predisposition. Research suggests that citizens are still likely to vote for corrupt politicians if they perceive that it will bring material benefit to their district (Konstantinidis and Xezonakis 2013). An anti-

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<sup>42</sup> In a related study, Mullainathan and Washington (2006) assert that voters are likely to be more forgiving of politicians that they have voted for because of their internal need for consistency, resulting in cognitive dissonance rationalizing between their actions and their morals. The argument is that voters do not wish to believe that they have done a bad thing in voting for a particular candidate and are therefore more likely to justify the candidate's actions.

corruption symbol, therefore, hold no guarantees for those who choose to adopt it and adoptees should understand the priorities and attitudes of their audience if they wish to maximize the benefits of aligning themselves with an anti-corruption cause.

## Conclusion

This thesis draws upon these theories of symbolic politics as a starting point for examining how Indonesia's political parties construct their identity. The desire to win votes compels parties and candidates to identify and shape salient symbols that elicit support from voters. In the case of political parties in Indonesia, official symbols are developed at the national level. The centralized structure of Indonesian political parties means that they are devised almost exclusively by parties' central management, usually with little feedback from local branch offices. Their manifestos, platforms and media images are controlled from Jakarta, where their central committees are based. But while decision-making over core party ideas are the domain of these committees, it is individual parliamentary candidates who are charged with promoting the party to constituents at the local level. The central committee have little control once the campaign is in the hands of local candidates, lacking the resources, and arguably interest, to monitor how candidates construct their individual campaigns or how they use symbols.<sup>43</sup>

All the emerging parties discussed in this study adopted an anti-corruption symbol during their 2014 legislative campaigns. There was a widespread perception—confirmed by a number of surveys conducted between 2012 and 2014 that found that the Indonesian public had low levels of trust in their representatives<sup>44</sup>—that incumbent parliamentarians and political parties were overwhelmingly corrupt and driven by elite ambition rather than the aspirations of the people. At the national level, Hanura, Gerindra and Nasdem adopted rhetoric and dramatism intended to persuade voters that they were *the* anti-corruption party to support. At the same time, individual candidates were afforded the opportunity to establish their own

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<sup>43</sup> As Gantan and Busrya (2014) note, political parties do very little to ensure that political candidates do not buy votes or to establish a better political culture in Indonesia. Furthermore, as Mietzner (2013: 83) argues, candidates are rarely party cadres and are more likely to be individuals seeking party endorsement for their electoral bid. In this context, he quotes a central party official who stated that the primary criteria for selecting candidates were popularity in surveys, their ability to fund their own campaign and government experience. While they should not contradict party ideology, there is no compulsion for them to be party cadres.

<sup>44</sup> These surveys are discussed further in Chapter Three.

symbols and campaign strategies. The prevalence of money politics and vote-buying, combined with the lack of party oversight, meant that candidates faced a difficult decision of whether to market themselves as 'clean' and anti-corruption, to buy votes or to—somewhat precariously— do both.

In order to understand how corruption became such an entrenched aspect of Indonesia's political discourse and, as a consequence, such a popular political symbol, it is imperative to understand the historical context of corruption.

Indonesia's deep political history regarding anti-corruption discourse goes some way to explaining its contemporary popularity as a political symbol. Immortalized in the early years of the republic as a problem of moral imperative, anti-corruption discourse came to represent the myriad ills facing Indonesia; it was the reason why the elites maintained power; it was the reason for bureaucratic inefficiency; and it explained the increasing disparity between the rich and the poor. The need to eradicate corruption became a rallying point both for those in government, who used it to denounce adversaries, and opposition forces, who used it to attack the status quo and call for change. Yet, all the while, none of the rhetoric or steps taken to combat corruption seemed to successfully put an end to its (perceived) endemic nature, and it remains a prevalent concern in Indonesia today.



# Chapter Two

## Tracing the history of anti-corruption

Precise definitions and interpretations of corruption are elusive; however, the embedded nature of anti-corruption symbolism in Indonesian politics is apparent, as evidenced by its recurring prominence since independence. Following independence, Indonesia, like many fledgling post-colonial states, faced the problem of entrenched government corruption (Khan 1998: 17-19; Myrdal 1968: 948; Smith 1971: 23-24). Several scholars argue that the social norms of pre-colonial Indonesian society, such as strong patronage networks and a focus on family that encouraged nepotism, provided a basis for corrupt practices (Anderson 1990: 59-62; Smith 1971; Soedarso 1969).<sup>1</sup> Deep-seated corruption in the bureaucracy is also attributed to the continuation of many colonial institutions following independence (Cribb 1994: 1).<sup>2</sup>

While anti-corruption efforts in Indonesia have been visible (though inconsistent) since independence, it was during colonialism that the first concerted attempts to address the problem were made. Dutch colonial leadership identified corruption as a prominent issue during the 1920s, when Governor-General Dirk Fock, who presided over the Netherlands East Indies from 1921–1926, commissioned investigations into corrupt officials who had accepted kickbacks or embezzled from the treasury. The Governor-General appeared intent on tackling corruption within the colonial administration and a number of convictions and several dismissals ensued (Wertheim 1963: 144). Fock's actions highlighted changing perceptions in the

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, Anderson (1990: 58-60) argues that Javanese ideas of power, based around patron-client relationships and a culturally embedded patrimonial model, fostered systems of dependency evident in the morphology of corruption in modern Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup> The mechanisms of Dutch bureaucracy during the colonial period institutionalized corruption in the everyday dealings of the state (Kahin 2003: 10; Smith 1971: 23; Sundhaussen 1978: 54). At first, the Dutch did little to develop state institutions within their colony, the Netherlands East Indies, instead attaching themselves to pre-existing feudalistic systems with the Javanese elite overseeing agricultural production (Kahin 2003: 2; McCarthy 2011: 95). The complicated administrative functions of the Dutch East Indies Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC), established in 1602, as both a company and an administrator, shaped the behaviour of bureaucrats (Day 1904; Smith 1971; Wertheim 1963: 142). While the VOC's profits were high, the administrators that oversaw the valuable shipments of goods received low wages, encouraging illicit conduct. Later, around 1830, the Dutch introduced the Cultivation System which involved the production of cash crops overseen by local regents and sold to the administration at fixed, low, prices (Kahin 2003: 11). The system introduced Indonesian elites to a cash economy. Meanwhile, Dutch administrators were discouraged from reprimanding local regents who abused their subjects in order to maximize personal profits from cash crop production, fostering an environment where elites could exploit villagers with relative impunity (Fasseur 1994: 52-53; Ricklefs 2001: 157).

acceptability of such practices within the state, but these measures did not assume a symbolic significance because they were primarily aimed at securing government revenue rather than boosting the administration's popularity.

Changing attitudes towards corruption were also linked to the rise of Indonesian nationalism and the desire for independence (Smith 1971: 25). As conceptualizations of 'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable' behaviour amongst government officials altered, ideologies of equality and social justice also came to the fore, driving the nationalist movement.<sup>3</sup> Corruption became yet another source of grievance against the Dutch, viewed as undermining the values of democracy and justice that the independence movement was fighting for (Kahin 2003: 52). From the 1920s–1930s, such ideals were largely confined to the educated elite (McVey 1996: 13) and, as Wertheim (1963: 149) argues, the revolution reflected a burgeoning national solidarity, but 'this sense of unity has not penetrated deeply enough to guarantee strict loyalty from civil servants and citizens in times of peaceful construction'. Nationalists identified corruption as a colonial problem, but there was worse to come following independence.

This chapter outlines a brief history of the manner in which anti-corruption symbols were mobilized in Indonesia from independence up to 2009, establishing that anti-corruption has been a persistent political symbol. However, the long history of anti-corruption rhetoric is not necessarily reflective of a genuine desire to eradicate corruption. This history demonstrates that although corruption has long been an issue of public concern, anti-corruption symbols emerge predominantly when they offer political leverage. Conceptualizing anti-corruption as a political symbol allows for the further analysis of an apparent paradox within Indonesian politics: while many politicians and parties have talked with great fanfare about combating corruption, general public sentiment is that very little progress has been made on the issue since 1998.

## **After Independence**

Sukarno and Hatta, Indonesia's first president and vice-president, declared Indonesia an independent state on 17 August 1945, two days after the surrender of the Japanese

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<sup>3</sup> These ideologies of equality and social justice were later enshrined in Indonesia's national ideology, Pancasila, as discussed in the Introduction.

during World War Two.<sup>4</sup> Following a war for independence against the Dutch, which ended in 1949, a fledgling parliamentary democracy was established. The early period of parliamentary democracy was marked by intense battles between a range of actors, including political parties, figures in the Army and Sukarno himself (Lev 1994: 41). Political parties competed for power, the most significant being the Nationalist Party (Partai Nasionalis Indonesia, PNI); Masyumi, which represented Islamic political interests; the Socialist Party (Partai Sosialis Indonesia, PSI); and the Communist Party (Partai Kommunis Indonesia, PKI).<sup>5</sup> Most cabinets were based on precarious coalitions, with parties focused upon securing their political survival rather than addressing policy concerns (Cribb and Brown 1995: 64; Feith 1962: 165).<sup>6</sup>

Parties began to play an important patronage function soon after parliament was established. Several ministers used their position to help family members, repay personal debts and create lucrative business opportunities (Feith 1962: 147; Vickers 2013: 137). Recognizing potential career benefits, many bureaucrats also joined political parties and by the end of 1950 most civil servants were also party members (Feith 1962: 125). Party leaders were obliged to distribute favours and material rewards to loyal supporters through cabinet posts, business opportunities, overseas junkets, houses and cars (Cribb and Brown 1995: 59-60; Feith 1962: 123), which also led to factionalism and the rise of intra-party competition (Feith 1962: 126). Politicians who refused to distribute patronage risked facing opposition in parliament and limiting their careers.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Japan surrendered unconditionally on 15 August 1945, presenting the Indonesian leadership an opportunity to declare independence before the Dutch could restore their authority (Ricklefs 2001: 259). However, this status was not internationally recognized until 1949 when Indonesia prevailed in the revolution against the Dutch. For further details on the Indonesian struggle for independence from 1945–1949 see Reid (1974) and Kahin (2003).

<sup>5</sup> Different ideologies supported specific parties and this phenomenon came to be known as *aliran* (literally ‘stream’). *Aliran* tendencies gained traction during the Old Order and remained prominent throughout the New Order regime as people identified with particular ‘streams’ of politics (Ufen 2008). The concept of *aliran* has a long political history that, in fact, pre-dates the Old Order. For further discussion of the influence of *aliran* on Indonesian politics see Crouch (1980); Feith (1962); Feith and Castles (1970: 13-18). For further information on these political parties, their backgrounds and ideologies see Feith (1962), McVey (1994) and Ricklefs (2001: 292-294).

<sup>6</sup> From September 1950 to April 1957 there were six separate cabinets, lasting, on average, a year each (Brown 2003: 181).

<sup>7</sup> For example, Feith (1962: 169) asserts that the Natsir cabinet (September 1950–April 1951), led by Masyumi politician Mohammad Natsir, faced opposition because the Finance Minister, Sjafruddin Prawiranegara (also from Masyumi), refused to distribute patronage.

Ingrained corruption in the bureaucracy is often attributed to the low remuneration of civil servants (Legge 1972: 331; McLeod 2008; Smith 1971; Wertheim 1963). After the struggle for independence, the government slashed the salaries of high-ranking bureaucrats who had served under the Dutch, placing them on similar pay-grades to newer civil servants. Benefits to bureaucrats were again cut in 1952 when the government was unable to afford wage increases, provide *Idul Fitri* bonuses or rice allowances (Feith 1962: 256-247).<sup>8</sup> The disparity between salary and status fostered discontent, as many civil servants perceived that their earnings did not befit the importance of their positions.<sup>9</sup> Dissatisfaction with pay led civil servants to seek other sources of income, often using their authority as leverage (Legge 1972: 331). With the government incapable of implementing strict sanctions against corruption, such practices flourished.

Military involvement in economic activities, which also encouraged corruption, became normalized during the war for independence and continued into the 1950s (Crouch 1975; 1980: 38-41; Ricklefs 2001: 306). High-ranking officers launched businesses, collecting profits for both themselves and the military (Cribb and Brown 1995: 75; Crouch 1975; Penders 1974). Army leaders rationalized these practices as subsidizing the inadequate budget received from the state (Cribb and Brown 1995: 75; Crouch 1980: 39; Ricklefs 2001). In addition, military officers turned a personal profit from their business dealings and subsequently distributed patronage to subordinates, fostering networks of loyal supporters within army ranks (Crouch 1979; McLeod 2011a: 56). While such practices were generally tolerated by army leaders, their existence was, nevertheless, sometimes used when officers wished to publicly defame rivals. For example, one of the earliest public accusations of corruption in the new republic was made in 1952, stemming from a conflict between the Chief of Staff, Colonel Nasution, and staunch Sukarno supporter, Colonel Bambang Supeno, resulting in a flurry of accusations between different factions in the

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<sup>8</sup> *Idul Fitri* is the Islamic holiday following the fasting month of *Ramadan*. It is traditionally marked by the giving of gifts, including employee bonuses.

<sup>9</sup> A literary example from this period (1954) detailing this dilemma is the novel *Korupsi* (*Corruption*) by renowned Indonesian author Pramoedya Anata Toer. The book details the moral struggle of a civil servant who is unable to provide his family with a 'respectable standard of living' on his meagre government salary (Foulcher 1995: 167). The rationalization used by the book's protagonist, Basir, is based upon a sense of financial entitlement, which is at odds with his current standard of living. Basir turns to corruption, a decision he agonizes over, on the one hand knowing it is 'immoral' but on the other hand feeling he has the right to a better standard of living by virtue of his position (Toer 1954: 12).

military.<sup>10</sup> While the charges yielded no convictions, they intensified factional schisms within both the army and the government.

Mirroring the internal allegations in the military, accusations of corruption became common amongst parliamentarians. The need to eradicate it became a government catch-cry in the lead-up to Indonesia's first democratic election, held on 29 September 1955. Keen to establish their anti-corruption credentials, the caretaker cabinet led by Burhanuddin Harahap, based on a coalition between Masyumi, PSI and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), claimed it wanted to reinstate the moral authority of the government in the lead up to the election.<sup>11</sup> Adopting a public anti-corruption campaign, it set out to clean up the administrative and executive branches of the government (Penders 1974: 151; van der Kroef 1956: 131). While there was little to suggest that the new cabinet was any less corrupt than its predecessors, the Harahap cabinet accused previous cabinets of several counts of corruption and worked with the army to arrest individuals (Penders 1974: 151; Ricklefs 2001: 303; Teik 1972).<sup>12</sup> Though the government stated that the arrests were not politically driven, most arrested were members of rival party PNI.

The prosecution of those arrested proved difficult. The caretaker government had trouble building cases against the accused, claiming they had been careful to cover their tracks. The mooted solution to this was the passing of an emergency law, which allowed for separate tribunals to hear corruption cases, compelling defendants to answer questions put to them (Feith 1962: 438-439). This bill was passed in the

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<sup>10</sup> Several leaders, all deemed to be sympathizers of the Indonesian Socialist Party, were accused of corruption (Feith 1962: 252). In response, a motion was called in October 1952 for a special parliamentary investigation into administrative and financial fraud in the Ministry of Defence and Armed Forces. The Minister for Defence, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX, saw this as a personal attack. As a well-respected, independent member of the cabinet, the Sultan had support from a number of smaller parties who rejected the motion, claiming it would destabilize the government. PSI also countered the motion, stating that most parliamentarians were hypocrites who lived 'luxuriously and irresponsibly' and were essentially in no position to judge others (Feith 1962: 256).

<sup>11</sup> Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is another Islam-based group which split from the Masyumi political party on 6 April 1952. The two had had an uneasy alliance up to this point and disagreed over the leadership of the party and representations in the cabinet, which tended to be given to Western educated, modernist Muslims. For further details see Feith (1962: 233-237).

<sup>12</sup> The day of the Harahap cabinet's formal installation the military arrested the former Minister of Justice, Djody Gondokusomo, for corruption. Although the new cabinet claimed no knowledge of the arrest, the public supported the measures, glad that steps were being taken to punish corrupt officials. Following this the former Minister for Economic Affairs, Iskaq Tjokroadisurjo, was also arrested, as were employees from the Central Import Office and a number of bureaucrats from the Ministry of Justice. See Feith (1962: 422-424) for a detailed discussion of these events.

cabinet, but there was opposition from NU, whose ranks included some individuals accused of corruption. Moreover, Sukarno refused to sign the bill, meaning it could not become law and putting him at odds with the Harahap cabinet. The alternative was to present the bill directly to the parliament, which would be time consuming and potentially damaging to the government's reputation if it was not passed. Harahap did in fact present the bill to the agenda committee of the parliament to be presented during a parliamentary sitting, but it was never handed down (Feith 1962: 440).

Corruption was identified as a campaign issue in the 1955 election. Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, who was linked to PSI, expressed his concerns about corruption in the lead-up to polling. During his annual national co-operatives day address on 11 July 1955, he observed that:

A moral crisis has blurred the distinction between good and bad, between legal and illegal, between decency and moral obnoxiousness, between right and wrong. Corruption runs riot through our society; corruption has also infected a great many government departments, and unless drastic measures are taken very soon, this evil may become firmly rooted in the organization of our society and our country. Bribery and graft have become increasingly common, to the detriment of our community and our country (Hatta 1957: 84).

Political parties also competed to discredit rivals, especially evident in the accusations between PNI and Islamic opposition party Masyumi. Masyumi criticized previous PNI-led cabinets for 'inflation, the shortages of essential imports and the abundance of luxury automobiles, "arbitrary" political appointments and dismissals ... and the "special licenses" for national importers' (Feith 1962: 354). Masyumi's newspaper *Abadi* and other pro-government media outlets also gave significant coverage to the corruption charges of former ministers (Feith 1962: 424). Indeed, it was in the media, not parliament, that many of the most heated clashes of ideology and scathing attacks on rivals occurred (Hill 2010: 3).<sup>13</sup> Several accusations of corruption against rivals were mooted through the press, requiring a lower threshold for evidence and greater scope to sensationalize charges (Feith 1962: 424). For

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<sup>13</sup> During the period of constitutional democracy, almost all newspapers were attached to a political party (or the military) (Sen and Hill 2000).

example, in the lead-up to the elections of September 1955, PSI's newspaper *Pedoman* published a scathing, anonymous letter to the editor claiming that Sukarno was a lackey of the 'Co-operative Organization for Corruption', the Masyumi-PSI nickname for those who supported the first Ali Sastroamidjojo cabinet (Feith 1962: 427).

In spite of pre-election tensions, PNI, Masyumi and NU formed a ruling coalition (without PKI or PSI) under previous Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo in March 1956.<sup>14</sup> Shortly after the cabinet's formation, conflict within the military spilled over into parliamentary affairs, signalling the beginning of the most high-profile corruption cases of the Old Order. The army had suffered internal power struggles since the revolution and legacies of these rifts emerged during 1956 (Reid 1974).<sup>15</sup> Cleavages widened when army Chief of Staff, Nasution, who had recently allied himself with Sukarno and PNI, began to order personnel transfers in an effort to combat smuggling activities and regionalism that had taken hold within the military (Teik 1972: 238). One of the major actors aggrieved by these transfers was Deputy Chief of Staff, Colonel Zulkifli Lubis, an officer aligned to PSI and Masyumi, who was also resentful that Nasution had been promoted over him, which he perceived to be a political appointment rather than one based on merit.<sup>16</sup>

The resulting power struggle eventually led to the indictment of Roeslan Abdulgani, a PNI member and the then-Minister for Foreign Affairs. The 'Roeslan Affair' was a clear example of the use of corruption allegations for political gain (Ricklefs 2001: 307; Teik 1972). On 13 August 1956, one of Nasution's rivals issued an arrest warrant for Roeslan in connection with corruption in the disbursement of state printing contracts. Roeslan was accused of conspiring with Lie Hok Thay, the former director of the national printing plant, and of accepting Rp. 1.5 million in bribes (van der Kroef 1957: 49). The arrest warrant was quickly revoked by Nasution, and Roeslan subsequently left Indonesia for London on a diplomatic visit. Anti-Nasution officers then accused Nasution of condoning corruption by allowing Roeslan to leave the country without proper investigation into the allegations (Teik 1972: 238).

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<sup>14</sup> This came to be known as 'the second Ali cabinet'.

<sup>15</sup> This was not unexpected, given that the military had become heavily politicized during the early Old Order. With the fragile nature of parliamentary cabinets following independence, the army had come to see itself as 'the guardian of national interest with the responsibility to intervene in political affairs whenever the weaknesses of civilian government made it necessary' (Crouch 1980: 30).

<sup>16</sup> For further discussion of internal military discord during this period see Teik (1972).

Upon Roeslan's return, a special commission composed mostly of other cabinet members cleared him of complicity, but this failed to end speculation about his guilt. The cabinet's 'whitewash' of the affair generated intense media scrutiny, primarily from Mochtar Lubis, the respected editor of *Indonesia Raya* and also a distant relative of Zulkifli Lubis (Hill 2010: 64-65). Mochtar Lubis lambasted the government, running a sensational headline stating that Roeslan had engaged in corrupt activities with Lie Hok Thay and must be prosecuted. The newspaper quoted Zulkifli Lubis as saying that 'the Prime Minister and the Chief of Staff had defended evil by releasing Roeslan from the hands of his would-be arresters' (Feith 1962: 503). *Indonesia Raya* and PSI's newspaper *Pedoman* continued the attack (Feith 1962: 504). After the affair died down, Mochtar Lubis was charged with defaming cabinet members, but was acquitted in December 1956. In the meantime, tensions continued to mount within the army. When it became clear that the plan to destabilize the government had failed, Zulkifli Lubis instigated a failed coup in November 1956 (van der Kroef 1957: 50). Later, in April 1957, the Supreme Court fined Roeslan for unintentionally breaching foreign exchange regulations; however, he was never tried for corruption (Hill 2010: 48; Ricklefs 2001: 307). The accusations against him remained unsubstantiated (Setiyono *et al.* 2012: 42-45).

### ***Defending Guided Democracy***

Parliamentary democracy collapsed in December 1956 when officers from the army regional command seized the governments of West, North and South Sumatra, declaring themselves to be the 'Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia' (Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia, PRRI) and prompting Sukarno to declare martial law.<sup>17</sup> Sukarno appointed an emergency cabinet under Djuanda Kartawidjaja (April 1957–July 1959), which managed government affairs until he could officially reinstate the 1945 Constitution and dissolve parliament in July 1959, paving the way for Guided Democracy (Lev 1966; Penders 1974: 157).<sup>18</sup>

Charges of corruption were used by Sukarno to emphasize the flawed nature of the party system and to justify his growing alignment with the PKI (Ricklefs 2001: 308-309). Eager to justify his new regime, Sukarno blamed greedy and immoral individuals for many of the failings of the period of constitutional democracy. For

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<sup>17</sup> For a detailed discussion of the PRRI rebellion and its consequences see Feith (1962: 578-608) and Legge (1972: 281-284).

<sup>18</sup> For a detailed exploration of the transition from constitutional democracy to Guided Democracy see Lev (1966).

example, in his Independence Day address in 1959 he admonished those who had used their positions in state enterprises for personal gain noting that:

those bodies [have become] the nest of people who filled their own pockets till they bulged, people who became wealthy, people who became millionaires. There must be an end to this! Such a situation must be changed! ... It may not be allowed to happen again that ... a few speculators or a few profiteers can shake our whole national economy (Sukarno 1964: 52).

In the same speech, Sukarno asserted that ‘Whoever scoops up wealth at the expense of the public, whoever disrupts the public economy, will be arrested, will be sentenced to death!’ (Sukarno 1964: 55). In his 1961 Independence Day Address, Sukarno also referred to the prominence of corruption within the government, classifying it as one of the ‘three si’s—**tjari promosi, birokrasi, korupsi** [emphasis in original]’ — the seeking of promotion, bureaucracy and corruption. He went on to proclaim it would be better if ‘such people were pushed aside!’ (Sukarno 1964: 153). Sukarno defended his new regime, even as it became increasingly evident that it had many of the same flaws as the previous establishment. He maintained that corruption in government was the result of individual greed, rather than institutionalized practices driven by the system itself.

Sukarno also boosted his own anti-corruption reputation by achieving what none of the previous cabinets had been able to do: actually pass anti-corruption laws. Prior to this, corruption arrests had been facilitated by a military mandate to act in the interests of the people (Crouch 1980: 40). It was not until 1960 that an official government definition of corruption was codified and punishments for related crimes institutionalized through Law No. 24/1960 on the Determination, Prosecution and Inspection of the Criminal Act of Corruption. In the first paragraph of this law, corruption was broadly defined as having two facets. First, it involved a violation of the law causing an economic loss for the state, an area or any other legal body which uses state funding and concessions. Second, corruption was also the abuse of position or authority for self-enrichment, or that of another person or body. In reality, the passing of such legislation was hardly a feat given that Sukarno held close to dictatorial power over the government. However, its enactment demonstrated that, at the very least, Sukarno believed such a law to be necessary.

However, it was difficult to focus public attention on corruption when Sukarno's poor economic management was plunging the country into economic and social chaos. Calls for change mounted as the PKI and the military both competed for power (Brown 2003; Crouch 1980: 69-96). The events of 30 September 1965, in which PKI supporters attempted a coup and assassinated six army generals, brought this rivalry to a head (Anderson and McVey 1971). While the coup failed, it unleashed a chain of events culminating in the rise of Suharto, Indonesia's second president.<sup>19</sup> On 11 March 1966 Sukarno signed an order granting Suharto full authority to restore the peace (Ricklefs 2001: 349).<sup>20</sup> Between June and July 1966 the Parliament ratified Suharto's position, banned the PKI, outlawed Marxism as a political ideology and called for elections to be held in 1968 (Ricklefs 2001: 351).

## **The New Order**

In the early days of the New Order, Suharto was eager to build an image that would set him apart from earlier politicians (Elson 2001: 140). Along with promises of development and prosperity, an anti-corruption symbol was an important part of this effort. Suharto promised that he would address corruption and support 'not only good government but also clean government' (Robertson-Snape 1999: 589). Even the regime's name—the 'New Order'—was intended to distance it from the previous era, which had become synonymous with the extravagances of the elite and the corruption of bureaucrats on the one hand, and the suffering of the poor on the other (Feith 1994: 16; Ricklefs 2001: 342).

An anti-corruption symbol became a core part of the image of the new regime. In April 1966 Suharto established the Team to Regularize State Finances (Tim Penerbitan Keuangan Negara, Pekuneg) to collect 'incriminating material' as evidence of corrupt activities undertaken by members of the Old Order government (Crouch

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<sup>19</sup> This coup was a watershed moment in Indonesian history. The events of the failed coup remain mysterious, with speculation that the United States Secret Service were involved and continued questions about what role Suharto played in the events. The mass killings that followed the coup have continued to draw academic inquiry due to the complex nature of the massacres—who killed, who was killed and why they were killed. The New Order regime used the coup extensively in its anti-Communist propaganda and to promote Suharto's role in protecting the nation. For a detailed analyses of the coup and its fallout see Anderson and McVey (1971), Cribb (1990), Roosa (2006) and Kammen and McGregor (2012).

<sup>20</sup> During this period of uncertainty, Suharto's efforts to discredit Sukarno were subtle, fearing retaliation from die-hard Sukarnoists, but it did not take long for him to manoeuvre him out of politics altogether (Cribb and Brown 1995: 111; van der Kroef 1971: 38-40). Before long, Suharto had removed enough of his detractors from the government to be confident that the People's Consultative Assembly would support him (Ricklefs 2001: 351).

1980: 296). Show trials were conducted against former Old Order ministers, highlighting their economic mismanagement, corruption and general disregard for public welfare (Cribb and Brown 1995: 111; Pauker 1967: 145-146). Public attention was also drawn to ongoing military and bureaucratic corruption (Dahm 1971: 262; Feith 1968: 95).<sup>21</sup> In response, Suharto mounted a concerted public campaign against corruption, making a number of public statements in the latter half of 1967. Suharto's efforts reflected his desire to project a reformist image, with actions and speeches used as rhetorical tools designed to paint Suharto as the leader that Indonesians wanted.

Yet, despite this public anti-corruption campaign, progress was slow. Suharto was in a difficult position, needing to build an anti-corruption image to appeal to the masses but also requiring the support of military, parliamentary and business leaders who benefited from the status quo (Mackie 1970: 88). Pekuneg and the Anti-Corruption Investigation Team (Tim Pemberantasan Korupsi, TPK), launched in August 1967, were charged with investigating corruption cases and referring suspects for arrest and trial; however, these bodies had little impact (Crouch 1980: 296). In December 1967 Suharto issued an instruction to the Attorney-General, with assistance from the Minister for Justice and commanders of the armed forces, to 'take firm measures against all forms of corruption' (cited in Pauker 1968: 137). However, Attorney-General Soegih Arto complained in April 1968 that the TPK was unable to do its job effectively because the definition of 'corrupt conduct' in existing laws was too vague. At the same time, TPK employees complained that the relatively short time within which alleged 'corruptors' had to be charged and brought to trial (six months) made convictions difficult (van der Kroef 1971: 76). Corruption suspects were regularly released due to a proclaimed lack of evidence (Crouch 1980: 296; van der Kroef 1971: 77).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> One example of a corruption scandal reported in the media was the 'Holden Affair' of November 1967, in which the planned tax-free import of Australian-made Holden cars for the benefit of MPs 'erupted into a black market scandal in November 1967, at the very time when demands for a more intensified tax collection procedure and for a general austerity were being heard in Parliament itself' (van der Kroef 1971: 76).

<sup>22</sup> In February 1969 the police announced that over 159 officials and private banking enterprises had been found guilty of fraud and 85 per cent had been tried (van der Kroef 1971: 77). Two generals were also tried and convicted for corruption in 1969 (Crouch 1980: 293). There was a flurry of announcements, with the government hopeful it would be seen to be taking action. Detractors noted that the arrests were mostly of insignificant individuals or people who had fallen out of favour with Suharto, such as the two military officials indicted, and no parliamentarians were arrested.

By mid-November 1968, the anti-corruption movement was gaining momentum. Between 1965 and 1970, as Mackie (1970: 88) asserts, 'there [were] few burning issues of comparable horse-power for opponents or critics of the regime'. Student groups rallied around the issue and threatened vigilante action against 'corruptors'. A number of newspapers fuelled student concerns, including Mochtar Lubis' *Indonesia Raya* and *Nusantara*, as well as other student publications such as *Harian Kami* and *Mahasiswa Indonesia* (Crouch 1980: 294-295). Concerned about public order, the government banned all non-approved demonstrations in January 1970. Subsequent meetings between student leaders and cabinet ministers led to promises that anti-corruption measures would be a government priority (Dahm 1971: 263; van der Kroef 1971: 232).

A renewed anti-corruption offensive began on 31 January 1970 when Suharto announced the formation of the 'Commission of Four' led by former Prime Minister Wilopo, working with former Vice-President Hatta. The Commission was charged with investigating the extent of the corruption in the government and providing recommendations for its eradication (Elson 2001: 195; Mackie 1970; van der Kroef 1971: 78). Suharto also released a public statement printed in the newspaper *Kompas* on 2 February 1970; in which he stated:

Corruption and deviant actions in the economic field in general not only conflict with the law and with security, but are clearly incompatible with morals, and puncture the feeling of justice [sic]. Corruption blocks the implementation of the state's programs, damages the principles and reduces the authority of the government apparatus, if it is not curbed, lessened and suppressed as much as possible (cited in Elson 2001: 195).

Suharto highlighted corruption again in his Independence Day speech of August 1970, asserting that 'there should no longer be any doubts about it. I myself will lead the fight against corruption' (cited in Elson 2001: 196). In the same year, Attorney-General Soegih Arto introduced a new, more detailed anti-corruption bill to the parliament (van der Kroef 1971: 233). The bill, passed as Law No. 3/1971 on the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Corruption, was welcomed by activists (Brata 2009: 136).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Suharto also agreed to regular weekly meetings in which student activists could present evidence of official corruption to him. While this seemed a positive development for activists,

Attempts by Suharto to consolidate an anti-corruption image were, however, undermined by lack of action. The new anti-corruption legislation was not retroactive, much to the disappointment of activists (van der Kroef 1971: 233). Suharto also refused to publicly release the Commission of Four's findings (Crouch 1980: 297), although they were subsequently leaked to the media (Crouch 1980: 297; Elson 2001: 196; Mackie 1970: 87). The Commission submitted reports on the Attorney-General's Office; the national oil company, Pertamina; the state procurement agency; the state forestry enterprise; as well as two reports advising the government on ways to address corruption. The findings suggested that the lack of transparency in budget spending contributed to corruption and recommended structural reforms for the Attorney-General's office and Pertamina. The Commission also advocated the arrests of some of Suharto's key supporters, including his cousin Sudikatmono (Elson 2001: 196). The Commission's efforts led to the punishment of some minor officials, but recommendations that officials must declare their private assets and the implementation of a law regulating the oversight of Pertamina were never executed (Elson 2001: 196).

The Commission was accused of being a 'whitewash' by student groups, who stepped up their campaigning to highlight the ongoing negative impacts of corruption. Newspapers, such as *Indonesia Raya* and *Harian Kami*, continued to report on corrupt dealings between prominent business and political figures (van der Kroef 1971: 78). Pamphlets accusing top military officials of corruption were also circulated in the main cities of Java (van der Kroef 1971: 78). Suharto's personal aides, who were also military officers, were singled out for peddling influence on behalf of parties or businesses (van der Kroef 1971: 82). In response, the government expedited the trial of nine state electricity company officials, facing charges of embezzling between Rp. 150 (USD0.40) and Rp. 34,000 (approximately USD90) (Crouch 1980: 298). This episode demonstrated discrepancies in how the public and the government viewed corruption—the government focus on small-scale corruption was seen to gloss over the larger issue. Meanwhile, Suharto had formalized his power through an election deemed to be 'heavy-handed' and undemocratic (Elson 2001: 194; Jackson 1978), and

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the agreement was short-lived, with Suharto dismissing much of the evidence presented (Brata 2009: 136).

activists remained troubled by the abuse of position by the president's inner circle (Aspinall 2005b: 23; Crouch 1980: 299).<sup>24</sup>

From the beginning of the 1970s, the government began attempting to curb public anti-corruption sentiment. The New Order government's anti-corruption symbol suffered a number of blows during this period. In September 1971, respected Police Commissioner-General Hugeng Imam Santoso was dismissed from his position after he announced that his team had broken a smuggling ring which imported luxury cars for resale (Elson 2001: 198; Jenkins 1984: 330-331). The smuggling ring reportedly had military backing as well as involving Suharto's wife, Ibu Tien. From 1971, Tien was also heavily criticized for her plan to develop a cultural theme park (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park), funded by 'donations' from business leaders and government officials. Protests around the Taman Mini project became violent, prompting presidential aides to request military intervention (Elson 2001: 199; Samson 1973: 128). A further example of anti-corruption activism during this period was the 'Petition of October 24', signed in October 1973 by a group of students from the University of Indonesia. It outlined government criticisms including rising prices, corruption, abuse of power, unemployment and the lack of effective public participation in government decision-making (Hansen 1975: 148).

There were ongoing protests up to the mid-1970s, foreshadowing more serious demonstrations against the government. In January 1974, mass student protests were sparked by an official visit by the Japanese Prime Minister to Indonesia. The Malari Affair, as it is known, was motivated primarily by anger at the state's economic policies which many saw as favouring foreign investors. However, it also touched upon corruption and the undue influence of senior members in Suharto's government (Elson 2001: 207; Liddle 1996: 188).<sup>25</sup> The riots turned violent, leaving 11 dead, 200

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<sup>24</sup> For further details on the 1971 elections see Jackson (1978: 31-32). Following the 1971 elections there were further restrictions against rival parties, pressuring the remaining political parties to form two groups, the United Development Party, representing Islamic groups (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party, representing nationalist and non-Islamic political parties (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, PDI) in 1972.

<sup>25</sup> The riots themselves were largely the result of power struggles within the army, with the military commander in charge of the area, General Sumitro, hoping to destabilize Suharto's government by allowing students to protest freely and embarrass the government in front of its international guest. The gamble backfired, though, when the demonstrations became violent. Suharto himself acknowledged the riots as the outcome of a 'power struggle' between sections of the Army and his advisers (Elson 2001: 207).

seriously injured and over 800 arrested.<sup>26</sup> The outcome of the Malari affair was a heightened vigilance towards dissent and a move towards stronger political repression and the suppression of public protest (Elson 2001: 209; Liddle 1996: 189). Suharto did try to pacify the movement by amending foreign ownership laws to facilitate more business opportunities for Indonesians and asked that friends 'tone down excessive displays of wealth' (Vatikiotis 1993: 38). Furthermore, the regime embarked on a new development focus, leading to increased spending on local level projects including school, health centres, roads and other endeavours, seen as coercive measures to boost satisfaction with the government (Liddle 1996: 189).

These measures and the crackdown on protesting dampened, but did not eradicate, student activism. While most students still saw themselves the moral guardians of the nation, protests also began to take on a more 'anti-government' tone (Aspinall 2005b: 119; Glassburner 1978: 164). The discontent generated by the New Order's failure to deliver high-levels of development to ordinary people while elites prospered due to corruption led to anger targeted at Suharto, his wife and his cronies (Vatikiotis 1993: 38). This was evidenced by the interest surrounding the Sawito Affair, named after the Javanese mystic and former employee of the Department of Agriculture who denounced Suharto as the source of 'moral decay' in the state and asserted that he had been divinely chosen to rule Java (Bourchier 1984; Grant 1979: 143-144; Liddle 1977: 103). He was arrested after writing a number of inflammatory documents, which were supported by a number of prominent Indonesians, including former Vice-President Hatta (Bourchier 1984: 1). The Sawito Affair is noteworthy for the harsh reaction it provoked from Suharto: Sawito was tried for involvement in an illegal movement and sentenced to eight years imprisonment. Suharto even took the step of responding to Sawito's allegations in a public statement, claiming that 'neither he nor any member of his family had used his position for personal financial gain' (Liddle 1977: 103). The trial itself became a forum for dissent, with witnesses using it as an opportunity to condemn the corruption and weak leadership of Suharto's regime (Bourchier 1984; Grant 1979: 143-144).<sup>27</sup>

Questions surrounding Suharto's anti-corruption agenda also stemmed from his reluctance to address glaring problems within the state bureaucracy. For example, in

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<sup>26</sup> Several prominent student leaders were arrested including Syahrir (Liddle 1996: 148), who became a prominent economist and was later an economic advisor to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono from April 2007 until his death in July 2008.

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed account of the Sawito Affair see Bourchier (1984).

1975, a serious corruption scandal erupted involving the state-owned oil company, Pertamina, which had amassed approximately USD10 billion worth of debts, apparently through mismanagement and embezzlement by its manager, Ibnu Sutowo (Chalmers 2006: 222; Liddle 1977: 96-99; Vatikiotis 1993: 37). Despite the earlier misgivings of the Commission of Four, Pertamina had been hailed as a New Order 'success story' and an 'icon' of the regime's economic performance (Elson 2001: 215). The Pertamina scandal threatened to undermine the regime's legitimacy, which was premised upon steady economic development, while also challenging its financial credentials (Suryadinata 1998: 123). Sutowo was eventually dismissed but was never charged with any crime, even though the subsequent investigation revealed both gross mismanagement and lavish behaviour (McCawley 1978: 5-6). Dick and Mulholland (2011: 71) argue that Sutowo had, in fact, loyally served as a trusted subordinate who Suharto could call upon for credit at short notice. Suharto's reluctance to approve prosecution against Sutowo reflected an aversion to punishing corruption if it undermined his own interests.

It was in this climate that a group of Bandung students issued a 'White Book' (*Buku Putih*) in January 1978—a manifesto demanding that Suharto step down as president (*Indonesia* 1978: 165).<sup>28</sup> The White Book was a direct attack on Suharto and his government, detailing a number of corruption scandals to argue they were 'self-serving' and 'greedy' (*Indonesia* 1978: 181). The government reacted immediately, banning the book, shutting down four newspapers, including *Kompas* and *Sinar Harapan*, and rounding up student activists (Elson 2001: 224). Later, a total of seven daily newspapers and seven student publications were banned as part of the crackdown on intellectuals and students (Sen and Hill 2000: 57). The government temporarily closed many prominent universities, and university leadership were directed to 'depoliticise' campuses (Aspinall 2005b; Jackson 2005: 185-187). Students involved in writing the White Book were arrested and tried in January 1979 under the anti-subversion laws.<sup>29</sup> These acts of repression and legal retribution marked the government's decreasing tolerance for public criticism and that silencing

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<sup>28</sup> The journal *Indonesia* published the defence statements from students on trial in April 1979. The accompanying editorial content was written anonymously, presumably to avoid ramifications from the New Order regime.

<sup>29</sup> Anti-subversion legislation was first enacted in 1963 via Presidential Decision No. 11/1963 and was later ratified by parliament in 1969 as Law No. 5/1969. This outlawed public displays of hostility or contempt towards the government and other population groups in Indonesia. In 1971 the Supreme Court ruled that subversion included acts that did not have subversive intent but resulted in subversive outcomes (Pompe 1992: 398).

and/or discrediting critics was now a common method of dealing with corruption allegations against those in power.<sup>30</sup>

The White Book was one of the final public critiques of the government during the New Order. The subsequent trials and crackdown on campus activism quashed the student movement, which had been one of the last bastions of censure against the prevalence of corruption. Moreover, the banning of some newspapers and a new emphasis on the responsibility of the press to promote national stability (Brown 2003: 224; Sen and Hill 2000: 53) curtailed the freedom of the media and reporting of corruption scandals.<sup>31</sup> Anti-corruption protests were not completely silenced and the issue remained one of public concern.<sup>32</sup> There were periodic attempts to 'defuse' the issue using the arrests and trials of individuals, but those found guilty were mostly low or mid-ranked bureaucrats (Cribb and Brown 1995: 154; Liddle 1996: 87). In an attempt to re-establish a firm anti-corruption image, the government created a new anti-corruption campaign (Operasi Tertib, OPSTIB) in 1980, aimed at eradicating corruption and smuggling. However, OPSTIB was criticized for selectively taking up cases and avoiding investigation against high-level officials (Palmier 1982: 5; Pauker 1981: 236).<sup>33</sup> Liddle (1996: 24) suggests that 'these periodic crackdowns...encourage[d] the public to believe that the government [was] at least well-intentioned'.

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<sup>30</sup> In another example, in May 1980 a group of 50 prominent Indonesians, including retired army generals and former prime ministers, signed a petition known as 'The Petition of 50' which was critical of Suharto and his manipulation of Pancasila, which they believed he was using to threaten political enemies. In order to discredit the petition, some of Suharto's aides doctored a document which they released to the press, claiming that those who had signed the petition were secretly calling for a coup. Those who had signed the petition were punished with various arbitrary restrictions, such as restricting their ability to access credit, restricting their travel and denial of government contracts. See Elson (2001: 231-232) and Ricklefs (2001: 374-375) for further details.

<sup>31</sup> The regime was also sensitive to reporting on corruption by international media outlets. For example, in 1986 an article in the Australian daily, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, which investigated the business holdings of Suharto's family, led to a 'brief crisis in Australia-Indonesian relations' (Ricklefs 2001: 381).

<sup>32</sup> A 1980 Tempo survey found that 42.8 per cent of respondents, which was the highest number, singled out 'corruption and abuses of power' as the greatest internal threat facing Indonesia (Pauker 1981: 237).

<sup>33</sup> (Tanter 1989) contends that the abolition of OPSTIB in 1988 was driven by high-level military officers involved in smuggling who had lobbied for the closure of the operation.

### ***Corruption and the fall of Suharto***

While vocal anti-corruption protests were quashed in the public sphere, corruption remained an 'open secret' (*rahasia umum*).<sup>34</sup> The institutionalized nature of corruption in the bureaucracy led to what McLeod (2011a: 52) calls a 'parasitic' relationship between the public sector and its clients in which public servants, police and the military extorted citizens to supplement their low wages.<sup>35</sup> From the 1980s, the business dealings of Suharto's family and his cronies became increasingly brazen.<sup>36</sup> The Suharto family and its cronies established a complex network of 'foundations' (*yayasan*) to mask corruption and launder money. Bribes could be paid into a foundation owned by a member of the family to escape detection and without subject to oversight (Vatikiotis 1993, 51). Donations by state-owned enterprises were also made into foundations as a means for siphoning funds from the government (Aspinall 2005b: 93; Elson 2001: 281). Meanwhile, corruption that threatened the interests of Suharto's allies was curbed, either through law enforcement or more sinister means (Widoyoko 2011).<sup>37</sup>

The 1980s to the early 1990s was a profitable period for Suharto's children and cronies (Chalmers 2006: 233; Winters 2014: 19).<sup>38</sup> The emphasis on economic development and market deregulation created opportunities for business people

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<sup>34</sup> Aspinall (1995: 28) argues that there had been a 'tradition of dissent' amongst urban elites throughout the New Order and this thesis does not dispute this. Anti-corruption discourse was used, albeit superficially, by PPP and PDI during election campaigns, highlighting the openness of corrupt practices.

<sup>35</sup> McLeod (2008;2011a) identifies low public servant wages as a key driver of corruption amongst government officials. As a result, much of his research in combating corruption in the government focuses on paying civil servants a liveable wage.

<sup>36</sup> As Ricklefs (2001: 366) argues, the economic successes of the New Order did much to mollify Indonesians, particularly the middle class, who enjoyed the advantages of a booming economy. At the same time, villagers in rural areas were also benefiting from targeted development programs (Suryadinata 1998: 120-121).

<sup>37</sup> For example, Widoyoko (2011: 168) argues that the privatization of the customs office in the mid-1980s was a response against smuggling which threatened the Indonesian economy and, therefore, Suharto's interests.

<sup>38</sup> Much has been written on Suharto's use of patronage as being linked to his Javanese roots, that he essentially saw himself as a monarch who distributed favour in return for financial benefit and support (Anderson 1990: 187; Elson 2001: 301-302; Vatikiotis 1993: 111-114). Counter-arguments to this have also been made, for example Robinson (1981;1982) who describes the relationships as less driven by culture and more by political functionalism and as necessary to garner and cement support for his leadership. Similarly, Ascher (1998) contends that patronage is more closely linked to the need to unify a disunited government under mutually beneficial circumstances than cultural traditions.

interested in new ventures.<sup>39</sup> Suharto publicly endorsed policies such as financial deregulation, but he ensured that his children and cronies enjoyed privileged access to loans from state banks, government funding and concessions (Elson 2001: 279). Suharto's wife had already been nicknamed 'Madame Tien Percent', referring to the alleged share of profits she demanded from those granted business favours by her husband (Cribb and Brown 1995: 126).<sup>40</sup> Suharto's youngest son, Hutomo Mandala Putra (commonly known as 'Tommy'), was awarded a contract in 1996 to produce Indonesia's national car—in reality, a one-year license to import cars from South Korea without paying duties or luxury tax, allowing him to undercut competitors (Hale 2001: 631). The project was established against the advice of both the ministers for trade and finance.<sup>41</sup> Similar opportunities were afforded to Suharto's other children.<sup>42</sup> By the early 1990s the Suharto family assets were estimated at USD2–3 billion (Vatikiotis 1993: 50) and Suharto had created a network of supporters around him who were extremely wealthy, but also heavily dependent on the President for business favours (Liddle 1996: 88, 188; Vatikiotis 1993: 50).

While Suharto's patronage networks in the business sphere were strong, his support from the military began to wane. From the late 1980s, military leaders were particularly concerned with Suharto's succession plan, pressuring Suharto to resign at the upcoming elections to make way for new leadership (Jenkins 1984; Liddle 1992: 545). Military leaders also felt marginalized as Suharto expanded his influence amongst civilians and senior bureaucrats but seemed to neglect them (Aspinall 1995: 23). At the same time, international support for the regime weakened with the end of the Cold War (Crouch 1993: 91; Ford 2011) and student pressure on the government to address inequality, human rights and corruption mounted, as did condemnation

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<sup>39</sup> Falling oil prices in the early 1980s meant Indonesia could no longer ride the coat-tails of oil profits (Liddle 1987: 206; Ricklefs 2001: 374). Robertson-Snape (1999: 595) also argues that deregularization impacted bureaucrats as the number of licenses, permits and fees were reduced so they 'lost their opportunity to benefit from 'gratuities' frequently conferred for performing such services'.

<sup>40</sup> Liddle (1977: 104) states she was also nicknamed 'Madame Fifty-Fifty'.

<sup>41</sup> The Timor car project faced problems from the start. Shortly after it began there was a sharp decrease in automobile purchases in Indonesia. Kia, the manufacturer, also faced financial troubles in its homeland of South Korea, and the Asian Economic Crisis followed soon after in 1997. In 1998 Indonesia signed a request for financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which demanded an end to concessions for the project as part of the structural adjustment plan and there was the threat of sanctions from the World Trade Organization (WTO) if they did not comply. For further information about the Timor project see Hale (2001).

<sup>42</sup> For more examples of the concessions granted to Suharto's children see Vatikiotis (1993: 152-153) and Robertson-Snape (1999).

from Islamic leaders.<sup>43</sup> In the political sphere, the Democratic Party of Indonesia (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia, PDI) and the People's Democratic Union (Persatuan Rakyat Demokratis, PRD), formed from radical elements of the student activist movement, also became more outspoken in their reproaches of the regime.

It was these challenges that prompted Suharto to broaden the political space in Indonesia in the late 1980s that came to be known as the period of 'openness' (*keterbukaan*).<sup>44</sup> Keterbukaan saw censorship of the press relaxed, the establishment of a commission for human rights and some toleration of political protests, demonstrations and government critiques (Bertrand 1996: 325). In 1990, Suharto also announced the creation of the Association of Muslim Intellectuals (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, ICMI) which—while not universally accepted by Islamic intellectuals—appealed to many urban, educated and modernist Muslims, presenting them a means to influence state decision-making and advance the cause of Islam within the government (Aspinall 2005b: 40).<sup>45</sup> Suharto also reorganized the armed forces (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, ABRI) removing perceived threats including former protégé Benny Murdani (Bertrand 1996).<sup>46</sup> However, Keterbukaan ended in 1994, with the sudden closure of three major media publications, *Tempo*, *Detik* and *Editor*, after they published a series of negative reports about a decision by then-Minister for Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie, to purchase East German warships (Bertrand 1996: 336; Eklof 2003: 230; Ricklefs 2001: 399). The press had also begun to investigate a number of potentially embarrassing corruption scandals linked to Suharto's inner circle, providing an additional impetus for the bans (Bertrand 1996: 336).

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<sup>43</sup> Aspinall (2005b: 128), describing the nature of student protests in the mid-1990s, writes: 'students increasingly raised what they sometimes referred to as "elite" issues concerning national level corruption and political leadership. This was highlighted by a series of protests directed against Suharto in 1993... their typical modus operandi was relatively small demonstrations which involved considerable risk.'

<sup>44</sup> Eklof (2003: 107) argues that the exact period is difficult to define as by March 1988 MPR parliamentary sessions were already engaging in lively debate on issues regarding the vice-presidency, electoral reform and education. However, the term *keterbukaan* first gained popularity in 1989, following an article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* written by Suharto detractor (retired) General Sumitro calling for greater political openness in Indonesia.

<sup>45</sup> One prominent critic was Abdurrahman Wahid, from NU, who believed ICMI would foster divisions within Indonesian society and so established a rival group, the Democracy Forum (Barton 2002: 184-185).

<sup>46</sup> Suharto also went on the *Hajj* pilgrimage and selected a devout Muslim, Feisal Tanjung, as ABRI Chief, which was seen as a move to appeal to the Islamic community as a counterbalance to the military (Aspinall 2005b: 40-41; Bertrand 1996: 331; Ricklefs 2001: 401).

Alongside increasingly prominent media criticism, political rivals also began to challenge Suharto and his regime, especially members of PDI and PRD (Aspinall 2005b).<sup>47</sup> From the late 1980s, PDI became a 'semiopposition' (Aspinall 2005b: 168) and its attempts to assert its own anti-corruption symbol also highlighted the government's lack of action. For example, in 1987, PDI pointedly proposed new anti-corruption and anti-monopoly legislation directed at the President's nepotistic policies (Eklof 2003: 109). The proposal was rejected by Golkar and the military faction within the MPR. PDI's campaigns leading up to the 1992 elections also focused on corruption, collusion and nepotism (*korupsi, kolusi, nepotisme*, KKN) and monopolies (Aspinall 2005b: 175). Furthermore, outspoken PDI politician, Kwik Kian Gie, released a report in 1991 claiming there was an 'alarming mental and moral erosion in almost all of the nation's elite circles,' and in 1992 presented draft legislation for a new economic competition law promoting transparency and a review on monopoly rights. However, no other faction in parliament supported the bill and it was never formally introduced (Eklof 2003: 121).

In 1993, PDI elected Sukarno's daughter, Megawati Sukarnoputri, as its chairperson.<sup>48</sup> Megawati's appointment was recognized as an opportunity to unite opposition against the New Order (Liddle and Mallarangeng 1997: 170).<sup>49</sup> The appointment emboldened PDI members. For example, outspoken PDI legislators sometimes grilled, or even boycotted, government ministers during parliamentary commission hearings and PDI was the only faction in the DPR to condemn the 1994 press bans (Aspinall 2005b: 167). During this period, PRD was also organizing protests and producing publications targeting Suharto and his family, claiming that all social and political problems in Indonesia could be traced back to him (Aspinall 2005b: 138).<sup>50</sup> The growing, and increasingly coordinated, opposition movement prompted a government effort to sabotage Megawati's re-election as PDI chairperson in 1996 (Aspinall 2005b: 178; Eklof 2003: 251). The government supported former PDI chairperson Soerjadi for the position, intimidating party members and using fraud to

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<sup>47</sup> The People's Democratic Party (Partai Rakyat Demokratik), that was born out of the PRD student movement, publicly declared itself a political party in July 1996 (Aspinall 2005b).

<sup>48</sup> Eklof (2003: 207-216) argues that Megawati's rise to the PDI leadership was a complicated affair involving deals with the government and military in return for support, mobilizing her father's reputation, as well as out-manoeuvring other contenders and was, therefore, based on more than outright popularity.

<sup>49</sup> Wanting to build a coalition, PRD members assisted PDI activists via informal channels, sharing with them their mobilization techniques (Aspinall 2005b: 186).

<sup>50</sup> Aspinall (2005b: 138-139) writes that this was denoted by the phrase '*ujung-ujungnya Suharto*' (UUS), roughly translating to "something that can be traced back to Suharto".

secure his nomination and subsequent appointment at an extraordinary party congress in Medan during June 1996 (Aspinall 2005b: 177-184).

While Soerjadi was officially being selected as PDI Chairperson in Medan, Megawati was addressing supporters in Jakarta. Pro-democracy demonstrators that marched through the city following the speech were met by government troops, who assaulted protestors. More than 100 people were injured and over 50 people were detained, sparking more protests throughout the country (Aspinall 2005b: 178). Meanwhile, Megawati's supporters refused to acknowledge Soerjadi's new position, prompting legal action which also spilled over into protests and public rallies (Aspinall 2005b: 188; Ricklefs 2001: 403). The tension came to a head on 27 July 1996, when Megawati's Jakarta PDI office was attacked by thugs said to represent the opposing faction of PDI (but were also found to include military officers out of uniform) and two days of rioting ensued, in which five people died, 149 were wounded and 74 people went 'missing' (Ricklefs 2001: 403). The government later blamed these attacks on the left-wing PRD, with ABRI members claiming it was a reincarnation of the outlawed PKI (Aspinall 2005b: 192). Several PRD leaders were arrested for subversion, however, these arrests were more likely a result of the party's recent success in mobilizing workers' strikes in a number of cities rather than any actual involvement in the riots (Liddle and Mallarangeng 1997: 170). The crackdown on PRD spurred raids on other NGO offices and the detention of activists (Aspinall 2005b: 192; Bird 1998: 169).

The final years of the New Order were characterized by growing dissatisfaction with the regime, including a growing concern over the government's brutality towards its own citizens.<sup>51</sup> Government corruption also attracted significant public discontent (Liddle 1996: 88; Schütte 2009: 83), as the blatant wealth of Suharto's family and cronies grew increasingly obvious.<sup>52</sup> The issue was racialized as many of Suharto's cronies were Chinese-Indonesian, leading to anger amongst 'native' (*pribumi*)

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<sup>51</sup> The situation in East Timor fuelled growing discontent towards the NewOrder amongst human rights activists (Anderson 1999; Ricklefs 2001: 395). Workers' rights also came under scrutiny as the international community developed a tougher stance on working conditions and the brutal death of prominent activist and female worker, Marsinah, highlighted the use of violence to suppress dissent (Ford 2003: 93-94; MacIntyre 1994: 117).

<sup>52</sup> Ricklefs (2001: 402) discusses speculation that after the death of Suharto's wife, Ibu Tien, there were no remaining checks on the money-hungry behaviour of his children, which in turn led to even more flagrant examples of corruption.

entrepreneurs (Crouch 1993: 80).<sup>53</sup> Discontent was intensified by the Asian Financial Crisis.<sup>54</sup> Indonesia's economy had experienced highs and lows in the 1990s, but nothing of the scale of the currency crisis of 1997.<sup>55</sup> Prior to the crisis, the US dollar had been worth approximately Rp. 2,500. By October 1997 it had increased to Rp. 4,000, then Rp. 17,000 in January 1998 (Ricklefs 2001: 404). The dramatic devaluation of the rupiah caused the stock market to plummet, leading numerous businesses to declare bankruptcy, wiping out the savings of the middle class and causing mass unemployment (Wade 1998; Wie 2003: 186-187). The Central Bank provided liquidity injections to flailing banks whose owners borrowed heavily to manage their global portfolios instead of using the funds to stabilize savings and reserves (McLeod and Duncan 2007: 79-80). In another example of growing frustration with the country's leadership, Bird (1998: 174) asserts the credibility of the government sank to new lows after it was revealed that the Minister of Manpower had used USD1.3 million from the workers' social insurance fund to pay for parliamentarians' accommodation and expenses while they were deliberating a new bill on manpower in 1997.

When it became clear that the Rupiah would continue to plummet, the government sought the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, who responded with a USD38 billion rescue package in October 1997 (Bird 1998: 173-174; MacIntyre 1999: 157). However, in spite of agreeing to a number of conditions that required Indonesia to adopt austerity measures, strengthen its financial sector and overhaul the government's role in the economy, Suharto still attempted to block reforms that interfered with the projects of his cronies (Bird 1999: 28; Ricklefs 2001: 404; Sherlock 1998). Nepotism continued, illustrated by the appointment of B.J. Habibie, widely regarded as Suharto's heir apparent, as Vice-President, his daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (commonly known as 'Tutut'), and several close friends, as cabinet ministers when he was re-elected President in March

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<sup>53</sup> For example, in 1994, a number of students from the Muslim Students' Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI) and ICMI staged protests against corruption in the Indonesian Development Bank (Bank Pembangunan Indonesia, Bapindo) after a scandal erupted involving Chinese-Indonesian elites (Aspinall 2005b: 135).

<sup>54</sup> While there were several factors leading to the Asian financial crisis, the immediate cause was the floating of the Baht by the Thai government after it could no longer support the currency's exchange rate. As the value of the Baht dropped significantly, so too did the currencies of neighbouring countries. For further details on the Asian financial crisis and the implications for Indonesia, see Wie (2003) and Hill and Shiraishi (2007).

<sup>55</sup> According to Liddle (1992: 542) the early 1990s witnessed impressive growth and an increase in the annual national budget. In contrast, MacIntyre (1993: 208) argues that there had been some alarm in 1992 at the high levels of national foreign debt and offshore borrowing.

1998. Dissatisfied with Suharto's reforms so far, the IMF mooted a new agreement in April 1998, requiring a raft of new policy reforms accompanied by close monitoring. Soon after, on 4 May 1998, Suharto approved a 70 per cent increase in fuel prices, sparking riots across the country (Bird 1999: 29). Demonstrations against the subsequent price increases led to calls for Reformation (*Reformasi*) (Siegel 1998: 74).

While Suharto attempted to manoeuvre his way through the crisis, soldiers opened fire on protesters on 12 May 1998, killing four student protesters from Trisakti University and injuring several others (Bird 1998: 29). Public outrage at the deaths sparked riots in Jakarta and several other major cities. Suharto family enterprises and those of Chinese-Indonesians became prime targets for arson and looting, with hundreds perishing in shopping mall fires (Aspinall 2005b: 232; Siegel 1998).<sup>56</sup> The riots confirmed the government was unable to maintain rule of law (Aspinall 2005b: 232). Suharto lost not only the support of everyday citizens but also that of the business elite, many of whom fled the country. Political elites also rebelled with 14 cabinet members who had been appointed by Suharto refusing to serve under him. In addition, the military, under Wiranto, withdrew its support for the president and Islamic leaders advised him to resign (Aspinall 2005b: 234-237; Ricklefs 2001: 406-407).<sup>57</sup> Suharto stepped down on 21 May 1998 and was replaced by Vice-President Habibie until new elections could be conducted.

## **Reformasi**

The relatively swift collapse of the New Order regime threw Indonesia into chaos. Recognizing the need to address public demands for increased transparency and accountability, Habibie signed two bills in the immediate post-Suharto period. In May 1998 he signed Law No.28/1999 on the Establishment of a Commission to Examine the Wealth of State Officials (Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara, KPKPN) and in August 1998 he signed Law No.31/1999 on the Eradication of the Crime of Corruption (Butt 2011b: 15; King 2000: 621). These laws authorized investigations into the dealings of politicians and bureaucrats who could be reasonably suspected of corruption, as well as the formation of an anti-corruption commission within two years (Butt 2011b: 15; Crouch 2010: 212-213). The laws

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<sup>56</sup> Chinese-Indonesians, who had been suspected of profiteering from the crisis, were particularly victimized (Elson 2001: 288; Purdey 2006: Chapter 4; Siegel 1998: 76). For a detailed account of anti-Chinese violence in Indonesia between 1996 and 1999, see Purdey (2006).

<sup>57</sup> For further discussion of the fracturing of the elite in the final days of Suharto's presidency, see Aspinall (2005b: 234-238).

were well-received, but the upheaval of the early Reformasi period and the upcoming elections in 1999 soon overshadowed these anti-corruption efforts. As a result, the commission for investigating the wealth of state officials was not set up until January 2001 (Crouch 2010: 213).

Later, in November 1998, the MPR also passed a resolution committing to the investigation of all corruption during the New Order, including Suharto and his family (Bird 1999: 31; Crouch 2010: 200). Although Suharto claimed to have few savings and denied owning offshore bank accounts, in 1995 four of the foundations he controlled were valued at Rp. 2.5 trillion (over USD310 million). In December 1998, seven more foundations were found to be holding 'quintillions of rupiah' (Ricklefs 2001: 409). Subsequent investigations conducted under Habibie's presidency found no evidence to suggest that Suharto's wealth had been gained through inappropriate means (Elson 2001: 295). The 'show' of the investigation was unconvincing, leading to public demand for a more thorough inquiry (Hadiz 2000: 27).

### ***Presidential pressures***

Habibie opted not to run as a presidential candidate in the 1999 general elections.<sup>58</sup> As the field narrowed, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri, who formed her own party called the Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, PDIP) following Suharto's resignation, emerged as the two main contenders for the presidency. Although Megawati's party won the largest share of seats in the national legislature, the MPR chose Wahid as president (Liddle 2000: 33). Wahid benefited from an initial reputation of being 'clean' and recognized, at least rhetorically, that combating KKN should be a government priority (King 2000: 604). He also supported increased public space for media outlets, which could now report openly on corruption scandals in ways that were not possible during the New Order (Hara 2001: 314).

Acknowledging the public pressure to institute reforms across the police force, judiciary and the public prosecutor's office, Wahid sought to portray corruption eradication as a 'central plank' of his administration (Hadiz and Robinson 2014: 49).

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<sup>58</sup> These were the first elections since 1955 in which party representation was not restricted. Several parties participated, the major ones being (in order of votes garnered): PDIP, Golkar, the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB), PPP and the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN). For a full overview of the electoral outcomes, see Liddle (2000).

Accordingly, Wahid established the Joint Team to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption (Tim Gabungan Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi, TGPTPK) as a stop-gap measure while provisions could be made for the establishment of a Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi, KPK). Wahid also established the National Ombudsman's Commission in 2000, with Presidential Decree No.44/2000, tasked with receiving complaints from the public regarding the conduct and decisions of public officials (Sherlock 2002: 367). Moreover, there were attempts to reinvigorate the state audit institutions and improve oversight of government spending (Hamilton-Hart 2001: 73).

These early attempts to combat corruption were met with resistance, particularly as members of the judiciary were a primary target of the TGPTPK. Those seeking to uncover the corrupt activities of the elite were often met with counter-claims of defamation by those they had accused. For example, the case of women's rights activist, Yeni Roslaini, who, after providing legal assistance to a victim of rape, was prosecuted for libel by the accused. During the case, Roslaini contended that the trial had been unfair and the defence had bribed the judges for a favourable ruling.<sup>59</sup> In another example, Endin Wahyudin was sentenced to three months in prison and six months' probation in 2003 after reporting bribery involving three judges in Malang. The judges, who were found not guilty, later sued Wahyuddin for defamation (Butt and Lindsay 2011; *Liputan6* 2003: 199-204).

While Wahid himself appeared committed to fighting corruption, he was not above using corruption accusation for personal political interests. In July 1999, a Golkar election funding scandal came to light involving financial misdealing between Bank Bali and a company named PT Era Giat Prima (EGP).<sup>60</sup> EGP had struck a deal to channel funds from Bank Bali to members of Golkar. The Governor of Bank Indonesia, Syahril Sabarin, who had been appointed by Suharto in 1998, was accused of having knowledge of the dealings. Wahid wanted to appoint his own Bank Indonesia Governor and gave Sabarin the option to either resign or face corruption charges. Refusing to resign, Sabarin was arrested in June 2000 and convicted of corruption in March 2002.<sup>61</sup> Wahid also charged key members of his coalition of corruption so that he could replace them. Hamzah Haz from the United Development Party (Partai

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<sup>59</sup> See Collins (2007: 125-126) for further details of the Roslaini case.

<sup>60</sup> For further explanation of the Bank Bali corruption scandal see Crouch (2010: 207-209), Goodpaster (2002: 95-96) and Hamilton-Hart (2001: 76-77).

<sup>61</sup> This conviction was overturned by the Jakarta High Court in August 2002 (Crouch 2010: 209).

Persatuan Pembangunan, PPP), Laksamana Sukardi from PDIP and Jusuf Kalla from Golkar, were all accused of corruption, although the cases were not investigated and no charges were laid (Liddle 2001: 209).<sup>62</sup> Despite the fact that the accusations remained unsubstantiated, Wahid used them as a basis for dismissal. This strategy backfired with Wahid losing the confidence of his coalition government and subsequently being asked by parliament to account for his actions (Liddle 2001: 209).

Wahid's anti-corruption rhetoric was inconsistent with the ongoing leniency shown towards New Order elites (Barton 2006: 345-346).<sup>63</sup> With a new leadership installed, the public had high hopes that Suharto and his associates would finally be punished for their corruption. Hamilton-Hart (2001: 66) argues that public perceptions were that the financial crisis was intensified by government corruption and that KKN had come to 'symbolise the social costs, inequities and abuses of the Soeharto regime'. Pressure mounted to re-open the investigation into Suharto—legal charges were finally laid against the former president in August 2000 (Elson 2001: 295-296)—but, the charges were dropped in February 2001 as defence lawyers and the ruling judges agreed Suharto was too ill to face trial (Aditjondro 2002; Brown 2003: 243). It was widely known that Wahid always intended to pardon Suharto if he was found guilty, undermining his anti-corruption credentials (Brown 2003: 243; King 2000: 624).

The only child of Suharto's to be tried was Tommy Suharto. As progress in Suharto's case stalled on grounds of illness, Tommy came to represent the excesses of the New Order, with his 'playboy lifestyle' and penchant for luxury vehicles (Tupai 2005). Tommy was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in late 2000 for swindling the State Logistics Agency (Badan Urusan Logistik, Bulog) out of Rp. 95 billion (approximately USD11 million) (Crouch 2010: 202). The 18 month sentence for corruption was seen as being inadequate. He went into hiding after his appeal was rejected and was subsequently implicated in the murder of the chief judge involved in his conviction, Syafiuddin Kartasasmita (Brown 2003: 243; Crouch 2010: 202). Reports of special treatment while in prison and outings to nightclubs continued to

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<sup>62</sup> Kalla went on to become vice-president in 2004, contest the presidency (unsuccessfully) in 2009 and become vice-president again in 2014.

<sup>63</sup> Another example of this was the case of Akbar Tandjung, State Secretary in 1999 and General Chairman of Golkar, who was accused of using government funding intended for social welfare programs to bankroll Golkar's 1999 election campaign (Crouch 2010: 209). Tandjung was accused of diverting Rp. 40 billion (USD4 million) for the party's electoral effort. He was tried in March 2002 and sentenced to three years in prison, however, the conviction was overturned in February 2004 and Tandjung served only a month of his sentence.

feed popular suspicions that the rich remained 'above the law' (Hainsworth 2007).<sup>64</sup> The only other member of the Suharto clan to be charged and jailed for corruption was Suharto's half-brother, Probosutedjo, who was convicted in 2003 for misappropriating Rp. 49 billion (approximately USD5 million) from a government reforestation project (*Kompas* 2001).

Tommy's trial put Wahid in a difficult position. While the president had no control over judicial processes, the lenient sentences were interpreted as further evidence that the new leadership was unwilling to be tough on corruption. Wahid's reluctance to condemn Suharto (and his family) had already disappointed those who believed that bringing New Order corruptors to justice would reflect broader government reform (Liddle 2000: 42). Having already lost the support of most coalition members, Wahid faced increased scrutiny that eventually led to his impeachment. In 2000, allegations of corruption were levelled at Wahid when it appeared that funding given to Bulog by the Sultan of Brunei, which was to be spent in Aceh in order to gain the support of religious leaders in order to halt civil unrest, had been misused (Barton 2006; Liddle 2001: 210). The lack of transparency in Bulog's projects in Aceh cast doubt over how much had actually been spent in the province (Collins 2007: 163; Crouch 2010: 30). Crouch (2010: 30) describes Wahid's use of funding as 'casual' and the use of his personal masseuse as a go-between with Bulog as 'bizarre', leaving him vulnerable to attacks from a parliament that no longer supported his rule.<sup>65</sup> The impeachment process began in February 2001 and Wahid was dismissed from the presidency and replaced by Megawati Sukarnoputri in July 2001.

When Megawati became president twenty months after the 1999 election, she too spoke about the importance of eradicating corruption. She suggested that individuals needed to exercise better moral judgement and resist their greed, rather than implementing institutional changes to address an entrenched problem (Sherlock

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<sup>64</sup> Tommy was later convicted to 15 years in prison for hiring hit men to murder Kartasasmita (Brown 2003: 243). Crouch (2010: 202) outlines the details of the trial, noting that although Tommy Suharto was convicted for ordering the murder he served only four years of his sentence, while the two men found guilty of the actual shooting were sentenced to life in prison and remain in custody. After a number of remissions Tommy was released in 2006, having served just four out of the fifteen years of his prison term (Kingsbury 2007: 157).

<sup>65</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether these acts were deliberate. Ricklefs (2001: 421) argues that Wahid was in fact the victim of rich corruptors who 'circled around the Abdurrahman regime', while Brown (2003: 244) concurs that it was unlikely that Wahid had intentionally embezzled state funds: 'the evidence for Wahid's malfeasance in these two cases is thin; what does seem beyond doubt, though, is that he has proved to be a poor judge of his personal assistants'. Barton (2006), author of Wahid's official biography, is also sympathetic to the leader, portraying his downfall as a 'tragedy'.

2002: 379). Like Wahid, she needed to appease Golkar and the military in order to gain parliamentary support for her leadership.<sup>66</sup> Unlike Wahid, though, she pacified her reluctant supporters rather than confronting them, resulting in the 'stonewalling' of reform efforts (Brown 2003: 272; Sherlock 2002).<sup>67</sup> She also seemed reluctant to openly support TGPTPK investigations.<sup>68</sup> Alongside Megawati's reluctance to act, PDIP gained a reputation for corruption, with members using their new-found authority for their own benefit (Crouch 2010: 32; na Thalang 2005: 330), which may have contributed to this reluctance. Wanandi (2004: 124) contends that members of Megawati's own family were also under suspicion of being involved in corruption (although no arrests have ever occurred). Some in the judiciary and law enforcement agencies also seemed determined to undermine anti-corruption efforts. In March 2001 a team of three Supreme Court judges annulled the law allowing for the TGPTPK altogether.<sup>69</sup> Progress of the Commission to Examine the Wealth of State Officials (Komisi Permeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara, KPKPN) was similarly stifled as it required support from the Police and the Attorney-General's office to mount prosecution against corruption suspects and cooperation between the two was poor (Butt 2011b: 19). The KPKPN only reported eight officials to the police on suspicions of corruption throughout its lifetime. It was subsumed into the KPK in 2003. The lack of progress on issues of corruption across all levels of government was symptomatic of more general criticisms of the Megawati regime as she was derided for lacking vision in guiding the country (Crouch 2010: 32).<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> This also included the installation of Hamzah Haz as vice-president, despite previously being dismissed from Wahid's cabinet on suspicion of corruption and even though he had rejected her presidency in 1999 on the basis that she was a woman (Crouch 2010, 32).

<sup>67</sup> Crouch (2010: 210) contends that Megawati purposefully did not push for the conviction of Akbar Tandjung, leader of Golkar charged with diverting funds from Bulog for Golkar's election campaign in 1999, as allowing him to maintain his position in spite of controversial corruption charges was of political benefit to PDIP. Furthermore, when Megawati's government passed new anti-corruption legislation, which provided for a new commission and courts, several amendments were made to the bills in the parliament, watering them down before they were enacted (Crouch 2010: 34). The court systems were reputed to be run by a 'legal mafia' (*mafia hukum*), who accepted bribes in return for favourable court rulings (Lindsey 1998), and the government had done little to reign them in.

<sup>68</sup> The TGPTPK needed official presidential approval before questioning senior officials, which Megawati rarely granted (Crouch 2010: 215).

<sup>69</sup> Members of the TGPTPK believed there was a conspiracy against the team, later confirmed when a petition was submitted to the Supreme Court to review the statute under which the team had been established. The case led the Supreme Court to annul Law No.31/1999, which was the legal basis for the TGPTPK (Butt and Lindsay 2011: 202-203). The annulment was viewed as an attempt by Supreme Court judges to protect their colleagues (Crouch 2010: 214).

<sup>70</sup> Despite a disinclination to openly support anti-corruption efforts, Megawati signed the Law for the Commission to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption (Law No. 30/2002) in December 2002, paving the way for a new anti-corruption investigative body with broader-ranging powers. The Anti-Corruption Courts (Pengadilan Tindak Pidana Korupsi, Tipikor), however,

### ***The rise of Yudhoyono***

In 2004, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (often referred to as 'SBY') bested Megawati in Indonesia's first direct presidential election.<sup>71</sup> Yudhoyono had served as a cabinet minister for both Wahid and Megawati, but was dismissed by Megawati after she realized that he intended to challenge her for the presidency. As early as 2001 Yudhoyono was involved in the Democratic Party, which later became the electoral vehicle to support his presidential nomination (Crouch 2010: 35; Slater 2004: 64). In the final run-off, which pitted Yudhoyono against Megawati, both candidates pledged that they would combat corruption (Ananta *et al.* 2005).<sup>72</sup> With a poor track record on the issue, Megawati's credibility regarding this promise was questionable. The lack of reforms implemented during her presidency fuelled perceptions that corruption had worsened under her rule (Slater 2004: 64; Wanandi 2004: 116). By contrast, Yudhoyono was able to paint himself as being committed to combating corruption (Ananta *et al.* 2005: 117; Hadiz 2003: 596).<sup>73</sup> With surveys illustrating that the economy, social welfare and corruption eradication were the highest priorities of Indonesian citizens (Aspinall 2005a: 124), support emerged for a new leadership that could reverse the stagnation of earlier years. Reflecting this sentiment, Yudhoyono's Democratic Party gained 7.5 per cent of votes, while PDIP's vote declined from 39 per cent in 1999 to 19 per cent in 2004 (Wanandi 2004: 117).

Yudhoyono won a decisive victory over Megawati in the presidential election's second round run-off, winning 60.6 per cent of the popular vote (Liddle and Mujani 2005: 122). After becoming president, Yudhoyono embarked on a much-lauded anti-corruption drive. He authorized the KPK to investigate senior officials and parliamentarians and in 2004 announced new measures to 'accelerate' the eradication of corruption (Crouch 2010: 217). By 2006, Yudhoyono's anti-corruption drive led to the investigation and/or arrest of at least seven governors, 63 district heads and 13 national parliamentarians (McGibbon 2006: 325). During his first year as president, Yudhoyono signed off on investigations into 57 officials (Crouch 2010: 218). The first Tipikor trial involving former Acehnese governor Abdul Saleh, who

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were not established until October 2004 (Butt 2011b: 32), largely indicative of a general lack of enthusiasm for the body, not least from Megawati and the parliament.

<sup>71</sup> Up until 1999, the president was chosen by the MPR. For a discussion on the transition to direct presidential elections, first held in 2004, see Tan (2006).

<sup>72</sup> Aspinall (2005a: 118) asserts that while the 'dominant discourse of the elections was democratic, against corruption and even pro-'change' (*perubahan*), this was merely an empty rhetorical device intended to mask continued elite dominance'.

<sup>73</sup> A focus group study conducted by Ananta *et al.* (2005: 91) found that Yudhoyono was seen as 'firm' (*tegas*) and participants felt he would be firm in dealing with corruption in Indonesia.

was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in April 2005, was seen as a landmark trial (Crouch 2010: 218). Following this, a slew of high-profile corruption cases were mounted, including some that Megawati had previously refused to approve. Acknowledging the limited resources of the KPK and the anti-corruption courts, Yudhoyono approved the formation of an additional body called the Coordination Team for the Eradication of the Crime of Corruption (Tim Koordinasi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi, Tim Tastipikor). Drawn from the Attorney-General's office, the police and the Finance and Development Board, the team answered directly to the president and brought cases to the ordinary courts instead of the anti-corruption courts. It, too, led some high-profile prosecutions including the case against Megawati's Minister of Religion, Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, who was charged and convicted of embezzling funds designated to assist Indonesian citizens in their pilgrimage to Mecca (Crouch 2010: 219).

Yudhoyono steadfastly supported the KPK and anti-corruption efforts throughout his first term in office (2004–2009). However, as convictions began to mount, critics accused him of focusing on rival parties. Moreover, the investigations did not reach the highest echelons of power in the government and business (Crouch 2010: 38).<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, with his relatively clean background and less involvement in patronage politics than his predecessors, Yudhoyono was able to capitalize on these convictions in order to boost his popularity. There was much praise for his leadership as he was seen as having stabilized the nation's economy after several years of poor economic growth (Sukma 2009: 350), while the country's continued economic growth appeared to spare Indonesia from the worst of the global financial crisis in 2008 (Aspinall 2010: 105). Meanwhile, Yudhoyono's deputy, Jusuf Kalla from Golkar, had brokered a peace

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<sup>74</sup> For example, Yudhoyono faced criticism for granting clemency to Tommy Suharto and reducing his sentence and failing to prosecute him for other crimes as new evidence came to light. Anti-corruption and human rights activists voiced strong opposition to Tommy's parole early in 2006, claiming he had received special treatment due to his position and influence (Cochrane 2006). Tommy has been linked to a number of other corruption scandals, including a court case brought by the state logistics agency against him for USD70 million over a land scam in 1995 in which he used government connections to swap swamp lands in North Jakarta for prime real estate in the heart of Jakarta. The case was dismissed and Tommy was awarded USD630,000 in a counter claim, a decision that angered anti-corruption activists (Quarrata 2008; Thompson 2008). In 2012 allegations came to light that Tommy had received a USD20 million bribe from Rolls Royce in 1990 for the contract to provide airplanes to Indonesia's national carrier Garuda, but he did not face further prosecution (Aditjondro 2002: 14).

agreement in Aceh province after decades of civil unrest dating back to the *Darul Islam* rebellion of the 1950s.<sup>75</sup>

Mobilizing his clean image and commitment to fighting corruption, Yudhoyono and the Democratic Party repeatedly used an anti-corruption symbol in campaign advertisements leading up to the 2009 elections. Recontesting the presidency, Yudhoyono spoke of his ongoing commitment to eradicating corruption, while members of his party appeared in a (now infamous) ‘say “no” to corruption’ campaign on national television campaign.<sup>76</sup> In 2009, with a positive reputation and track record, the Democratic Party increased its number of seats within the national legislature, gaining 93 seats, with a resounding victory for Yudhoyono in the presidential election.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined how a number of political figures in Indonesia attempted to use corruption issues for their own political advantage. The prevalence of corruption reinforced perceived inequalities between privileged elites with access to patronage networks on the one hand and ordinary folk on the other. Leveraging citizens’ discontent with political leadership, anti-corruption rhetoric drew upon these prevailing images of corrupt officials and politicians. The perceptions of injustice associated with corruption have been a consistent rallying point for anti-government sentiment, while promises to seriously address it remain a popular catch-cry for politicians.

Corruption has been a constant part of Indonesia’s political landscape since Dutch colonization. Following Indonesia’s triumph in its battle for independence, the new government that was established seemed to be perpetuating rather than combating corruption. This was true both for the parliamentarians and cabinet members as well as public servants whose remuneration was often viewed as disproportionate to their social standing. Corruption in all branches of government seemed ubiquitous and there was a general perception that those in government were more intent on protecting their own interests than serving the Indonesian people.

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<sup>75</sup> The *Darul Islam* rebellion began in 1953 and aimed to create an autonomous Aceh within a Federal Islamic Indonesian state. For an overview of the long-standing conflict between Acehese separatists and the Indonesian government, which effectively ended with the signing of the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding in 2005, see Aspinall (2009); Kramer (2009).

<sup>76</sup> Further details of this specific advertising campaign can be found in Chapter Four.

As the public came to see corruption as a pervasive political evil, the use of anti-corruption symbols gained traction. From as early as the Sukarno years, purporting to stand against corruption was a popular way for politicians to gain public support from the many people who did not benefit from corruption. The New Order regime attempted to win public support with an early and highly visible anti-corruption drive in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but the lack of meaningful transparency and accountability reforms led to even more public outcry. Though this sentiment dissipated with increased economic development, corruption remained a source of public discontent, at times becoming a rallying point for anti-government protests. Public cynicism towards Suharto reached fever pitch in 1998, when his assertions of being open to reforms promoting accountability and transparency, and that his own family had not benefitted from his position, fell on deaf ears. Indonesians could no longer be persuaded, even with threats of violence and/or imprisonment, to support the regime. After Suharto resigned, new leaders sought to demonstrate that they had broken from the legacies of the New Order. Being 'anti-corruption' was a desirable image. But, in reality, as evidenced by Presidents Wahid, Megawati and Yudhoyono, it proved difficult to maintain.

Of course, anti-corruption rhetoric is not always divorced from action. There are several examples of concrete steps taken by successive governments, particularly during Reformasi, to combat corruption. Laws allowing for the establishment of the KPK and Tipikor, coupled with the efforts of these institutions, led to the arrest and prosecution of a number of suspects, both within the government and the private sector. However, even the most successful rhetoric and anti-corruptions steps can be undone by scandals that contradict the declared values of the party or person. After the disappointments of the early Reformasi, such as the failure to prosecute Suharto and his family satisfactorily, allegations of corruption against President Wahid and Megawati's reluctance to counter the interests of old-school elites, Yudhoyono represented a new hope. The Democratic Party's tough stance on corruption was supported by not only Yudhoyono's words, but also his actions—at least, as far as the public could see—marking this as the pinnacle of the party's popularity. His continued success in 2009 demonstrated a successful maintenance of the anti-corruption symbol. However, corruption issues would surface for the party following its 2009 victory and the significant number of corruption scandals arising throughout Yudhoyono's second term would set the agenda for the 2014 electoral campaigns.



# Chapter Three

## Politics and corruption, 2009–2014

The outcome of the 2009 election reflected continuing support for the incumbent administration, with Golkar and PDIP losing seats to President Yudhoyono's Democratic Party in the national legislature and the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) becoming the most dominant Islamic party in the parliament. Gerindra and Hanura, competing in their first national elections, obtained a small proportion of the vote, but enough to meet the threshold required to secure a presence in the national parliament. While these power shifts gave the Democratic Party-led coalition control of both parliament and the executive, the ensuing five years were far from smooth sailing. Approaching the 2014 election, the Yudhoyono administration had lost much of its popularity, with approval ratings falling steadily from 2011. Many felt that Yudhoyono failed to maintain the vigour with which he had addressed corruption during his first term, contributing to voter disenchantment (Burke and Resosudarmo 2012: 300; Mietzner 2012).

This chapter briefly discusses Indonesia's national legislative elections in 2004 and 2009 before highlighting various corruption-related cases that affected public sentiment towards the government during this period. The chapter underscores the dominance of corruption themes in the public sphere, outlining some of the prominent anti-corruption efforts and corruption scandals during this period. The chapter concludes that the volume of corruption cases and media attention on scandals damaged not only the reputation of particular parties and individuals, but also that of the political system as a whole. This afforded emerging parties the opportunity to present themselves as a newer, cleaner and better alternative in their 2014 electoral campaigns.

### **The 2004 and 2009 elections**

The 2004 national legislative elections were contested by 24 parties. Indonesia's four major parties—Golkar, PDIP, the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, PKB) and the United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan,

PPP)—won the most seats in parliament (Sebastian 2004: 274).<sup>1</sup> However, some minor parties surfaced as serious political contenders, particularly the Democratic Party, led by (soon to be president) Yudhoyono, and PKS. This success was all the more unexpected given the relatively low profiles of both parties prior to the election (Aspinall 2005a). Yudhoyono's Democratic Party received 7.5 per cent of the popular vote in the parliamentary election while PKS garnered 7.34 per cent of the popular vote, a sharp increase from the 1.36 per cent it obtained when it ran as the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan, PK) in 1999.

The emergence of both Yudhoyono and PKS in the 2004 elections reflected a general dissatisfaction with Megawati's presidency and the parliament more broadly (Liddle and Mujani 2005: 125; Sebastian 2004; Wanandi 2004: 117). Drawing upon this discontent, Yudhoyono presented himself as a viable presidential alternative to Megawati, even though his party was significantly less popular than PDIP. By contrast, PKS' success was attributed to a two-fold strategy. On the one hand it focused on grassroots campaigning and targeting new recruits, often by appealing to religious sentiment (Permata 2008). On the other hand, it drew secular appeal by demanding more transparency and accountability in government (Collins and Fauzi 2005; Machmudi 2006). PKS was thus able to exploit growing anti-corruption sentiment amongst the broader population while maintaining an aura of being a conservative Islamic party.

Parties that had not fared well in 2004 faced additional difficulties in 2009. Law No. 3/1999 on General Elections had already precluded parties garnering less than 2.5 per cent of parliamentary seats in the previous election from running in subsequent elections. Law No. 10/2008 on General Elections for the People's Representative Assembly, the Regional Representative Assembly and the Regional House of Representatives put in place stricter eligibility rules for participating in national parliamentary elections (Mietzner 2009; Sherlock 2009a: 11; Sukma 2009). Changes were also made to the way voters could select their representatives. In December 2008 the Constitutional Court ruled that the seats obtained by each party were to be allocated to individuals based on the number of personal votes they garnered, as opposed to the order of candidates' names on the parties' candidate list (Sherlock

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<sup>1</sup> See the Electoral Commission website for full details of the 2004 national legislative election results (Komisi Pemilihan Umum 2009a). The results were contested by some of the smaller parties, with 14 parties refusing to endorse the election results, citing 'election irregularities' (Sebastian 2004: 264).

2009a: 8). This increased competition within parties and led to a number of incumbent DPR-RI members losing their positions to celebrity candidates or other contenders with legitimate local support (Sukma 2009: 321). In addition, Law No. 42/2008 also limited the ability of parties to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates. In 2004, all parties that received over 3 per cent of the popular vote or held 5 per cent of DPR-RI seats were allowed to nominate a presidential candidate (na Thalang 2005: 332; Tan 2006). However, in 2009, parties needed over 20 per cent of the popular vote or 25 per cent of DPR-RI seats in order to nominate a candidate. Party success in the DPR-RI elections became more important than ever, as those failing to pass this threshold were forced to form strategic coalitions with other parties if they wished to put forward a presidential team.

The Democratic Party acquired an additional 93 seats in the DPR-RI in 2009, gaining over 20 per cent of the popular vote. This allowed the party to advance Yudhoyono as their presidential candidate, and Boediono as vice-presidential candidate, without needing to negotiate with other parties. Golkar and PDIP, previously the two most popular parties, both lost several seats compared to their 2004 results, falling to second and third respectively (Aspinall 2005a; Wanandi 2004) (see Table 3.1).<sup>2</sup> While the election saw a general decline in support for Islamic parties, PKS increased its parliamentary share by 12 seats, making it the most influential Islamic party in the national parliament. PKS' success arguably reflected the strong commitment of cadres, providing PKS with consistent support that other Islamic parties simply did not have (Tomsa 2012).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Electoral problems faced during the 2009 election included issues such as: incorrect voter registry, ballots printed incorrectly, a lack of ballots at certain polling booths, ballot papers sent to the wrong provinces and districts and a lack of experienced staff overseeing operations on the ground. For a comprehensive overview of the electoral management problems faced by the KPU see Sukma (2009;2010).

<sup>3</sup> While 2009 saw PKS become the most powerful Islamic party in the national parliament, the result was only marginally better than in 2004. Despite extensive campaigning, in a similar vein to the strategies used for the 2004 elections, the party was unable to pick up votes lost by other Islamic parties (Pepinsky *et al.* 2012; Sukma 2009: 321). This was indicative of an overall shift in votes away from Islamic parties to secular parties. Mietzner (2010: 187) asserts that this was the result of a trend towards 'political centrism,' from both sides of the political spectrum, with secular parties increasingly embracing Islamic values and Islamic parties presenting a more pluralist image.

Table 3.1 **Outcome of national legislative elections, 2009.**

<b>Party</b>	<b>% of popular vote</b>	<b>+/- change in popular vote from 2004</b>	<b>No. of seats in parliament</b>	<b>+/- no. of seats from 2004 election</b>
Democratic Party	20.81	+13.4	148	+93
Golkar	14.45	-7.13	106	-22
PDIP	14.01	-4.5	94	-15
PKS	7.89	+0.54	57	+12
PAN	6.03	-0.43	46	-7
PPP	5.33	-2.83	38	-20
PKB	4.95	-5.63	28	-24
Gerindra	4.46	—	26	—
Hanura	3.77	—	17	—

Source: Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2009b).

Sukma (2009: 320) contends that the increased support for the Democratic Party was more a reflection of Yudhoyono’s popularity and the general satisfaction with his performance, rather than an increase in public affinity for the party itself. His successes provided the party with the grounds to campaign with the party slogan ‘lanjutkan!’ or ‘continue [as before]’ (Aspinall 2010: 106). Voters evidently supported a second Yudhoyono administration, with Yudhoyono and Boediono subsequently receiving over 60 per cent of votes in the first round of the presidential election, easily defeating the pairings of Megawati–Prabowo Subianto and Jusuf Kalla–Wiranto. Though both Megawati and Kalla disputed the outcome of the elections in the Constitutional Court, they were unsuccessful. Yudhoyono’s decisive win meant that there was no need for a second round run-off between the first and second-placed candidates as there had been in 2004 (Aspinall 2010: 111).

Hanura and Gerindra also performed well, competing for the first time in the national elections. Although the number of votes received was relatively low—Hanura only gained 3.77 per cent and Gerindra gained 4.46 per cent—both passed the 3.5 per cent threshold required to take up seats in the DPR-RI. Their performance was impressive when compared to that of established Islamic parties, which did not fare much better

despite having more prominent public profiles.<sup>4</sup> With a foot in the door of the DPR-RI, these two new parties could work towards improving their results in the 2014 elections.

### ***An unstable coalition***

Several scholars have argued that the elections of 2009 demonstrated the on-going success of democratic consolidation in Indonesia (see, for example, Mietzner 2010; Sukma 2009; von Luebke 2010). However, in the following years, some suggested that the reform process had stagnated (Mietzner 2012; Tomsa 2010).<sup>5</sup> One explanation for this was the diversity of the ruling coalition in the national legislature formed by the president. Following the parliamentary elections, Yudhoyono convinced Golkar, PKS and most other minor parties to form a coalition government (often dubbed the 'Rainbow Coalition') with the Democratic Party, leaving PDIP, Gerindra and Hanura in opposition (Aspinall 2010; Tomsa 2010). The President assigned most of the 34 ministerial cabinet positions along coalition lines, with six going to the Democrats, four to PKS and three to Golkar (Aspinall 2010: 110). Non-party members were assigned to the remaining positions (*Jakarta Post* 2009b). Concerns about the efficacy of such a grand coalition, given the disparate interests of the parties involved, turned out to be well-founded (Sherlock 2009b). Divergent political interests of coalition partners began to manifest themselves through visible disagreements. Less than a year into Yudhoyono's second term there was a cabinet

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<sup>4</sup> The results for these new parties as seemingly at the expense of the more established parties of Golkar and PDIP (Ufen 2010: 284). However, as Tomsa (2009) argues, the results of the election were probably disappointing for Hanura and Gerindra in light of the large financial investment allegedly made by each party. Gerindra's leader, Prabowo, was rumoured to have spent over USD100 million on his media campaign (Tomsa 2009), while Hanura certainly had enough financial backing to ensure it was highly visible (Ufen 2010: 282). KPU audits from 2009 report that Hanura's campaign budget was Rp. 19 billion and Gerindra's was approximately Rp. 308 billion (Komisi Pemilihan Umum 2009c). However, there were suspicions that these figures did not reflect the true amount invested in campaigns (Mietzner 2007: 258; Siswanto and Susila 2009).

<sup>5</sup> For example, arguing that local elections were expensive and prone to money politics, Yudhoyono, supported legislation to end the direct elections of government leaders and for them to be chosen by local legislative councils instead of voters, reversing legislation passed in 2004 (Mietzner 2012: 122). Mietzner (2012: 123) argues that these plans defied popular opinion, with 2011 polling suggesting that 66 per cent of respondents were in favour of direct elections at the provincial level. Furthermore, the proposal was lambasted by a number of provincial heads (Buehler 2012). The unpopular bid was temporarily shelved in 2012, only to be revived in July 2013, when the Minister of Interior reiterated the disadvantages of direct gubernatorial elections. It was raised again in 2014, just prior to the end of Yudhoyono's term, though by this time the political landscape had changed and the president's attitude to the changes was unclear. The Democratic Party boycotted the parliamentary vote but the bill to end direct elections for provincial leadership passed, supported by the new Merah Putih (Red and White) Coalition, which had formed after the 2014 legislative election and included Golkar and Gerindra (Asril 2014b; Puspita 2014).

reshuffle in response to decreasing public approval (Kimura 2012: 188-189). Although there was speculation that the reshuffle was a form of revenge against Golkar and PKS for voting against the Democratic Party in parliament, the cabinet representation of both these parties remained relatively unchanged, with only PKS losing a ministerial position (Mietzner 2012: 121). Some postulated that the reshuffle represented the President's own form of patronage politics, with a number of controversial appointees appearing to have been rewarded for personal loyalty to Yudhoyono (Kimura 2012: 189).<sup>6</sup>

### **Corruption and anti-corruption as political themes**

Scandal, especially corruption cases, dominated Indonesian politics between 2009 and 2014 (Amiruddin 2012; Kramer 2013). A sense of disappointment was evident in public and media discourse, driven by the failure of political parties to address corruption effectively and improve transparency, even within their own parties.<sup>7</sup> Yet, even when facing allegations of corruption, parties used corruption scandals involving their rivals to their political advantage. Several members of the political elite owned media franchises (Tapsell 2010; Winters 2014) and used their newspapers, radio, television and internet vehicles to deride political opponents and underscore the government's lack of progress in eradicating corruption. The media highlighted many corruption cases during the period, illustrating that corruption was wide-reaching and concerned all arms of government. These cases reflected not only continuing problems with governance and the rule of law, but also the absence of generational change that had been anticipated with the new wave of post-Reformasi civil servant recruits.<sup>8</sup> Political commentators and anti-corruption activists alike had

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<sup>6</sup> Intra-coalition clashes over the cessation of fuel subsidies were also divisive. In January 2012, parliament voted against a proposal to make subsidized fuel available only for public transport, motorcycles and fishing vessels and a motion to end subsidies for fuel sale to private cars in Greater Jakarta (Mahi and Nazara 2012). When the bill was reintroduced in 2013, the most controversial opposition came from the PKS, which not only refused to back its coalition partners, but began a counter-campaign, urging citizens to attend demonstrations against the fuel price increases. PKS' rejection of the bill was seen as a populist move and the party was accused of trying to appeal to voters in the face of damaging publicity related to corruption scandals (Chen and Priamarizki 2013).

<sup>7</sup> This was reflected by a number of articles that highlighted how ongoing corruption and a lack of transparency continue to impact democratic change in Indonesia. See Kimura (2012) for further details.

<sup>8</sup> For example, an editorial in *Kompas* laments the focus on materialism and wealth amongst young Indonesians that was leading them to follow the corrupt practices of the previous generations (*Kompas* 2011). Another article highlights that the Centre for Reporting and Analysing Monetary Transactions (Pusat Pelaporan dan Analisis Transaksi Keuangan, PPATK) had found at least 10 young civil servants (under the age of 35) with assets worth billions of rupiah and suspected that there were many more (*Seputar Indonesia* 2011).

hoped that post-Reformasi youth taking over from old guard civil servants would bring with them new ideals that would discourage involvement in corruption. However, these hopes faded when young politicians indicted for corruption were joined by young public servants also charged with graft-related crimes. A rash of corruption cases within the bureaucracy confirmed that anti-corruption measures had failed to rein in civil servants, police officers and judges.

This section discusses some of the most prominent corruption cases of this period, demonstrating that corruption remained a prominent political theme from 2009 to 2014. The incessant media coverage of these cases saw that corruption remained squarely in the public eye and scrutiny of the characters involved in these cases fostered negative sentiments towards those in parliament who had previously promised to fight corruption wholeheartedly. Conversely, the conviction of several defendants promoted public support for the KPK's work as an institution committed to combating corruption regardless of ambivalent government support and in spite of the (perceived) light sentences handed down by judges, which were often less than requested by prosecutors. As such, attacks on the much-lauded KPK by some parliamentarians and members of the police force sparked outrage from citizens.

### ***Attacks on the KPK***

Following its establishment in 2003, the KPK developed a reputation for tenacity after several successful convictions for corruption.<sup>9</sup> It became one of Indonesia's most respected institutions, enjoying strong support from citizens (Butt 2011a: 384; Schütte 2013). However, this success also made it a target for elites who were intent on maintaining the status quo. From 2009, there were concerted attempts to undermine the legitimacy of the KPK, primarily by attacking its leadership. In May 2009 the Chief of the KPK, Antasari Azhar, was arrested for murder, accused of ordering the assassination of a prominent businessman, Nasruddin Zulkarnaen, who was shot in the head on 14 March 2009 (Aspinall 2010: 114; Butt 2011b: 72). It was alleged that Antasari had become romantically involved with Nasruddin's third wife,

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<sup>9</sup> It was estimated that, in 2001 alone, the commission recovered Rp. 139.8 billion as a result of successfully prosecuting 31 cases (Aspinall 2010: 114). After the KPK's inception, Indonesia's ranking on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index improved dramatically (Aspinall 2010: 114). In 2001, Indonesia ranked poorly in the Index as the third-most corrupt country in the world, whereas in 2009 it was ranked 111 out of 180 countries. In 2013 it fell slightly to number 114 out of 177 countries, ranking better than 62 other countries (Transparency International 2013). The fall, possibly a reflection of diminishing confidence as a slew of corruption cases came to light after 2009, still reflected an improvement from its position in 2001.

who, in turn, had decided to blackmail Antasari with this information. Butt (2011b: 88-89) contends that the case against Antasari was far from iron-clad and that his involvement in the murder remains unclear, with the evidence put forward during the trial being 'weak, unreliable or contradictory'. Nevertheless, the South Jakarta District Court found Antasari guilty and he was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.<sup>10</sup> The case led to calls from some political elites to reduce the KPK's powers, or to abolish it altogether (Aspinall 2010: 115).<sup>11</sup>

Towards the end of 2009, in the wake of the Antasari controversy, the KPK became a battleground for anti-corruption activists who accused other government bodies, including the national police and public prosecutor's office, of a high-level conspiracy to weaken the KPK (Aspinall 2010: 113; Sukma 2009: 332-333). The conflict allegedly stemmed from the Bank Century case.<sup>12</sup> The head of the police force's criminal investigations unit, Susno Duadji, (who was later jailed for corruption) was suspected of intervening in the bailout of Bank Century on behalf of businessman Budi Sampoerna, in return for a USD 1 million kickback (Kurniadi 2009). The KPK acted upon these suspicions, tapping the telephone of Susno to investigate his involvement. The inquiry into a top-level police officer presented a threat to the power of the police elites, prompting an alleged plot to undermine the KPK.

In September 2009, Yudhoyono formally suspended two KPK Deputy Commissioners, Bibit Samad Rianto and Chandra M. Hamzah, from the KPK after the police named them as suspects in their own corruption investigation. Subsequently, the pair were arrested and charged with abuse of power and extortion in relation to Anggoro Widjojo, a businessman who was being investigated by the KPK for bribing the head of the DPR-RI's Forestry Commission in October 2009 (Butt 2011b: 91; *Jakarta Post*

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<sup>10</sup> In 2011, Antasari filed an appeal with the Supreme Court which was rejected due to lack of new evidence. However, in March 2013 Antasari lodged a second judicial review with the Constitutional Court which ruled in his favour in March 2014, stating that he could mount a second appeal to his conviction. As of November 2014, Antasari had an appeal in the Tangerang District Court, claiming that evidence in the case had been tampered with. For more details see Saragih (2014).

<sup>11</sup> While it is difficult to identify exactly which individuals wanted to weaken the KPK, some members of the DPR-RI were described as 'understandably keen to curtail [the KPK's] power given that the KPK arrested some of their colleagues on corruption charges' (Sukma 2009: 137). As an independent body, detractors argued that the KPK was a power unto itself that did not have to report to other law enforcement agencies. There was also speculation that the KPK would be stripped of the capacity to prosecute and wire-tap suspects. While this did not eventuate, the debate surrounding its powers and its lack of accountability drew further attention to the commission and its leadership. See Butt (2011a) for further details.

<sup>12</sup> 'Centurygate' will be discussed later in this chapter.

2009a). A recording was later produced in which Widjojo admitted that he had bribed members of the KPK to halt the investigation into his personal finances. There was no evidence that these accusations referred to Bibit or Chandra, but the police used them, alongside other circumstantial evidence, to charge the pair with extortion (Butt 2011b: 90-91).<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, Bibit and Chandra challenged their suspension on constitutional grounds, arguing they had the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty. An injunction to the suspension was granted and, while the legality of this was debateable, the hearing allowed a number of KPK wire-tapped recordings to be played during the proceedings (Butt 2011b: 99-102). These recordings included conversations between some of Indonesia's most senior law enforcement officials disclosing plans to frame the pair, aiming to ruin the KPK's reputation (Jansen 2010). Upon hearing the recordings, the Constitutional Court declared Bibit and Chandra the victims of a set-up and ordered their reinstatement (Butt 2011b: 102).

Prior to the Constitutional Court's ruling, there was an enormous public outcry at the arrest of the two deputy commissioners, particularly after Susno Duadji likened the KPK's conflict with the police to a gecko trying to fight a crocodile, an image subsequently adopted by civil society activists and the media in their support for the KPK (Aspinall 2010: 116).<sup>14</sup> Public commentary via social media outlets such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter helped rally support and raise public awareness of the case (Lim 2013). For example, Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) used Facebook to organize a march in Jakarta, attracting over 5000 people. Though the media reduced the narrative of the case to a simplistic battle of 'good' (KPK) versus 'evil' (old elites) (Lim 2013: 644), the on-going public support enhanced the standing of the KPK, now one of the most trusted institutions in the country (Agustia and Manggiasih 2010). As the movement to defend the KPK grew, the anti-corruption commitment of Indonesia's leaders and law enforcement bodies was tested. The government's response, particularly that of Yudhoyono, was lambasted on social media, with public assertions that the government was complicit in weakening the KPK. With mounting criticism, Yudhoyono was forced to act and established an independent team, known as the 'Team of Eight', to investigate the allegations against Bibit and Chandra and the handling of the case by the police. The team produced

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<sup>13</sup> A detailed description and analysis of the case against Bibit and Chandra and the subsequent events of the indictment can be found in Butt (2011) *Corruption and Law in Indonesia*, Chapter Five.

<sup>14</sup> The gecko (*cicak*) versus crocodile (*buaya*) analogy is an Indonesian equivalent of the Biblical tale of David and Goliath. Aspinall (2010: 113) asserts that the movement drew public support at the level of the protests that saw the resignation of Suharto in 1998.

findings and recommendations for the President, suggesting that several senior police officers be dismissed (including Susno) and that the charges against Bibit and Chandra be dropped.

Although there were far more arrests for corruption under Yudhoyono's leadership than any other president, the gecko versus crocodile case exposed Yudhoyono's own concerns over the powers of the KPK (Sukma 2009: 332). The President even commented that the KPK seemed accountable only to God and such power should not go unchecked (Butt 2011b: 93). There were also criticisms that Yudhoyono had only become involved in the case when his own reputation was jeopardized by rising public dissatisfaction (Aspinall 2010: 117). As a consequence, while the KPK may have emerged unscathed, Yudhoyono's reluctance to defend the KPK weakened his anti-corruption symbol in the eyes of Indonesian citizens (Fealy 2011; Kimura 2012; Mietzner 2012; Tomsa 2010).

### ***Centurygate***

Early tensions within the coalition parliament were brought to the fore by the Bank Century bailout scandal, which implicated Vice-President Boediono and the Minister for Finance, Sri Mulyani, one of Yudhoyono's closest aides. Also known as 'Centurygate', the case involved a government-approved bailout of Rp. 6.7 trillion for the privately-owned Bank Century, under what Golkar claimed were suspicious circumstances. The bailout package was allegedly far larger than required and there were indications that a substantial proportion was siphoned off and used for political purposes, including electoral campaigns (Soesatyo 2012). Several Golkar and PKS members successfully lobbied for a parliamentary inquiry into the bailout, even though adverse findings would reflect poorly on the Democratic Party. Regardless of the legitimacy of the inquiry, it appeared that the case was being employed by Golkar and PKS who were keen to 'settle old scores', especially with Mulyani, who was a known reformist and a 'thorn in the side' of Golkar (Tomsa 2010: 311).<sup>15</sup> Patunru and von Luebke (2010: 11-12) surmise that many parties, both opposition and those in the coalition, stood to benefit from the Bank Century case. For Islamic coalition

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<sup>15</sup> Mulyani had repeatedly clashed with Golkar chairman Aburizal Bakrie, a prominent business tycoon, over tax evasion and his company's involvement in the Lapindo mudflow disaster (Kimura 2011: 187; Tomsa 2010: 312). The Lapindo mudflow disaster occurred in Sidoarjo, East Java, allegedly as a result of drilling by the company PT Lapindo Brantas, in which the Bakrie family owned a controlling stake. The disaster had grave environmental and economic impacts upon local residents and efforts to deal with the disaster and compensate victims were heavily criticized. For further discussion see McMichael (2009).

partners, it was an opportunity to attack Vice-President Boediono and press for a more 'Islam-friendly' replacement. The case also gave opposition parties an opportunity to undermine the anti-corruption image that Yudhoyono had spent so many years fostering.

On 3 March 2010, the parliamentary inquiry found that there had been an abuse of power in the bailout and recommended that Mulyani and Boediono be investigated by the KPK. The KPK took up the case, but Mulyani and Boediono were not identified as primary suspects, with Mulyani only being questioned in May 2013 (Setuningsih 2013c). While calls to 'solve' Centurygate continued to resound amongst anti-corruption activists and other parties up to the 2014 elections, Golkar's interest waned after Mulyani resigned from her position as Finance Minister in May 2010 to become Managing Director of the World Bank in Washington D.C. (Kimura 2011: 188; Tomsa 2010: 313). Days after Mulyani resigned, Golkar chairman, Aburizal Bakrie, was appointed chair of a new joint secretariat aimed at improving the coherence and cooperation between coalition members. The move was regarded as a triumph for Bakrie and a demonstration of his political clout in the wake of Mulyani's departure (Kimura 2011: 188; Tomsa 2010: 314).<sup>16</sup> DPR-RI representatives from most of the Rainbow Coalition partners stopped pursuing the case once Sri Mulyani resigned as Finance Minister in May 2010. The scandal died down between 2010 and 2011, but the case remained an ongoing irritant for Yudhoyono during his second term.

A vocal minority of opposition parliamentarians, however, continued attacking Yudhoyono and his government for their lack of action on Centurygate (Aritonang 2013; McBeth 2013; Patunru and von Luebke 2010: 12). In response, the new Chairperson of the KPK, Abraham Samad, vowed in 2011 to prioritize the resolution

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<sup>16</sup> However, while aiming to improve communication and unity amongst coalition members, the joint secretariat was unable to prevent ongoing public disagreements within the coalition. For example, in 2010, Golkar proposed to confer Rp. 15 billion on each DPR-RI member to be spent on development projects in their constituencies (Tomsa 2010: 315). Although the proposal was conditionally supported by PDIP, Golkar's partners in the ruling coalition rejected the proposal. Islamic parties, in particular, argued that the money would likely be used for money politics and vote-buying and that it blurred the lines between legislative and executive power (Maulia 2010). Surprised by this opposition, in September 2010 Golkar threatened to block the government's planned state budget for 2011 if the 'aspiration fund' was not accepted. Golkar legislator and House Deputy Speaker, Priyo Budi Santoso, was quoted as saying: 'The government is being very mean by not giving us a chance to discuss it. Don't forget that just as they can tear down our proposal, Golkar can also tear down their proposal for the state budget' (*Jakarta Globe* 2010). However, following public outcry against the proposal, including campaigns on Twitter and Facebook, the proposal was dropped (Kimura 2011: 189).

of the case (*Jakarta Post* 2011; Suhartono 2012). Media coverage of Centurygate intensified again in August 2012 when former KPK chief Antasari Azhar, by then in prison for murder, alleged that Yudhoyono had met a number of other high profile officials in October 2008 to discuss the legal ramifications of the Bank Century bailout. Antasari accused the President of personally approving the bailout plan, contradicting statements from the President himself, who claimed that he had left the approval to the Finance Ministry (Gunn 2013: 120). Antasari's allegations were denied by several high-ranking people, including Hatta Rajasa, then-Coordinating Minister for the Economy and leader of the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional, PAN), and Denny Indrayana, the Deputy Minister for Law and Human Rights.<sup>17</sup> The revival in media attention created renewed pressure for convictions in the case.

In December 2012, the KPK named former Bank Indonesia Deputy Governor Budi Mulya as a criminal suspect for abusing his power in approving a short term loan to Bank Century even though it was not technically eligible for one.<sup>18</sup> But, even with a potential conviction to be had, opposition groups in the DPR-RI continued to voice disappointment. Some politicians, particularly from the Coalition, accused the KPK's Asset Recovery Team of being a waste of government money because it had not been able to recoup much of the losses to the state from this case (Waskita 2013a). In July 2014, Mulya was convicted of causing losses to the State and receiving a Rp. 1 billion in kickbacks. However, while the prosecution had requested a 17 year sentence and a Rp. 800 million fine, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and fined Rp. 500 million (*BBC Indonesia* 2014; Mahmudah 2014). The sentence was criticized by many in the government, including the existing Bank Indonesia leadership and the Minister for Finance, who claimed that Budi had acted within the law and that his superiors, if anyone, should be prosecuted (Galih 2014a;b).<sup>19</sup> Investigations by the KPK recommenced in Yudhoyono's final year in office (2014), particularly into the role of

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<sup>17</sup> For examples of media coverage see *Berita Satu* (2012) and Sundari (2012). Speculation about Yudhoyono's denial was typified in a *Tempo* (2012) editorial, which ventured that the President's swift denial was indicative of deeper concerns: 'Oddly enough, the President seemed to feel the need to reinforce the denial. It created the sense that the issue is very worrying for the President', such that even issuing a denial of involvement spurred further speculation of his role in Centurygate.

<sup>18</sup> *Antara News* (2013b) reports: 'Budi Mulya was named a suspect in December, 2012 on charge of abusing his power by approving a short term loan facility (FPJP) for the ailing Bank Century although it was not eligible for it. The Supreme Audit Board said Bank Indonesia changed a regulation it made itself to allow Bank Century to get the loan facility'.

<sup>19</sup> The election in 2014 of a new president (Jokowi) sparked renewed public calls for investigation into Centurygate (Akuntono 2014; Faizal 2014). However, at the time of writing there had been no further developments in the investigation.

Vice-President Boediono in Cenutrygate (Asril 2014c; Setuningsih *et al.* 2014), but no charges were laid.<sup>20</sup>

### ***The driving simulator procurement case***

Between 2009 and 2014, several corruption scandals, in addition to Centurygate, undermined the reputation of the police force (Schütte 2012: 39-40). One particularly prominent case involved alleged graft in the procurement of driving simulators for the traffic police in 2011. At the centre of the case was former traffic police chief, Djoko Susilo, who was accused of accepting bribes in return for contracts to provide the simulators. When irregularities in the procurement process were detected in 2012, both the police and the KPK launched investigations. In late July 2012, the KPK raided the former headquarters of the traffic police, sparking outrage from some police leaders (Aritonang and Dewi 2012). Then in August 2012, the KPK announced that it had interviewed dozens of witnesses in connection with the case. At the same time, the police criminal investigation team also claimed they were interrogating witnesses, focusing their suspicions on two of Susilo's personal assistants (Parabueq and Rosarians 2012). The police named Susilo as a witness in the case rather than a suspect, while the KPK believed he had masterminded the plot (Rosarians 2012). The case evolved into another conflict between the KPK and the police force, with the two institutions attempting to assert their authority to investigate the case.

Three months later, the police filed a civil lawsuit against the KPK relating to a raid it had conducted on police offices, contending that the KPK had caused Rp. 425 billion worth of material losses and Rp. 6 billion worth of non-material damages. They argued that their own investigation had been undermined by the KPK seizing crucial documents (*Jakarta Post* 2012b).<sup>21</sup> In the same month, the police recalled investigators seconded to the KPK. This strategy backfired when some investigators refused to comply with the order. One investigator, Novel Baswedan, was the victim of a police smear campaign, with the police trying to arrest him at the KPK offices for

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<sup>20</sup> As quoted from *The Jakarta Globe*, 13 September 2013: 'A widely held belief among legislators and critics of the Rp. 6.7 trillion bailout of Bank Century is that the decision was made to protect depositors with close links to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the Democrats' chief patron.' (Sihaloho 2013a). *The Jakarta Globe* also wrote that 'critics contend [the bailout] was far too costly and politically manipulated to rescue depositors linked to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Democratic Party' (Amelia 2013a). It was also alleged that Yudhoyono's parents-in-law were beneficiaries of the deal along with a number of other wealthy Indonesians (Guntensperger 2009).

<sup>21</sup> The civil suit subsequently seemed to 'disappear', with no outcomes having been made public.

his alleged involvement in shooting suspects in 2004 while serving in Bengkulu (Pramudatama *et al.* 2012). Instead of providing police with leverage over the KPK, Baswedan was depicted in the media as a hero who had chosen to defy the corrupt police leadership. Following an attempt by police to storm the KPK building and arrest Baswedan, anti-corruption activists staged a vigil around the KPK office to prevent further attempts by the police to raid the premises (*Jakarta Globe* 2012a).

The police further thwarted KPK's investigation by refusing to submit evidence relating to the purchase of driving simulator equipment to the KPK, claiming the investigation was their jurisdiction. The legislation that had established the KPK shed little light on the delineation of responsibilities between the two institutions and neither looked set to acquiesce to the other, even though public support lay squarely with the KPK (McRae 2013: 299). After being criticized for his silence, Yudhoyono was forced to intervene, declaring the KPK responsible for the investigation, but also stressing the importance of cooperation between the two bodies (Gunn 2013: 120; *Jakarta Post* 2012c). On 8 October 2012, the President ordered the police to hand the investigation over to the KPK and refrain from interfering with the progress of the case (*Jakarta Globe* 2012b). The police chose not to comply immediately, continuing to pursue the case against Baswedan and refusing to hand over documents relating to the investigation. In response, the KPK signed a memorandum of understanding with the Army for on-going support in investigating corruption within the police force, compelling the police to respect the president's directive (Rastika 2012).

Acting on its authority, the KPK named Susilo as a suspect and he was arrested on 4 December 2012 (Febriyan 2012).<sup>22</sup> Following an investigation, the KPK identified over Rp. 200 billion worth of graft related assets linked to Susilo (Setuningsih 2013a). In addition, it was alleged that he had used his several marriages to hide his wealth, most sensationally marrying a 19 year old beauty queen when he was 48 and reportedly giving her a dowry of Rp. 15 billion (Jong 2013b). In September 2013 Susilo was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment and a Rp. 500 million fine. This was less than the prosecution's demand that he be imprisoned for 18 years and that he be barred from participating in elections both as a voter and a candidate, thus disappointing those who had hoped that a harsh punishment this case would deter other police officers from corruption (Suharman 2013). However, the sentence was

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<sup>22</sup> Once the KPK arrests a suspect the case is legally required to go to court under Law No. 30/2002 on the Commission to Eradicate the Crime of Corruption (Republic of Indonesia 2002).

subsequently increased to 18 years' imprisonment, a Rp. 32 billion fine and the removal of his political rights when Susilo appealed the decision in the Supreme Court (Amelia 2013b).

### ***The case of Gayus***

In July 2009, 30 year old tax office bureaucrat Gayus Tambunan made national headlines as evidence mounted that he had engaged in embezzlement and money laundering on behalf of large Indonesian corporations (*Jakarta Post* 2012a; McLeod 2011b: 7; Ranfurly 2011). The scandal highlighted problems in several state institutions including the tax office, police force, judiciary and immigration office. It also illustrated that generational change would not solve corruption problems. As the case unfolded, Gayus threatened to implicate many more tax officials, thereby focusing attention upon the poor performance of the tax office and the difficulties of cleaning up bureaucratic institutions with significant opportunities to engage in corruption, often referred to as *basah* (literally 'wet') departments or directories (Baird and Wihardja 2010: 144).

Gayus was initially accused of money laundering when he was found to have over USD 3 million in his bank account in 2009 (Kimura 2012; McLeod 2011b). He was charged but acquitted by the Tangerang District Court in March 2010 (McLeod 2011b: 8). Gayus was again arrested on 31 March 2010 at a hotel in Singapore and brought back to Indonesia after Susno Duadji, of *cicak vs buaya* fame, claimed that Gayus had paid two police officers to broker his acquittal (*Antara News* 2010; Baird and Wihardja 2010: 145; Kimura 2012: 187). Gayus subsequently admitted that he had accepted bribes from a number of large companies, including some belonging to Aburizal Bakrie, political hopeful and former chairperson of the Indonesian conglomerate the Bakrie Group (McLeod 2011b; Saragih 2010). At the same time, he was indicted for obstructing justice by bribing judges to obtain an acquittal in his previous court case, though in the end he was not charged with bribing the police officers. In January 2011, the South Jakarta District Court found him guilty of accepting bribes, sentencing him to seven years in prison and a Rp. 300 million fine, which was deemed controversial for its leniency.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Onlookers at the trial were said to have booed and yelled at the judges in disappointment at the light sentence (Ramadhan 2011).

The most sensational aspect of the case emerged in September 2010 when Gayus was photographed at a Bali tennis tournament while he was supposed to be in police detention in Jakarta (McLeod 2011b). Widely published in the media, the photographs led to revelations that, having bribed his jailers, Gayus had travelled domestically and internationally— including to Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Macao—on a false passport while awaiting the outcome of his second judicial appeal (Kimura 2012: 187).<sup>24</sup> In March 2012, he was tried again by the Anti-Corruption Court for accepting bribes, money laundering and bribing police officers (Firdaus 2012). Having amassed approximately 28 years of cumulative prison time and additional fines, Gayus lodged an appeal in August 2013. The Supreme Court upheld the decisions of the various courts. Furthermore, since the sentences were handed down by different courts, his overall sentence could not be commuted and he was required to serve all his prison terms consecutively rather than concurrently (Natahadibrata 2013).

### ***The travellers' cheque scandal***

The Travellers' Cheque scandal caught public attention not only because of the flamboyant characters involved, but also because it exposed a pervasive culture of bribery in parliament. At the centre of the incident was Nunun Nurbaeti, wife of a PKS politician, who was accused of distributing approximately Rp. 20.65 billion in travellers' cheques to members of the DPR-RI Commission XI, who were responsible for electing the nation's Reserve Bank leadership.<sup>25</sup> In return, they were asked to appoint Miranda Goeltom as deputy chairperson of the Bank of Indonesia. While the bribes were said to have been paid in 2004, the case only came to the attention of the public in 2009 when the KPK publicly identified four parliamentarians as suspects in the case.<sup>26</sup> By March 2010, 39 parliamentarians from PDIP, PPP and Golkar had been charged for accepting bribes from Nurbaeti (Rayda 2010).<sup>27</sup>

Nurbaeti absconded once her status as a suspect was publicized, claiming that she was suffering from memory lapses that required specialist treatment in Singapore.

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<sup>24</sup> He was later sentenced to an additional two years' imprisonment for using a false passport (Kimura 2012: 187).

<sup>25</sup> Within the DPR-RI there are 11 commissions responsible for managing parliamentary business in relation to various aspects of the state's affairs. Commission XI is responsible for matters relating to finance, development planning and banking. For further details see DPR-RI (2014b).

<sup>26</sup> These suspects were identified as lawmakers Dhudie Makmum Murod from PDIP, Endin AJ Soefihara from PPP, as well as former lawmakers Hamka Yandhu from the Golkar Party and Udju Juhaeri from the police and military faction (*Jakarta Globe* 2009).

<sup>27</sup> This number was revised to 24 in September 2010 (Hapsari 2010).

She was recognized while out shopping in Bangkok and was extradited to Indonesia in December 2011. The media focused on the life of luxury she led while hiding from Indonesian authorities (Kramer 2013: 66).<sup>28</sup> Even with the resolution of the case—most of the politicians accused were tried and found guilty, while Goeltom received a three-year prison sentence and Nurbaeti received two and a half years—it remains unclear who funded the bribes and what interests they served. Goeltom has maintained her innocence, asserting that she had no connection with the bribes paid for her appointment and did not know where the money came from (Pramudatama 2012).

The Travellers' Cheque scandal, involving parties from both the ruling coalition and the opposition, highlighted the institutionalized nature of corruption within the DPR-RI. The case was used strategically by those not involved to discredit those who were. This proved a useful tactic for the Democratic Party which had a number of members implicated in other corruption cases at the time. Marzuki Alie, leader of the DPR-RI and Democratic Party member, urged all parliamentarians suspected of accepting bribes to resign, stating that it was hypocritical of them to demand others accused of corruption to step down before trial when they would not do so themselves (Munawwaroh 2010). In March 2010, leading up to trials of the accused politicians, Megawati, leader of the PDIP—one of the parties involved—defended her party's members, stating that all defendants are innocent until proven guilty and deriding the politicization of corruption cases (Simatupang 2010). In addition to the fantastical nature of Nurbaeti's capture and the intrigue surrounding who had supplied the travellers' cheques, this politicking saw the scandal draw even more attention to the culture of corruption in parliament.

### ***Corruption in the Directorate General of Customs and Excise***

In October 2013, the media reported the arrest of a prominent customs official, the Sub-Director for the Export Directorate, Heru Sulastyono, who was accused of accepting bribes and money laundering. Heru had allegedly received Rp. 11 billion in return for assisting companies to evade paying tax between 2005 and 2007 (Perdani 2013b; *Tempo* 2013b). Investigations later revealed transactions into his personal bank account totalling over Rp. 60 billion between 2009 and 2011, and that he owned five houses (Perdani 2013a). The revelations led to claims by ICW that acute levels of

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<sup>28</sup> For example, an article in the *Jakarta Globe* (2011a) described Nurbaeti as having been on a 'nine-month shopping spree in Singapore and Thailand' while an article in *Tempo* (Septian 2011) highlighted her lavish accommodation while in Bangkok.

corruption afflicted the office on the basis that Heru could not possibly have acted alone. Furthermore, the bribes were supposedly paid via insurance policies, not cash, representing a new, less visible means for disbursing money to officials (Muhyiddin 2013).

Senior figures in the Directorate General of Customs and Excise denied allegations of a culture of corruption, arguing that they had themselves detected and suspended several officers for accepting bribes from importers. They cited the reforms undertaken by former Minister for Finance, Sri Mulyani—including the re-assignment of officers to break-up patronage networks and a salary increase—as evidence that the directorate was serious about eradicating corruption.<sup>29</sup> Senior Customs officials also noted that in 2012, 84 officials had received sanctions for ethical and disciplinary violations, while in 2013, 41 officials had been punished (Perdani 2013a). In February 2014, the dossier for Sulastoyono's case was officially handed over to the Attorney-General's Office for prosecution (*Jakarta Post* 2014c). Sulastoyono was prosecuted, found guilty of accepting bribes, money laundering and embezzlement, sentenced to 6.5 years imprisonment and a Rp. 200 million fine, as well as being ordered to return the money he embezzled from the state (Kurniawan 2014).

### ***Corruption in local government***

Local governments were now responsible for larger budgets than they had been in the past, exacerbating corruption and collusion at the subnational level.<sup>30</sup> Several local government corruption cases attracted public attention and had implications for the KPK and other national bodies. One such case was the Social Aid (Bantuan Sosial, Bansos) scandal in the Bandung administrative region in West Java from 2012. The Bansos scheme, which provided goods and/or direct cash transfers to citizens in need, was already notorious for its vulnerability to embezzlement. In 2012, the KPK charged seven members of the Bandung local council with corruption, citing cumulative losses to the state of over Rp. 66.5 billion. The case, which was tried in a regional anti-corruption court, gained notoriety when those convicted were only sentenced to one year imprisonment and a Rp. 50 million fine (Yulianti 2012). The prosecutors had demanded sentences of three to four years and the punishments

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<sup>29</sup> See Evan (2012) for an outline of these salary increases.

<sup>30</sup> This reflected one of the major criticisms levelled at government decentralization: that corruption, too, had been decentralized (Hadiz 2004; Pepinsky 2008: 238-239; von Luebke 2009).

were perceived to be too lenient, given that preceding cases involving far smaller amounts of money had attracted harsher sentences (Hardi 2012; Yulianti 2012).

Even after the trial had concluded, the case continued to attract attention, feeding into debates about the success of the decentralization of the anti-corruption court. Prior to the establishment of regional Anti-Corruption Courts in Indonesian provincial capitals, the single court in Jakarta had a 100 per cent conviction rate and the length of sentences was increasing, in line with broad demand for harsher punishments for corruption (Butt 2011a: 381). But with the decentralization of the courts came higher rates of acquittal and perceived lighter sentences. In March 2013, the KPK arrested a deputy chief judge in Bandung, on corruption charges related to the case. The judge was accused of accepting a bribe in return for handing down lighter sentences in the face of overwhelming evidence against the accused (*Antara News* 2013a). In April 2013, one of the suspects found guilty of corruption admitted to bribing the judge, spurring the KPK to continue with the case (Setuningsih 2013d). The KPK made more subsequent arrests, including of Bandung's acting head of regional assets and financial oversight and the secretary of the Bandung local administration. Finally, the mayor of Bandung himself was arrested in August 2013 (Alfiyah and Suharman 2013; Amelia 2013d). When he was finally convicted for embezzling part of the Bansos budget in April 2014, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment (Yulianti 2014), a significant increase on the punishment handed down to his colleagues the previous year. The case also led to questions surrounding the integrity of regional branches of the Anti-Corruption Court, which had been accused of 'failing' due to low conviction rates (Butt 2012).<sup>31</sup>

### ***The fall of the Democrats***

The most damaging corruption scandals for political parties were those involving their own parliamentarians. As elected representatives, DPR-RI members are entrusted with pursuing the public interests and protecting citizens. Their involvement in corruption, not unexpectedly, provoked widespread public

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<sup>31</sup> Dick and Butt (2013: 21-22) argue that the lower conviction rates by regional Anti-Corruption Courts does not necessarily mean that their integrity has been compromised, asserting that the 100 per cent conviction rate of the Jakarta Anti-Corruption Court suggested that the courts had been 'forgoing the presumption of innocence' and that 'given the deep abhorrence that most Indonesian citizens feel towards corruption within their institutions of government, it might also be argued that Anti-Corruption Court judges – particularly the ad hoc judges who have been employed as part of efforts to maintain the integrity of the Anti-Corruption Courts – feel under undue pressure to convict in corruption cases lest they be labelled anti-reformist'.

dissatisfaction not just with the parliament but with the government overall. Furthermore, with parties jockeying for influence within the parliament, these scandals played into broader power struggles between parties. Opposition parties, for example, could use the corruption scandals as evidence of the ruling parties' untrustworthiness. Yudhoyono, in particular, was called to account for the actions of several Democratic Party members who were accused of corruption, with critics arguing that the prevalence of corruption within the party reflected weak leadership and even personal moral bankruptcy on the part of the President.<sup>32</sup>

The Democratic Party suffered a significant decline in popularity in the 2009—2014 period, in some part due to the corruption scandals embroiling its members. The party had emphasized their anti-corruption credentials during its 2009 electoral campaign. It had, for example, run a television campaign entitled 'say no to corruption' (*katakan tidak pada korupsi*), in which high-profile party candidates sternly rejected corrupt practices in parliament. Two years later, a number of high-profile members were implicated in several corruption scandals. Given the Democratic Party's prior use of an anti-corruption symbol, it was particularly susceptible to criticism and disappointment when its own representatives were exposed as being no less corrupt than those of other parties (Aspinall 2010; Mietzner 2009).<sup>33</sup>

In April 2011, Muhammad Nazaruddin, a 33 year-old legislator and national treasurer for the Democratic Party, was accused of accepting bribes in relation to the construction of an athletes' village in South Sumatra, as part of the 2011 Southeast Asian Games (SEA Games). The case came to be known as the Wisma Atlet (Athletes' guesthouse) scandal and was one of the most reported corruption scandals of that year, notably salacious because Nazaruddin fled the country and was pursued in an international manhunt by the KPK and was arrested in Colombia in August 2011 (Fealy 2011: 341; Mahi and Nazara 2012: 9). In April 2012, he was sentenced to four years and 10 months imprisonment for accepting Rp. 4.6 billion in return for rigging construction tenders for the village (Parlina and Aritonang 2012). The ruling

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<sup>32</sup> For example, to mark International Anti-Corruption Day on 9 December 2013, ICW published a document detailing the roles of figures close to the President, including his wife, in a number of corrupt dealings, implying that Yudhoyono must have had some knowledge of them. While the President's office denied accusations, the document received national media coverage (Jong 2013a).

<sup>33</sup> See Mietzner (2014a) for a preliminary discussion of the results of the 2014 elections and the decline in support for the Democratic Party.

prompted outrage among anti-corruption campaigners for its leniency given that the prosecution had demanded a seven year sentence (Parlina and Aritonang 2012). Though the verdict said nothing to link the bribe to the party more broadly, Nazaruddin did implicate several colleagues during his trial, claiming they were also involved in a high-level web of corruption (Fealy 2013: 105; Mahi and Nazara 2012: 9; Parlina and Aritonang 2012).

Nazaruddin's accusations were damaging because he and many of the other Democratic Party suspects were young recruits who had been heralded as a new generation of clean politicians. Nazaruddin's accusations had serious repercussions for particular party colleagues, including Angelina Sondakh, who was found guilty of accepting Rp. 2.5 billion in bribes in return for awarding SEA Games construction contracts to specific bidders (Rastika 2013). In January 2013 she was sentenced to 4.5 years imprisonment and fined Rp. 500 million. Dubbed 'Angie' by the press, she was a former beauty queen and a star recruit for the Democratic Party in 2009. Her case was closely followed by Indonesia's media, with some coverage resembling that given to celebrities by the paparazzi (Kramer 2013). Angelina's case attracted renewed interest in November 2013 when, on appeal, the Supreme Court increased her sentence to 12 years and her fine to Rp. 27.4 billion, the original punishment sought by prosecutors. The increase was significant because in several other cases Tipikor judges had been condemned for handing down light sentences for those found guilty of corruption. The harsher Supreme Court sentence was possibly a response to public demands that those guilty of corruption face tougher punishment.

Also indicted, though in a different sports-related case, was Andi Mallarangeng, then Minister for Sports. Mallarangeng resigned from his position in December 2012 in response to accusations that he had abused his ministerial power in the tendering of construction works for the Hambalang sporting complex, a sports facility for elite athletes on the outskirts of Bogor, resulting in state losses of Rp. 463.3 million (Rahman and Mahmudah 2013). He was accused of accepting Rp. 4 billion and USD 550,000 (cash) in bribes in exchange for awarding tenders to specific construction companies and he was eventually arrested by the KPK in October 2013. He was convicted of abuse of authority in July 2014 and sentenced to four years in prison and fined Rp. 200 million (Maharani 2014b).

Even more damaging for the Democratic Party was the indictment of its Chairman, Anas Urbaningrum, for using money earned illicitly from the Hambalang project and other government schemes to fund his 2010 campaign to become party leader (Mahi and Nazara 2012: 9). Because of his position, his implication in the scandal inferred that corruption schemes pervaded the upper echelons of the party. Yudhoyono rejected this suggestion, proclaiming corruption to be the exception rather than the rule. Nevertheless, the scandal fuelled the declining popularity of the Democratic Party (Fealy 2013: 105).<sup>34</sup> The downfall of Urbaningrum prompted a panic within the party, resulting in Yudhoyono's election to the chairmanship in 2013 in an attempt to restore confidence in the party's leadership (Nehru 2013: 141). However, this move indicated that the Democratic Party lacked a suitable next generation of leaders and was overly reliant upon Yudhoyono as its figurehead (Cochrane 2013b). Urbaningrum was eventually convicted for his role in the Hambalang scandal and for money laundering in September 2014. He was sentenced to prison for eight years and fined Rp. 300 million. In their verdict, the Tipikor judges appeared to reflect popular sentiment, stating that he had failed to set a good example as both a public official and party chairman and 'failed to support the spirit of society in fighting graft' (*Jakarta Post* 2014a).

### ***The fall of PKS***

At the beginning of 2013, the clean image that the PKS spent years fostering was threatened by the so-called Beefgate scandal.<sup>35</sup> PKS chairperson and legislator, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq and Ahmad Fathanah, were accused of accepting bribes from a beef import company, PT Indoguna, in return for increasing their beef import quota.<sup>36</sup> The KPK arrested Ahmad Fathanah in a five-star hotel room in Jakarta on 29 January 2013. The case became a sensation when it was revealed that he had been caught sharing a room with a naked college student, with whom he had sexual relations (Subkhan 2013). He was also in possession of a suitcase containing Rp. 1 billion (Cochrane 2013a), which was allegedly a payment for Luthfi from PT Indoguna executives, received by Fathanah. Luthfi and Fathanah were later charged with accepting bribes and money laundering in March 2013.

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<sup>34</sup> Growing public concern about the party's integrity was supported by WikiLeaks cables published in 2012, suggesting that Yudhoyono had personally intervened to influence judges and prosecutors to protect officials close to him (Kingsbury 2012: 19).

<sup>35</sup> As part of Yudhoyono's Rainbow Coalition, Suswono, a member of PKS had been appointed the Minister for Agriculture. Suswono was not implicated in the scandal.

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed recount of this case and the implications for PKS see Kramer (2014a).

Media scrutiny intensified as more details of the case became public, painting an increasingly negative picture of certain party members and the party as a whole. PKS rallied support from its cadres, alluding to a conspiracy against the party and contending that political interests seeking to damage the reputation of PKS were at play.<sup>37</sup> The party launched a counter attack upon the KPK, claiming that the anti-corruption agency had lost its independence and was the puppet of PKS' political rivals. The KPK attempted to seize five cars belonging to Luthfi from the party in May 2013, claiming that they may have been purchased with proceeds from corruption. PKS officials refused to hand over the vehicles, instead lodging a police complaint against the KPK, claiming that KPK officials had abused their power, entered PKS premises by force and failed to produce a warrant for the seizure of the cars (Perdani and Aritonang 2013; Saragih 2013b).

The attacks on the well-respected KPK took a toll on the party's image but the illegal import quota deal was later overshadowed by an increased focus upon the private life of Fathanah, who was eventually linked to over 45 women. It was alleged that Fathanah had given these women expensive gifts, in some cases possibly in return for intimate relations, despite already having two wives. The Indonesian media focused on who these different women were, what their exact relationship to Fathanah was and what they did in return for these gifts. There was also speculation that these women could themselves be tried for money laundering though this did not eventuate (Aprianto *et al.* 2013; *Jakarta Post* 2013a). Furthermore in December 2012, during the course of the investigation, it was revealed that Luthfi had gotten married for a third time to a high school student. Many Indonesians were critical of the relationship between the 52 year old and the teenager, further damaging the politician's reputation (Ucu 2013).

The charges of corruption and money laundering levelled against Luthfi and Fathanah were sufficient to damage the relatively clean reputation of the PKS, but the media focus on their relationships with various women presented an even graver challenge to the party's standing. The party, with its solid Islamic values, and conservative views on women wearing short skirts and public displays of affection, now found itself firmly linked to two high-profile men whose private lives did not seem to fit within the PKS' moral framework (Cochrane 2013a). PKS' attempts to lay the blame

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<sup>37</sup> On 1 February 2013 it was reported that PKS' DPR-RI leader suggested that PKS may have been framed by other parties because of its strong anti-corruption stance (Alford 2013a).

on 'beautiful women' tempting Islamic politicians to tarnish their reputations gained little public sympathy (*Suara Pembaruan* 2013; Sukoyo 2013b). The negative publicity was reflected in numerous surveys that predicted PKS would do poorly in the 2014 national election (Damarjati 2013; Ruslan 2013).

After a highly publicized trial, Fathanah was found guilty of corruption on 4 November 2013 for receiving grants and incentives on behalf of Luthfi. The Jakarta Anti-Corruption Court sentenced Fathanah to 14 years in prison and fined him Rp. 1 billion or an additional six months in prison (*Jakarta Globe* 2013). Once this verdict was passed, Luthfi attempted to shift the blame to Fathanah. Luthfi's trial began after Fathanah's and during questioning Luthfi claimed that Fathanah, a long-time friend since they studied together in Saudi Arabia in the 1980s, had deceived him and used his name to make unsavoury deals without his consent. He claimed that he had, as his friend, attempted to protect him (*Jakarta Post* 2013b). The defence plea fell on deaf ears and Luthfi was sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment on 9 December 2013. He was also fined Rp. 1 billion or an additional year in prison. Luthfi immediately claimed that he would appeal the sentence. In the meantime, PKS had distanced itself from Luthfi, stating that it planned to focus on the upcoming elections and would not seek to intervene or influence the case in any way, hoping to recover before national polling in April 2014.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Corruption in the Constitutional Court***

One of the most sensational scandals revealed between 2009 and 2014 was the arrest and conviction of Akil Mochtar, the Chief Justice of Indonesia's Constitutional Court, for accepting bribes.<sup>39</sup> The Mochtar scandal dominated the national headlines in early October 2013 when rumours began circulating that the KPK had been investigating him. He was charged with receiving almost Rp. 4 billion for favourable rulings in disputes over the district elections of Gunung Mas, in Central Kalimantan, and Lebak in the province of Banten. Later, he was tried for accepting bribes to fix 11 electoral rulings (Setuningsih and Cahyadi 2014). He was also charged with money laundering via his wife's company (Amelia 2013c). To make matters worse, marijuana and methamphetamines were found during a search of his office, requiring him to

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<sup>38</sup> The PKS vote decreased from 7.88 per cent of the popular vote in 2009 to 6.79 per cent in 2014, though this was a better result than expected (Fealy 2014; Kramer 2014a).

<sup>39</sup> The Constitutional Court was formed under article 24C of the Indonesian Constitutional amendments passed in 2001. It rules on matters related to the Constitution, the power of state institutions, the dissolution of political parties and disputes over electoral outcomes. For further details see Mahkamah Konstitusi (2014).

undergo DNA and drug testing (Primandari 2013). While urine tests found no traces of drug use, he was charged with drug possession.<sup>40</sup> Although National Narcotics Agency (Badan Narkotika Nasional, BNN) stated in February 2014 that it would not seek prison time for the offence (*Jakarta Globe* 2014a), Mochtar's credibility had already been further damaged. Finally, Mochtar was sentenced to life imprisonment for receiving Rp. 57.78 billion in bribes and laundering Rp. 160 billion during his tenure as a Constitutional Court judge (Alford 2014).

The case provoked particularly visceral outcry because the Constitutional Court had developed a reputation for being clean since its inception in 2003—and so, unlike other more established judicial institutions, was widely respected by the Indonesian public. The Court's previous Chief Judge, Mahfud MD, was renowned for his hard-line stance against corruption.<sup>41</sup> The scandal was also unexpected because Mochtar had promoted himself as an anti-corruption crusader, at one point stating that those guilty of corruption should have a finger cut off (MacLaren 2013). Yudhoyono released a public statement almost immediately after the arrest, expressing shock and dismay that the court had been compromised (Prihandoko 2013). This case was also damaging for the President because one of his explicitly stated aims during his second term was to combat the 'judicial mafia' (*Suara Pembaruan* 2011).<sup>42</sup> With revelations that corruption had infected even the Constitutional Court, Yudhoyono was again derided for failing to curb the judicial corruption.<sup>43</sup>

The case was also damaging for Golkar. Not only had Mochtar represented the party in parliament, but several Golkar officials were implicated in the bribery cases. In March 2014, Chairun Nisa, a Golkar parliamentarian from Central Kalimantan, received a four year prison sentence and a Rp. 100 million fine for brokering the

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<sup>40</sup> BNN confirmed the charges in January 2014, saying that although Mochtar's drug tests had proven negative they had found several witnesses to testify that the former judge had used narcotics in the past (Maharani 2014a).

<sup>41</sup> For example, Mahfud had stated in the past that the death penalty was suitable in some corruption cases and once floated the idea of a 'zoo' for corruption perpetrators in which members of the public could go and jeer at the criminals (*Jakarta Globe* 2011b).

<sup>42</sup> A taskforce was established in December 2009 to take on the judicial mafia, but was widely criticised and its mandate was not renewed when it ended in December 2011. For an extensive discussion of the judicial mafia in Indonesia see Butt and Lindsay (2011).

<sup>43</sup> The surprise generated by the scandal echoed through international media reporting. *The Australian* asserted that 'Akil Mochtar's arrest has raised anger about high-level corruption to a new pitch and the court's founding chief justice [Jimly Asshidiqie] has called for the death sentence' (Alford 2013b). *The Economist*, (2013) meanwhile, reported that: 'it is thoroughly depressing that this new institution is now being accused of the same bad behaviour as the old ones', especially given that it had 'won respect for its impartial rulings'.

bribery deal between Golkar members and Mochtar (Setuningsih 2014a; Wanto 2013). As the investigations continued, Banten's Governor, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, also made headlines as her younger brother was linked to the bribery case (Firdaus 2013).<sup>44</sup> Atut herself was tried in August 2014 for allegedly paying Mochtar Rp. 1 billion to secure a Golkar victory in the regency of Lebak when Golkar appealed the electoral results in the Constitutional Court (Rikang 2014). Although prosecutors sought a ten year prison sentence for Atut, she was only sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a Rp. 200 million fine. Public outrage at the light sentence was widespread, especially across social media, where 'netizens' complained that it undermined the deterrent effect that a harsher punishment would have otherwise achieved (Soares 2014). Mochtar's arrest and conviction were seen as a gross betrayal of trust, while Atut's conviction reflected the ongoing use of bribery to fix political outcomes, demonstrating that corruption still reached the highest echelons and continued to undermine democratic processes.

## **Public opinion**

The media focus on corruption cases no doubt fuelled public resentment towards the government between 2009 and 2014. There are two main arguments as to how media reporting influences public opinion: audiences may interpret the increased visibility of corruption investigations, arrests and convictions as reflecting positive progress in the 'war' on corruption, or the high volume of corruption reporting may simply reinforce existing perceptions that corruption is endemic and that the investigations and convictions merely scratch the surface of this endemic problem.<sup>45</sup> The majority of surveys, opinion columns and academic literature published between 2009 and 2014 suggest that many Indonesian citizens were disappointed in the government's anti-corruption efforts. Being linked to corruption scandals also contributed to a decline in the popularity of Yudhoyono and several political parties, and fostered a general distrust of several state institutions such as the judiciary, the police and the DPR-RI.

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<sup>44</sup> For a scholarly analysis of Ratu Atut Chosiyah's family dynasty in Banten see Gunn (2014: 52) and Hamid (2014a). In October 2014 the KPK filed an appeal against the five year prison sentence and Rp. 150 million fine handed down to Atut's brother, Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, for bribing Akil Mochtar, claiming it was too lenient (Setuningsih 2014b).

<sup>45</sup> This argument is progressed by Schmidt (1993) in her analysis of public responses to media reporting about trade unions.

Surveys conducted during this period indicated that citizens were dissatisfied with the government in spite of the increase in corruption convictions.<sup>46</sup> Despite growing conviction numbers, yearly surveys conducted by the Indonesian Survey Group (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, LSI) showed that public satisfaction with the government's anti-corruption endeavours had declined.<sup>47</sup> In 2008 a survey revealed a 77 per cent approval rate for the government's work on combating corruption. By 2011 this number had fallen to 44 per cent (Lembaga Survei Indonesia 2012). A number of surveys undertaken in 2012 and 2013 also reflected the depth of public discontent with the government's anti-corruption progress, especially highlighting disappointment with Yudhoyono and parliament (Table 3.2).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> A number of institutions were engaged in public surveys of this nature from 2013-2014. 14 of the main institutions were: Biro Pusat Statistik, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia (CSIS), Founding Father House (FFH), Indonesian Network Election Survey (INES), Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI), Lembaga Survei Nasional (LSN), Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, Political Weather Station, Pusat Data Bersatu, Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), Soegeng Sarjadi School of Government (SSSG), SPACE, Transparency International Indonesia (TII) and Universitas Gadjah Mada Pusat Kajian Anti-Korupsi (UGM PUKAT). Numerous informal conversations with staff in political party head offices suggest that it is difficult to determine the reliability of survey data collected in Indonesia, primarily because political parties sometimes commission surveys to suit their own agendas. A common modus operandi for political parties who wish to receive favourable media coverage is to commission a survey with favourable outcomes, which is then released to the press as an independent study. Nevertheless, there is an evident trend across the surveys, supported by media reports, illustrating that the Indonesian public continued to view the government as corrupt during this period.

<sup>47</sup> In 2013, the KPK released data showing that it had secured 59 convictions for corruption in that year, up from 50 convictions in 2012 and 39 convictions in 2011 but lower than the 65 convictions it secured in 2010. In 2014 KPK reported 58 corruption convictions. When compared to earlier figures from 2004 (4 convictions), 2005 (23 convictions), 2006 (29 convictions) and 2007 (27 convictions), the number of convictions has increased significantly (KPK 2014).

<sup>48</sup> It should be noted the surveys are used here merely as an indication of public sentiment. Survey institutions in Indonesia are sometimes known to be partisan, or even paid by political parties/candidates to conduct surveys that have beneficial results for them. Therefore, this thesis avoids reading too much into the specific statistics and instead highlights commonly identified trends in public sentiment by looking at a range of surveys by different survey institutes.

**Table 3.2.** Surveys from July 2012- 2013 addressing corruption issues in Indonesia<sup>49</sup>

Released	Institution	Findings
Jul 2012	CSIS	77% of respondents believe the majority of government officials are corrupt. <sup>50</sup>
Jan 2013	Biro Pusat Statistik	On average, respondents rate corruption in the Indonesian government as 3.5 out of 5 (with 5 being very corrupt, 0 meaning no corruption). <sup>51</sup>
Jul 2013	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	52% of those surveyed say they do not trust politicians. <sup>52</sup>
Sep 2013	Indonesian Network Election Survey	86% of respondents believe that all political parties are corrupt. <sup>53</sup>
Oct 2013	Lembaga Survei Nasional	55.9% of respondents believe corruption eradication is the most important issue facing the government (the highest ranking issue in the survey). 55.4% of respondents believed that the state of the nation had not improved during Yudhoyono's second term and 25.9% believed it had gotten worse. <sup>54</sup>
Dec 2013	Indikator	41.5% of respondents believe that political parties are the primary group responsible for preventing money politics. <sup>55</sup>
Dec 2013	Transparency International	Corruption Perceptions Index finds that national parliamentarians are perceived as the most corrupt figures in Indonesia. <sup>56</sup>

Polling from a range of organizations predicted that the Democratic Party would concede its parliamentary majority in 2014, while several polls also suggested that PKS would fail to win enough votes to meet the parliamentary threshold required to

<sup>49</sup> From the end of 2013, surveys began to focus much more on the popularity of parties and potential presidential candidates. This study found no surveys conducted between January and April 2014 that asked general questions about the existing government's anti-corruption efforts.

<sup>50</sup> As reported by *Detik.com* (Dhurandara 2012).

<sup>51</sup> As reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (Ismar and Husna 2013).

<sup>52</sup> As reported in *Republika* (Rini 2013).

<sup>53</sup> As reported in *Kompas* (Gatra 2013).

<sup>54</sup> Survey results posted to the website of Lembaga Survei Nasional (2013).

<sup>55</sup> As reported in *Tempo* (Purnomo 2013).

<sup>56</sup> As reported in the *Jakarta Globe* (Setuningsih 2013b).

take up seats at all (see Appendix 1).<sup>57</sup> The most popular presidential candidates also came from two opposition parties: Jokowi from PDIP and Prabowo from Gerindra. Most survey predictions for the Democratic Party accurately predicted that it would poll far below its 2009 achievement. With the Democratic Party losing over half their seats and PDIP underperforming, several other parties did better than expected, particularly Islamic parties (Fealy 2014) (see Table 3.3).

**Table 3.3.** Outcome of the national legislative elections, 2014.

Party	% of popular vote	+/- change in popular vote from 2009	No. of seats in parliament	+/- no. of seats from 2009
PDIP	18.95	+4.92	109	+15
Golkar	14.75	+0.30	91	-15
Gerindra	11.81	+7.35	73	+47
Democratic Party	10.19	-10.66	61	-87
PKB	9.04	+4.10	47	+19
PAN	7.59	+1.58	49	+3
PKS	6.79	-1.09	40	-17
Nasdem	6.72	—	35	—
PPP	6.53	+1.21	39	+1
Hanura	5.26	+1.49	16	-1

Source: Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2014a).

Growing discontent with political parties was also illustrated by growing reluctance to associate with them (Fealy 2011: 340).<sup>58</sup> Surveys conducted in 2011 by LSI found that only 20 per cent of respondents considered themselves to 'belong' to a party, compared to 86 per cent in 1999 (Lembaga Survei Indonesia 2011). The SPACE survey, conducted in July 2013, found that 43 per cent of those surveyed were not planning to vote at all. It also suggested that, nine months ahead of the election, a large proportion of citizens felt no party loyalty, were open to voting differently in 2014 than they had in 2009 and/or were not planning to participate in the election.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The Democratic Party and PKS, were consistently shown to have lost support after 2009, indicative of an overall decline in their popularity.

<sup>58</sup> Slater (2004: 88) argues that this trend existed before the 2004 elections, in which 'voters felt less beholden to the dictates of party machines'.

<sup>59</sup> Golput, the act of not casting a valid vote, was discussed in the Introduction of the thesis.

The Saiful Mujani Research Center poll in March 2014 is telling in that 47.7 per cent of respondents did not nominate a preferred party. The decline of party loyalty—although a phenomenon that existed prior to 2014—represented a stark contrast to the *aliran* alignments prominent during the Old and New Orders.<sup>60</sup> While it is impossible to identify a single reason for this lack of party loyalty, or indeed political engagement more broadly, the apparent prevalence of corruption in the government, across all bodies, certainly bred cynicism amongst voters.

How successful were emerging parties in the 2014 national legislative elections? None of the emerging parties performed as well as they had hoped. Gerindra became one of the 'big three parties', but failed to reach its electoral target.<sup>61</sup> Gaining 11.81 per cent of the popular vote, which was 13.04 per cent of parliamentary seats, Gerindra improved upon its 2009 result. However, the party fell short of its aim to garner 20 per cent of parliamentary seats so it could nominate Prabowo as a presidential candidate without needing to form a coalition. Hanura and Nasdem, which had also aimed to become one of the 'big three' parties, received 5.26 per cent and 6.72 per cent of the votes respectively. Yet, while these parties also had not done as well as they wished, the results ensured that they remained important players in the presidential elections. Both parties had the ability to make a significant contribution to the coalition for the presidential candidate they opted to support. In the end, both Nasdem and Hanura chose to back PDIP's candidates, Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla, whereas Gerindra negotiated with other parties to form a coalition to nominate Prabowo and his running mate, Hatta Rajasa, from PAN.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Aliran* was discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>61</sup> The results of the 2014 national legislative elections proved difficult to predict. PDIP was the clear favourite to win by a wide margin, especially after it announced that it would nominate Jokowi, rather than Megawati, as its presidential candidate. PDIP hoped that it would benefit from the 'Jokowi effect' (Kwok 2014; McRae 2014; Simanjuntak 2013; Witoelar 2014), but while Jokowi went on to narrowly win the presidential race, his nomination did little to enhance support for PDIP during the legislative election.

<sup>62</sup> Two major coalitions were formed for the presidential election. PDIP led one coalition, supported by PKB, Nasdem and Hanura, nominating Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla for president and vice-president (respectively). The rival coalition was led by Gerindra and backed by Golkar, the Democratic Party, PAN, PPP and PKS. This coalition nominated Prabowo for president and Hatta Rajasa, leader of PAN, as his running mate. The difficulty in negotiating coalitions highlights the advantages to be gained in meeting the presidential threshold.

## Conclusion

The 2014 legislative elections heralded a change in fortune for a number of Indonesia's national political parties. PDIP, which had previously been in opposition, was the favourite to win a majority. Even though it fell short of expectations, it still won more DPR-RI seats than any other party (Hamid 2014b; Tomsa 2014a).<sup>63</sup> The main casualty was the ruling Democratic Party, which lost 87 seats and its dominance in parliament. PKS, which gained a significant number of votes in 2009, became the only Islamic party to lose seats.<sup>64</sup> The decline in popularity for both the Democratic Party and PKS appeared to be closely tied to numerous corruption scandals, which undermined the parties' anti-corruption credentials in the lead up to the election.<sup>65</sup>

This chapter has provided a brief overview of some of the corruption scandals that emerged between 2009 and 2014, highlighting that corruption continued to be a prominent political concern. Despite Yudhoyono's electoral promises that he and the Democratic Party would condemn corruption, emerging scandals undermined his political image and led to a significant decrease in support for the party in the 2014 election. The hypocrisy of those in government was compounded by attacks on the much-loved KPK, leading many citizens to believe that many in government were more interested in protecting themselves rather than eradicating corruption. Surveys also indicated that the Indonesian public was growing weary of the political elite and political parties in general, reflected by the falling association with political parties

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<sup>63</sup> PDIP officially gained 18.95 per cent of votes, which was far less than its target of 27.02 per cent (Sadikin 2014). The result was surprising to many observers. For example, prominent Indonesia political analyst Wimar Witoelar (2014) stated 'I was wrong. The media was wrong. The polls were wrong ... Predictions that PDIP would capture 35 per cent or more in the legislative elections proved to be grossly illusory as they got less than 20 per cent, just a few more percentage points more than Golkar, Gerindra and even the Democrat Party.'

<sup>64</sup> PKS did, however, do better than anticipated. It gained 6.79 per cent of the vote in 2014 in the face of predictions that it may not even pass the parliamentary threshold of 3.5 per cent (Fealy 2014; Kramer 2014a).

<sup>65</sup> While survey results in Indonesia cannot always be taken at face value, the overwhelming trend reflected declining support for the Democratic Party. In a March 2013 survey, the National Survey Institute (Lembaga Survei Nasional, LSN) found that 40.4 per cent of respondents saw the Democratic Party as the most corrupt party in Indonesia. Its electability also fell, with only 4.3 per cent of respondents selecting them as their preferred party (Ledysia 2013). A survey published by Transparency International Indonesia in April 2013 found the Democratic Party to be the least transparent party in parliament in relation to its funding and party budget (along with Golkar and PKS who were also defined as 'not transparent') (*BBC Indonesia* 2013). Polling by the United Data Centre (Pusat Data Bersatu, PDB) released in July 2013 found that only 9.4 per cent would vote for the Democratic Party, compared to 26.43 per cent of votes attained in 2009. An Indikator survey report released on 4 April 2014 found only 7.2 per cent of those surveyed planned to vote for the Democratic Party (Indikator 2014). The Democratic Party actually gained 10.19 per cent of the official vote (Pemilu 2014), slightly higher than most predictions.

and the rise of 'non-elite' presidential candidate, Jokowi. Furthermore, the perception that politicians were more interested in maintaining the status quo than combating corruption led to growing discontent with old guard elites and presented opportunities for emerging parties.

Part of the 'project of newness' adopted by emerging parties was to position themselves as the antithesis to the existing political elites. With Yudhoyono's perceived lack of progress in combating corruption and a declining trust in the parliament, emerging parties were presented with a clear and convenient platform upon which to both criticize the government and depict themselves as clean and staunchly anti-corruption, in contrast to those in power. Gerindra and Hanura were able to capitalize on the gains they made in the 2009 national legislative election (Sukma 2009: 320). By opting to remain in opposition rather than join Yudhoyono's Rainbow Coalition between 2009 and 2014, Gerindra and Hanura were able to distance themselves from the failings of the Yudhoyono administration. Nasdem, too, capitalized on the ongoing dissatisfaction with the incumbent government. Although it was a new party, Nasdem campaigned on the slogan of being a 'Movement for Change' (*Gerakan Perubahan*), adopting oppositional rhetoric which positioned themselves against those in power. Projecting an anti-corruption symbol was one means for new parties to emphasize the difference between them and rivals. In articulating their staunch support for anti-corruption measures and stressing the absence of national level corruption cases within their own parties, these parties attempted to present themselves as broader forces of change and righteousness.

# Chapter Four

## Emerging parties and campaigning on corruption

In the lead-up to the 2014 legislative election, the central committee of emerging parties decided what symbols would be a campaign focus and facilitated their transmission across the country via print media, television and the internet. Party leaders, particularly presidential candidates, had a prominent role in constructing and disseminating this symbol as they toured the country in the lead-up to the election. With the prevalence of figure-driven politics in Indonesia, much attention was given to what party leaders said while electioneering. Official statements were also made by party spokespeople, depending on their position and expertise. Whoever the speaker, these public announcements were intended to reflect party ideals as a whole.

In tracing how emerging parties developed their anti-corruption symbol nationally, this chapter first investigates the rationale for selecting anti-corruption as a core political symbol, drawing upon interviews with senior party officials regarding their use of anti-corruption ideas in their campaigns. It then examines the mechanisms used by the parties to develop an anti-corruption symbol, looking particularly at the nation-wide strategies that were conceptualized and funded from the central party office. Organizing these campaigns from Jakarta, these approaches focused heavily on non-relational diffusion of party rhetoric, namely via party publications and the media coverage of statements by party leaders. While it is impossible to know how parties' use of anti-corruption symbolism affected voting outcomes, electoral results fell short of party aspirations, even though all the emerging parties were able to pass the parliamentary electoral threshold, suggesting that an anti-corruption symbol was not the panacea that parties had hoped for. In exploring the integration of this symbol into nation-wide party campaigns, this chapter lays the foundation for a close discussion of the engagement of the central party with campaigns of individual candidates and the impact this had for the development and use of anti-corruption symbols overall.

## **The anti-corruption strategy**

Parties' rationale for adopting anti-corruption symbols in the 2014 national legislative election campaign is important given the widespread acknowledgement that these symbols had backfired for the Democratic Party and PKS. In spite of this, parties still judged corruption to be a key concern for voters—sometimes referred to as a 'vote-getter' issue. The public sought a party that would bring about fundamental changes to the way government worked and a strong anti-corruption symbol was intended to promote this good (new party) versus bad (old parties) dichotomy. Emerging parties also identified this realm as one of competitive advantage, as they themselves had never suffered from any major corruption scandals and could therefore criticize other parties from a position of relative virtue. Another rationalization espoused by some party officials was that a powerful anti-corruption message would discourage 'non-genuine' candidates from joining the party. This, they argued, would ensure the longevity of the party's clean image, in terms of being free of corruption and a host of other undesirable activities, such as illicit drug taking and infidelity. Emerging parties were acutely aware of the dangers of being seen as hypocritical. Having seen the public relations damage caused by corrupt members, parties hoped to minimize future risks by deterring candidates that they believed could jeopardize the party's image. Each party claimed they had strict procedures for selecting party candidates, including psychological testing and background checks for drug use and 'suspicious' earnings. Party officials in both Gerindra and Hanura contended that their leaderships were extremely unforgiving of corruption, having made several party decrees demanding that any member not fully committed to the party should leave immediately.<sup>1</sup>

According to several Hanura party officials, being 'clean' was an iconic part of Hanura's image, so that when people thought of corruption-free parties, they immediately thought of Hanura.<sup>2</sup> One Hanura official acknowledged that Hanura might not be 100 per cent clean, but added that its members were well aware of the consequences of tarring the party name, including expulsion, quite apart from damage to their personal reputation. This official was, therefore, confident that the

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Hanura official, 24 October 2012; interview with Gerindra party parliamentary aide, February 4 2013; interview with Gerindra parliamentary representative, 9 March 2013.

<sup>2</sup> This point was brought up several times in official interviews with at least four different party members, as well as during off-the-record conversations. An impression emerged that this argument had been generated by central party members and that party cadres were instructed to advance it in discussions with outsiders.

party was, in fact, cleaner than its rivals.<sup>3</sup> Hanura leader, Wiranto, asserted that advocating for anti-corruption measures, such as increased transparency and the swift resolution of corruption cases that have dragged on for years, were popular with citizens.<sup>4</sup> Wiranto also contended that in Indonesia corruption is related to issues of justice—that ordinary people desperately want to see those who are corrupt punished for their crimes. He argued that the Indonesian people wanted a leader who would act with ‘firmness’ (*ketegasan*) in the face of corruption; a strong leader who could appropriately punish those profiting at the expense of the nation. In fact, Wiranto had such faith in the power of an anti-corruption symbol to attract votes that he pushed for it to be included in Hanura’s branding, against the advice of his chief media advisor.<sup>5</sup>

Standing firm against corruption was also identified as a party symbol by several Gerindra leaders, with one official asserting that people were attracted to Gerindra because they saw it as the party that would fight corruption without mercy.<sup>6</sup> He believed that campaigning on this issue would not backfire for Gerindra because it had consistently rejected corruption since the party was formed.<sup>7</sup> Several Gerindra members also asserted that its actions in parliament supported the party’s rhetorical anti-corruption symbol, so that it could legitimately bill itself as ‘clean’ without fear of backlash. Gerindra leader, Prabowo Subianto, was adamant that he was a fearless anti-corruption campaigner and would rid the government of such evils. Prabowo’s use of anti-corruption symbolism was observed by Mietzner (2014: 114) who stated he ‘presented himself as a classic populist strongman, lambasting the weakness and corruption of Indonesia’s political class.’

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Hanura official, 24 October 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Wiranto, 24 October 2013.

<sup>5</sup> One Hanura media advisor said that Wiranto had insisted on making anti-corruption ideas a central focus of the campaign and he believed that this was primarily out of personal conviction rather than strategic benefit. Initially, Wiranto had been advised to promote social welfare and addressing inequality as the party’s chief political symbols, on the grounds that they had broader appeal and were less prone to cynicism than anti-corruption. The media advisor believed that talking about corruption could be dangerous and that more advantageous campaign symbols existed (interview with Hanura media advisor, 17 February 2013). This scenario, in which the client (the party/politician) overrules the media specialist is identified by Bowler and Farrell (1992b: 4) as one of the types of structural relationships observed during campaigns. They argue that, in general, most relationships between the ‘client’ and the ‘media people’ will fall somewhere between two extremes: devolving power and authority for marketing entirely to media professionals or the client dominating the media team, dictating to them what they should do. Bowler and Farrell (1992a: 226) also assert that studies across a number of countries demonstrate that parties and/or candidates are often reluctant to give up control of campaigns to consultants.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Gerindra party parliamentary aide, 4 February 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Gerindra parliamentary representative, 9 March 2013.

Nasdem officials did not overtly identify using an anti-corruption symbol as a vote-getter for their party; however, they recognized the appeal of a party that could be trusted to fight the problem.<sup>8</sup> All parties emphasized the importance of publicly denouncing corruption in all its forms, deeming that the public demanded it. Nasdem officials acknowledged that their anti-corruption rhetoric was not as intensive as that of Hanura or Gerindra. One official claimed that, as the newest party, 'We don't need to talk about it too much because it is expected we will say we are anti-corruption ... the proof lies more in our actions so far rather than words'.<sup>9</sup> However, Nasdem certainly did not refrain from using it as a political symbol. Throughout its campaign, Nasdem continued to draw attention to government failures in combating corruption, particularly pressuring the government to resolve on-going corruption cases such as Centurygate.<sup>10</sup> By maintaining this pressure, the official contended that 'Nasdem will show itself to be a better alternative to the rest [of the parties]'. In asserting their clean status, Nasdem officials also capitalized on its status as a new party. For example, another party member stated that if aspiring politicians merely wanted a seat in parliament for money-making purposes then they would join a bigger party because emerging parties generally remained underdogs.<sup>11</sup> In line with this, another Nasdem official also claimed that the party was 'pure', asserting that its members were dedicated to real reform rather than just seeking self-gratification. Whether these justifications were genuine or a white-wash was difficult to discern; however, their repetition of these assertions illustrated entrenched discourse within emerging parties—that upholding a clean image was paramount.

While the rationale for these parties to promote an anti-corruption symbol was based on subjective opinions and steeped in political rhetoric, it was apparent that parties used anti-corruption as a symbol in the 2014 legislative campaign because the party elite believed it would win them votes; parties wanted to be associated with being clean. Ostensibly, each party was confident in its ability to carry through with their electoral promises and be a force of change. Parties were conscious of the dangers of portraying themselves as anti-corruption campaigners, however, whether they could maintain this image following the election was seemingly a matter for the future. They pronounced that they would not suffer the same fate as other parties, not only

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Nasdem party official, 11 April 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Nasdem party official, 11 April 2013.

<sup>10</sup> Frequent public statements ensured that major corruption cases remained in the public eye, something one official identified as being crucial because 'people forget the crimes of political parties too quickly' (interview with Nasdem candidate, 25 May 2013).

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Nasdem official, 16 May 2013.

because their members knew that corruption was illegal, but because it would be a serious betrayal of party values.

### **Creating and mobilizing the symbol**

Chapter One identified a number of concepts that help in understanding how political parties develop a symbol, including the notions of morality, issue ownership and narrative development. By portraying corruption as a moral issue, parties are able to cast themselves in the role of the 'good' (as opposed to rival parties who are tainted and therefore 'evil'). The ongoing use of rhetoric develops a narrative which parties hope will convince the public of their genuine commitment to anti-corruption, eventually leading to issue ownership. Another way to obtain issue ownership might be simply by being untainted by a problem (Petrocik 1996: 827). In the case of corruption, emerging parties have the advantage of a short, (relatively) untarnished history in which they have not faced a corruption scandal.<sup>12</sup> Coming to 'own' the issue of anti-corruption and creating a symbol which is synonymous with the party itself is, in this instance, facilitated by their short history. However, they must still project an anti-corruption symbol that overshadows that of rivals, especially since they are competing with other emerging parties with similarly short histories.

The promotion of this anti-corruption symbol is needed so that the voting public connects the party with this particular issue.<sup>13</sup> Having conceptualized how the party wished to present themselves to the public, Hanura, Gerindra and Nasdem relayed their anti-corruption symbol through a number of non-relational mechanisms. Parties hired media and public relations specialists and teams to develop and coordinate the promotion of the party image, using both paid advertising and the media. Social media was also used in campaigning, with parties promoting themselves via websites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube in order to appeal to Indonesia's more internet-savvy voters. The multi-channel approach was adopted to broaden the reach of party symbols, as media advisors understood that such an approach was important to maximizing the impact of message diffusion to the public.

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<sup>12</sup> Party reputations were 'relatively' untarnished because, as discussed later in this chapter, some minor cases did come to light before the election.

<sup>13</sup> It is also necessary to manage party symbols by ensuring that members maintain a united voice, in line with the priorities established by central party representatives. While the central committee may be able to manage the symbol creation at the national level, this is much more difficult to control at the local level, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

### ***Party publications***

Party publications include materials such as the party manifesto, mission statement and pamphlets that promote the party and its objectives. Early documents such as the manifesto are intended to establish the aims of the party and the premise for the party's formation, while later documents supplement and/or provide further clarification of these original publications. In their official documents, Hanura, Gerindra and Nasdem all highlighted the failings of the current government in hyperbolic and emotive terms, with the apparent aim of galvanising mistrust and consequently promoting support for the alternative they offered. The rhetoric used is intended to justify the creation of a new party and outline, at least in theory, how this party differs from existing parties.

Hanura's party doctrine booklet (2009a) asserts that Indonesia was full of leaders who had 'forgotten themselves' and 'shamelessly exploit their positions'. These officials had 'lost their conscience', fuelling 'a culture of theft, collusion and corruption which had led to gross social suffering'. The repeated use of the term 'conscience' is intended to evoke concepts of morality in the audience. To be compelled by your 'conscience', as defined by Hanura (2008), is to be driven by honesty, truth, goodness and a belief in God. Hanura's manifesto contends that without conscience there is no hope for improvement. Therefore, as Hanura is *the* party driven by conscience, citizens wanting to see a just and moral government should vote for it. Hanura's publications also emphasized anti-corruption symbolism by referring to ideas such as being clean, honest, transparent and accountable. For example, the first point (out of eight) in Hanura's mission statement (2010: 9) is the 'creation of a government that is clean ... to serve a democratic state that is transparent and accountable'. Moreover, according to point seven in Hanura's handbook, the party is committed to 'the total eradication of corruption to facilitate the creation of an advanced, independent and prestigious nation' (Hanura 2008: 15).

Gerindra's documents framed the party as a crusader for change, depicting the political scene as a battle fought in the national interest. The language employed by Gerindra was very much that of a call to arms, vowing to fight for prosperity and justice in all spheres of Indonesian life (Gerindra 2012c). According to Gerindra's 'manifesto of struggle', Indonesia has been battling poverty since independence but could not overcome it due to an unjust political system populated by weak and corrupt officials (Gerindra 2012b). It was time to 'stand firm to achieve justice' by

giving Gerindra the opportunity to lead a fair, prosperous and harmonious Indonesia (2012b: 5). The idea that Gerindra was fulfilling a calling was elaborated upon in *The History of Gerindra* (2012d), which stated that the party was inspired by Edmund Burke (famously quoted as saying ‘The only thing necessary for the triumph [of evil] is for good men to do nothing’). In pamphlets distributed at Gerindra rallies in the lead-up to voting during April 2014, ‘building a government that is free from corruption, strong, firm and effective’ was identified as one of the party’s core electoral promises. The pamphlet ended with ‘If not us, then who? If not now, then when?’ Such rhetorical questions implied that Gerindra was the only party capable of improving Indonesia’s record against corruption.

In its political manifesto, Gerindra specifically addressed corruption as a legal issue, asserting that while the laws were adequate they were inconsistently applied by the judiciary. The punishments for those involved in corruption, collusion and nepotism (*korupsi, kolusi dan nepotisme*, KKN) must be harsher if they are to act as an effective deterrent (Gerindra 2012b: 33). This stance is reiterated in Gerindra’s official regulations, which state that one of Gerindra’s responsibilities is to influence and oversee the creation of an ‘honest, clean and dignified [government], that is also free of corruption, misappropriation and misuse of political power’ (Gerindra 2012a: 7). The document claims that the party would address corruption by strengthening law enforcement and the bureaucratic system, asserting also that its members had a unique ‘identity’ which meant they ‘will never cheat, steal or corruptly use money from the Party, let alone money from the people or the state’ (Gerindra 2012a: 31). Gerindra also published its own newspaper from April 2011 to November 2013, *Gema Indonesia Raya*, featuring articles by Prabowo and other senior figures about party ideology and activities, including a focus on Gerindra’s anti-corruption stance. While the newspaper had a limited readership outside of the party, it provided a written record of party discourse which could be used by commentators and journalists.

In the year leading up to the election, *Gema Indonesia Raya* provided a dedicated mouthpiece for the party, featuring repeated references to Gerindra’s status as a clean party committed to combating corruption. For example, in the June 2013 edition, Prabowo wrote a front cover opinion piece titled ‘We want to win by being clean’, in which he stated that ‘we want to win by being clean, honest, transparent and *legitimate* [emphasis in original]’ (Subianto 2013). In the same edition, the

newspaper also featured an article written by one of the party's communication advisors about Beefgate, describing the arrest of PKS president Luthfi Hasan Ishaq as 'a new chapter in Indonesia's fight against corruption' that demonstrated how political elites were now becoming KPK targets, as well they should (Nasution 2013c). The same communication advisor also wrote in the October 2013 edition that the Presidential Palace was home to an elite 'mafia' (Nasution 2013b). In the November 2013 edition he argued that Yudhoyono must have known about the scandal because it seemed to involve so many Democratic Party members and that the President should be investigated for involvement in Centurygate following the end of his term (Nasution 2013a).

While Nasdem's references to an anti-corruption agenda in official publications were less overt than those of Hanura or Gerindra, the discourse remained an important facet of the party's identity. Party documentation outlines that the 'restoration' of Indonesia is a process that requires both a structural and moral adjustment of government, but also a moral adjustment of those in politics, to overcome their 'materialistic and hedonistic nature', to instead prioritize public welfare over personal desires (Nasdem 2011b: 19). In point 17 of its platform outline, one of the party's stated goals was to create a clean and professional bureaucracy that works only in the interest of the people. In line with this goal, according to the party handbook (Nasdem 2011a), all party cadres are required to sign a contract stating that they will not undertake any corruption or other immoral activities. Nasdem's branding also attempted to frame the party as anti-elite and pro-people (*pro-rakyat*). Its manifesto stated that party members 'reject a democracy that is a mere circulation of power amongst elites who are not leaders of quality or worthy of the position' (Nasdem 2011a: 3). This reference to the negative influence of elites in Indonesia's government intended to appeal to alienated 'ordinary citizens' who viewed politics as the domain of the rich. In Nasdem's nationalist narrative, the poor had been marginalized for too long because those in charge failed to fulfil the ideals of Indonesian nationalism based on Pancasila. The party referred to itself as a movement for 'restoration' (*restorasi*) and 'change' (*perubahan*), aimed at changing the mental and moral attitudes of the government in order to build an honest and productive society based on integrity (Nasdem 2011b: 21). In depicting itself as true nationalists, Nasdem positioned itself as having a moral authority over the current government leaders, who were, by implication, *not* true nationalists.

The prevalence of anti-corruption sentiment within these official documents illustrates how parties attempted to sell themselves as preferable alternatives to the existing parties. These documents, in a sense, form the basis for much of the rhetoric used in symbol-building. In identifying goals such as a being 'clean' and condemning the 'exploitation' of Indonesia by some within the government, emerging parties aimed to align themselves with readily-acceptable principles. Parties did, however, recognize that most voters would not read their manifestos, let alone conduct in-depth research into their 'vision and mission'. This meant that parties had to find other ways to appeal to the masses, for example, establishing a positive public profile for senior party figures to not only promote, but indeed exemplify, the core symbols of the party.

### ***Party leaders***

Party leaders play an integral role in establishing the image of a party and embodying the symbols that it wishes to present. Harrop (1990: 279) contends that leaders' words and actions are important in the creation and promotion of party symbols because voters like to put a human face to a party. As discussed in Chapter One, the image of party leaders is crucial and their credibility rests on a close alignment between personal and party image (Capelos 2010; Druckman *et al.* 2004; Harrop 1990). In the lead-up to the general elections, selected members of the party leadership, particularly the presidential candidates (or senior party figures in the case of Nasdem) toured the country giving speeches at political rallies to promote their respective parties. These rallies, often populated by paid attendees (Pepinsky 2014; Simandjuntak 2012: 101), were more a spectacle than anything else—a show of strength to the public rather than a true reflection of popularity. Still, knowing that these orations were an opportunity to publicize the party and given the high likelihood of media coverage, party leaders used these opportunities to further establish an anti-corruption image.

Leaders of emerging parties had already begun to align their parties to an anti-corruption symbol well before the official campaign period. Wiranto, Prabowo and Surya Paloh all published books in the years leading up to the 2014 election that were designed to build their image as agents of change. For example, Paloh's book *Mari Bung Rebut Kembali* (2012) was a compilation of 'inspirational' speeches by Paloh invoking the revolutionary and patriotic spirit of former president Sukarno. In 2013, Prabowo also published a book in a similar vein, entitled *Surat Untuk Sahabat* (Letter

to a Friend), arguing that Indonesia needed to work harder to achieve the dreams of the nation's founding fathers. Wiranto also authored a number of books, including *Meretas Jalan Baru Ekonomi Indonesia* (Paving a New Road for Indonesia's Economy) and *Meluruskan Jalan Demokrasi* (Straightening the Road to Democracy), presenting his vision for the country's future (Wiranto 2009b;c).

In the 2014 election campaigns, leaders from each emerging party cultivated media relations in order to broadcast their message via press coverage. At the same time, parties organized public appearances and ran advertising campaigns that prominently featured images of the party leader(s). Wiranto, Hanura's presidential candidate, and media tycoon Hary Tanoesoedibjo (often referred to as 'Hary Tanoe'), the vice-presidential candidate, were frequently quoted in the media discussing issues of corruption. Similarly, Prabowo spoke repeatedly about the need for corruption eradication, using his media to promote not only himself, but also the party's anti-corruption symbol. Nasdem, which did not have a presidential candidate, nevertheless also sold its anti-corruption symbol through senior party figures including Surya Paloh and party chair, Patrice Rio Capella.

Gerindra's Prabowo was also consistently vocal in his stance against corruption in election campaigning leading up to the 2014 national elections. In March 2013, he observed that 'the levels of corruption [in Indonesia] are insane' and much of the national budget went missing every year. These leaks (*bocoran*), he said, were the result of a poorly run government that needed to improve its transparency and accountability (*Kompas* 2013b). During his Independence Day address in August 2013, Prabowo accused the Yudhoyono government of being full of corrupt people who were being caught 'one by one' by the KPK for their crimes (Riadi 2013). Indeed, so strong was his proclaimed commitment to fighting corruption that he was willing to die for the cause (*Tribunnews* 2013b). A 2014 poll released by Indonesia Survey Center (ICS) found Prabowo's 'competence' and 'bravery' concerning corruption were identified as major contributors to his popularity (Alfiyah 2014). The poll's credibility aside, Prabowo latched onto its findings in his campaign rhetoric.<sup>14</sup> Later, in March

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<sup>14</sup> A number of surveys were conducted in the lead-up to the election, done by competing survey institutes wishing to predict the electoral outcome. The veracity and neutrality of survey institutes came into questions during this time, particularly due to the fact that pre-election survey results were vastly different from the actual outcome. This was most evident in the failure of PDIP to gain over 20 per cent of votes when it had polled so well in the lead-up to voting. This might be explained on the basis that some of these institutes are privately owned and survey results play a role in shaping public opinion (not just vice versa). Plus,

2014, Prabowo declared that any Gerindra member accused of corruption was a 'bastard' and that, while he could not be certain that every member of Gerindra was clean, he was sure he would have no trouble dismissing them if they were found to be corrupt (Asril 2014a).

Billing their candidates as leaders of the future, Nasdem contended that its parliamentary candidates would be 'forward thinking, free from any legal and corruption charges, and pro-the people' (*BeritaTV Indo* 2012). Nasdem chairperson, Patrice Rio Capella, claimed the party had been formed by concerned citizens in response to decreasing public regard for politicians and therefore had a responsibility to offer better leadership (*Republika* 2013).<sup>15</sup> Nasdem leadership also criticized President Yudhoyono's inability to control parliamentarians from his own party. For example, in June 2013 Surya Paloh accused the government of shirking its anti-corruption responsibilities, arguing that the continued presence of corrupt party members indicated a party leadership that was 'half-hearted' in their commitment to fighting corruption (Gustaman 2013). In another public statement in June 2013, Paloh stated that Nasdem would accept responsibility for any corruption involving its party members, which he did not believe would be a problem because Nasdem candidates were clean (Badudu 2013; Nasdem 2014a;c).<sup>16</sup>

Hanura's presidential team candidates, Wiranto and Hary Tanoë, used similar rhetoric during their orations. During a speech in Bali, March 2013, Wiranto stressed that Hanura was a party of justice, including 'justice against corruptors' and against all those who caused suffering to the people. Wiranto also repeatedly called for more severe punishments to be imposed for corruption, saying those found guilty should not only be stripped of all assets, but also face the death penalty.<sup>17</sup> Demanding the death penalty for corruption not only emphasized that Hanura was clean itself and had nothing to fear from harsher penalties for corruption, but also demonstrated that it was so committed that it was prepared to support the drastic measure of capital

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some survey institutes were associated with specific candidates. For an individual account of the difficulties in relying on samples and polls, see Salim (2014).

<sup>15</sup> This statement was made in response to survey results revealing that over 52 per cent of people did not think that politicians set a good example of ethics and morality.

<sup>16</sup> In order to discourage candidates from spending their own money or amassing debt, Nasdem agreed to fund several individual campaigns. The party claimed it had billions of rupiah set aside to assist candidates, claiming this would boost campaign accountability (Badudu 2013).

<sup>17</sup> For examples of references to the death penalty for corruption in Wiranto's speeches, see *Berita Satu* (2014a); *SoloposTV* (2014).

punishment. Though he did not advocate for the death penalty, Hary Tanoë also emphasized the negative impact of corruption in Indonesia. In his July 2013 nomination acceptance speech he stated that he had been driven to enter politics because of all the concerns he had for the country. He lamented that ‘the problems of corruption, rule of law, education and many other social problems’ had prevented Indonesia from reaching its full potential (Tanoesoedibjo 2013).<sup>18</sup> As the election approached, Hary Tanoë emphasized the need to eradicate corruption, saying that Indonesia ‘has many issues to face, including the problem of unresolved corruption cases’ and that ‘when we get rid of all corruption cases this country will have a strong economy that is able to help all Indonesians’ (Hidayat 2014).

The prevalence of anti-corruption rhetoric meant that when corruption accusations arose, party leadership were forced to act. For example, in March 2014, Wiranto was forced to announce that Bambang Soeharto, a senior party official in Lombok and chairman of Hanura’s election board, had stepped down in the lead-up to the elections following allegations by the KPK that he had bribed members of the Attorney-General’s office and judges in return for a favourable court ruling in a land ownership case in which he had apparently lodged false ownership documents (Lubis 2013; Manggiasih 2013). While a potential blow to the party’s image, this statement was also an opportunity to demonstrate Hanura’s zero-tolerance policy against corruption within its ranks. In announcing the dismissal, Wiranto stressed that since Hanura ‘has always been committed to being clean’, he had no choice but to dismiss Soeharto while awaiting the outcome of criminal investigations against him (*Berita Satu* 2013a). While the public announcement was embarrassing for the party, it was not the public relations disaster it could have been, with the dismissal framed as evidence that the party would root out corruption throughout Indonesia, starting from within its own ranks.

### ***Parties in the media***

Emerging parties, like others, believed that extensive media coverage was essential for their campaigns and they were determined to use all the promotional opportunities available to them. Media coverage allowed emerging parties to comment on current events as they broke and to reinforce their symbol(s) throughout the campaign. As both Hanura and Nasdem had media barons in key

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<sup>18</sup> In another example, on 1 October 2013, the *Jakarta Globe* newspaper ran a feature article entitled ‘Hary Tanoë as Corruption Fighter’ (Bastian 2013), profiling him following a presentation he made at the Singaporean Chamber of Commerce in Jakarta.

leadership positions, they were afforded extraordinary opportunities for media coverage in the lead-up to the 2014 elections. Concerns arose that these media owners would encourage partisan coverage by their media outlets. It was extremely difficult to regulate partisan news coverage given that, arguably, this was not a breach of the law.<sup>19</sup> As such, in February 2013 President Yudhoyono appealed to the media to self-regulate and maintain balanced and fair reporting on parties in the lead-up to the 2014 election (Perdani 2013c). Paloh rejected accusations that Nasdem had flaunted campaign regulations by using its *Metro TV* connection to campaign before the official period (Iman 2014). Hary Tanoë pledged that Hanura would not breach any electoral campaign regulations (*Berita Satu* 2013b).<sup>20</sup> While Gerindra had no ties to any specific news outlet, it reportedly had a campaign budget of some Rp. 300 billion and spent significant amounts on media advertising.<sup>21</sup>

Having privileged access to media outlets did not mean that party promotion was unfettered. Under the KPU's 2013 regulations on party advertising during elections campaigns, political commercials and open meetings were allowed between 16 March 2014 and 5 April 2014 but parties were prohibited from using mass media, print or electronic, for campaign purposes before 15 March 2014.<sup>22</sup> This did not prevent news reporting on activities or public statements from political parties during this period.<sup>23</sup> In addition, throughout 2013, many parties aired commercials designed to familiarize the public with particular party members, especially presidential candidates. While these advertisements violated the spirit of the KPU regulations they did not technically breach them.

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<sup>19</sup> McCargo (2012: 207-211), in a broad study of the connection between media and politics in Asia (though focused on Thailand), asserts that the relationship between the two is often murky and media ownership tends to promote partisan reporting.

<sup>20</sup> Hanura's vice-presidential candidate, Hary Tanoë, is the owner of the MNC media group and *RCTI* television station, while Nasdem leader, Suryo Paloh, owns *Media Indonesia* newspaper and *Metro TV*.

<sup>21</sup> This budget figure was the official amount reported by Gerindra in their mandatory reporting to the KPU. However, there was much speculation that most parties spent far more on their campaigns than reported. Didik Supriyanto, from the NGO Election House for Democracy (Rumah Pemilu untuk Demokrasi, Perludem) suspected that Gerindra's actual spending was much higher than its reported political funding of Rp. 300 billion (Afrianti and Dewi 2013).

<sup>22</sup> A copy of Law No. 01/2013 on Guidelines for the Implementation of Election Campaigns by Members for the DPR-RI, DPD and DPRD can be found at the KPU website (Komisi Pemilihan Umum 2013).

<sup>23</sup> Surya Paloh even claimed that gagging media coverage and restricting advertising violated freedom of the press (Rochmanuddin 2014).

Party rhetoric in the media, both before and during the official campaign period, clearly drew upon anti-corruption discourse, with new parties seeking to draw media attention to the poor performance of the government. In the lead-up to the election, Hanura made several public statements about the government's failure to prosecute officials over the Bank Century corruption scandal, calling for an investigation into the involvement of Boediono, Indonesia's then Vice-President. Hanura spokespersons accused the government of a cover-up.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, Hanura promoted polls conducted in October 2012 and March 2013 that named them as the 'cleanest' party in Indonesia, having never been implicated in any corruption case.<sup>25</sup> This framing clearly sought to portray the government as 'bad' and Hanura as clean and therefore 'good'. In another example, Wiranto declared to *Republika* newspaper that Indonesia was in dire need of new leadership that was trustworthy, clean and corruption-free— noting that, if called upon, he was ready for the job (Sudiaman 2013). Later in the campaign, Wiranto highlighted more recent surveys which again named Hanura as the nation's cleanest party. He reinforced Hanura's 'clean' status with the public statement: 'Hanura is free of corruption; can other parties claim the same?' (Kuswandi 2013).

Hanura used its media profile to draw attention explicitly to its anti-corruption stance several times in the campaign. First, revelations that parliamentarians convicted of corruption could still receive state pensions spurred an angry response from Hanura. It became a media headline, with several reports published critical of the Yudhoyono administration's reluctance to amend legislation in order to strip corrupt politicians of parliamentary benefits (Kurniawan 2013; Sihalohe 2013b; Yulika 2013). In November 2013, Hanura's parliamentary faction head declared that any parliamentarian found guilty of corruption should lose all their entitlements, including their pension and access to government facilities, no matter what party they were from (Hanura 2013a). The statement coincided with investigations into the corrupt dealings of Democratic Party legislator Andi Mallarangeng, who was detained a month earlier. Second, Hanura also provoked debates surrounding the KPK's arrest

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<sup>24</sup> Hanura released a public statement on its website on 30 November 2012 entitled 'KPK confirms 2 new suspects in the Century case'. In this article a Hanura spokesperson condemned the KPK for taking so long to name these suspects when their involvement had been known since 2010. The spokesperson also claimed that these two men may be taking the fall for their superiors, including Vice-President Boediono, who are being protected by the current leadership (Hanura 2012).

<sup>25</sup> Polling by the National Survey Institute in October 2012 found Hanura to be the least corrupt party in the DPR (Fadly 2012; Giyanto 2012). A similar survey in March 2013 by the same company found that Hanura had maintained this standing (Ferri 2013; Khaddaf 2013).

of Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Akil Mochtar, in October 2013.<sup>26</sup> In a statement to the media in October 2013, Hanura Deputy Secretary-General for Law and Human Rights, Kristiawanto, lambasted other political parties as ‘ambitious for power and money’ and supporting corruption in the judiciary (Wijaya 2013). He urged the government to cooperate with the KPK to accelerate the investigation so that the perpetrator would have less opportunity to hide evidence of their wrongdoing. Third, during the official campaign period Wiranto and Hary Tanoë repeatedly highlighted the delayed implementation of infrastructure projects due to corruption, blaming the lack of development for ongoing poverty (Bramantyo 2014; Dzulkarnaen 2014). Finally, in March 2014, Hary Tanoë also stated that Indonesian ‘regulations for budget management need to be clear and transparent ... and with clean, firm leadership, corruption can be ended’ (Waskita 2014), implying that the current government was either not clean or committed enough to combat corruption effectively.

While Gerindra itself did not have direct links to any national media outlets, its campaign team focused on getting party coverage via media reports of statements by senior figures. Sensational statements and accusations were particularly useful in attracting general media attention. For example, Gerindra accused President Yudhoyono of hiding his own involvement in Centurygate and using his position to protect members of his cabinet from corruption investigations.<sup>27</sup> In March 2013, for example, a Gerindra spokesperson claimed that Yudhoyono had deliberately shifted the Minister of Finance, Agus Martowardojo, to the position of Governor of the Bank of Indonesia in an attempt to shield him from the Hambalang investigation (Gerindra 2013a; Malau 2013).<sup>28</sup> As the election campaign intensified, Gerindra media statements became increasingly belligerent towards the Yudhoyono administration. Early on, in December 2012, Prabowo claimed that his party was the only choice for citizens who wanted a leader free from corruption (Ratya 2012), while another Gerindra official explained that Gerindra would gain more votes than the Democratic Party in the 2014 election because of its reputation for being clean.<sup>29</sup> Later, Gerindra’s attacks against the government became even more vociferous. For example, in June

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<sup>26</sup> Details of the Akil Mochtar case can be found in Chapter Three.

<sup>27</sup> The Hambalang scandal was discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>28</sup> It is unclear from Gerindra’s statements exactly how this move would ‘shield’ him, but the implication appeared to be that if he was no longer Minister for Finance he would come under less scrutiny.

<sup>29</sup> Spokesperson and Gerindra parliamentary member Martin Hutabarat, quoted in *Vivanews*, 20 February 2013 (Kusumadewi and Yulika 2013).

2013, Prabowo attacked Yudhoyono and his administration in a statement, urging citizens not to elect another ‘thief’ as president in 2014 (Gerindra 2013b). Following Yudhoyono’s National Day address on 17 August 2013, a Gerindra spokesperson criticized the president for failing to prioritize anti-corruption efforts, despite it being one of Indonesia’s major political challenges. His comments suggested that Yudhoyono did not mention corruption either because he did not feel it was important or because members of his party were being investigated, whereas Gerindra’s platform clearly prioritized corruption eradication (*Tribunnews* 2013a).

Gerindra also seized on survey results that reflected positively on the party, using them to support assertions of the party’s superiority over rivals. For example, in January 2014, it promoted the Indonesian Survey Centre’s findings, which indicated Gerindra party cadres were considered ‘relatively clean of corruption cases’ and that Prabowo was the potential presidential candidate with the ‘highest competency for eradicating corruption’ (Alfiyah 2014). These results were published by several media outlets including reputable online news website *Tempo.co.id*.<sup>30</sup> Gerindra also used the media to promote internal policies that fostered an anti-corruption symbol. It publicized its policy of prohibiting Gerindra parliamentarians from undertaking overseas study tours. The party argued that these trips were merely junkets and a waste of government funding. In December 2013, Prabowo contended that Gerindra was the only party with such a policy, claiming it had saved the government around Rp. 26 billion (Fitrat 2013).<sup>31</sup> Prabowo also made headlines in November 2013 when he condemned the planned renovations of the national parliament building, claiming that they were merely an opportunity for skimming money from the state (Waskita 2013b). The building companies awarded the tender, PT Adhi Karya and PT DGI (Duta Graha Indah), were also implicated in the Hambalang scandal, linking the renovation project to disgraced Democratic Party politicians such as Nazaruddin, who was already in prison for corruption.

Nasdem also attempted to keep Centurygate in the spotlight, determined to maintain public interest in the unresolved case.<sup>32</sup> In another example, Nasdem launched a

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<sup>30</sup> The story was also reported by *Berita Satu* (2014b), *Pos Kota* (2014) and *Republika* (2014) amongst others.

<sup>31</sup> Other party members have made similar statements, see (Harian Metro 2013; Paparazie 2013; Prihandoko 2014).

<sup>32</sup> For example, in March 2013, the media reported that Nasdem was lobbying the KPK to question former finance minister, Sri Mulyani, about the Bank Century bailout, even though she had already relocated to Washington D.C. to become Managing Director at the World Bank

media campaign in December 2013 to encourage citizen oversight of polling booths and vote-counting in order to decrease the likelihood of money politics in the legislative elections. Arguing that smaller parties were disadvantaged in elections because larger parties had more money and influence, Nasdem leaders called on voters to ensure there were impartial witnesses at each polling station (*Media Indonesia* 2013; Novaria 2013). Soon after the launch of its vote-monitoring appeal, Nasdem also highlighted a report from the government's Centre for Financial Transaction Reports and Analysis (Pusat Pelaporan dan Analisis Transaksi Keuangan, PPATK), which found an increase in 'suspicious transactions' by political parties in the year leading up to the election, urging that they be fully investigated (Nasdem 2014f). In these appeals, Nasdem capitalized on its status as a political underdog, threatened by the treachery of larger, more established parties. In arguing that more independent oversight was needed, Nasdem also portrayed itself as trustworthy and clean: it had nothing to hide from the public, so the more witnesses and investigations the better.

### ***Parties' Online Presence***

As Howard (2003: 213-214) argues, technological innovation has radically altered power relations in politics as campaigns can be less expensive while simultaneously more reflexive, operating with fewer barriers to entry. As opposed to 'modern' forms of campaigning which rely upon the news media, campaigning in its 'postmodern' form uses the internet as its primary means of political communication to voters.<sup>33</sup> Digital media facilitates a new way for both the production and consumption of political information (Howard 2005: 154). Although generally a medium for mobilizing existing supporters rather than persuading undecided voters (Vaccari 2008: 649), Indonesian party websites provide information about what the party stands for, with most sites containing electronic copies of key documents, such as the party manifesto and 'vision and mission'. Party websites also enable the real-time dissemination of public statements.

All the political parties studied in this thesis had an official website, established well before the 2014 election. However, the frequency of postings and statements

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(*Rimanews* 2013). Nasdem also partnered with Lily Wahid, daughter of former President Abdurrahman Wahid, to submit documents to the KPK that, they claimed, shed light on Centurygate (Irianto 2013). However, the content of these documents was never made public.

<sup>33</sup> For a more in-depth description of what constitutes premodern, modern and postmodern political campaigns, see Howard (2003).

increased dramatically in the months leading up to polling day, particularly during the official campaign period when there were more rallies and events to cover.<sup>34</sup> Although not as reflexive as social media, official websites provided a forum for disseminating party messages in two main forms. First, parties circulated report-style pieces on survey results or party activities, for example the turnout at a particular rally, or news of a party branch undertaking charitable work.<sup>35</sup> These stories inevitably portrayed the party in a positive light.

Second, party websites published several opinion pieces. Some of these were written anonymously, appearing as a generic party statement. Not only did parties mount politically strategic attacks on rivals and corruption in general, they also used their websites to restate their own commitment to the issue. For example, in February 2014, Nasdem posted an article entitled 'Nasdem urges a return to the fight against KKN', insisting that Nasdem members make the fight against corruption a priority in their lives, just as Nasdem had committed to do in government (Nasdem 2014b). On 30 March 2014, Hanura posted an article naming itself as the 'cleanest and most anti-corruption party' in the legislative elections (Hanura 2014b). Gerindra, too, continually reiterated its anti-corruption stance on its webpage. For instance, in February 2014 it claimed that 'fully supporting the KPK, Gerindra instructs candidates to refuse the use of all forms of inducements (*gratifikasi*)' stating that Gerindra believes a corruption-free election will be 'a win for all Indonesians' (Gerindra 2014a). Even if the audience for these statements was limited to those already inclined to support the party, the websites were a showcase for key political symbols, allowing citizens to easily gain a sense of party priorities.

Website articles also reinforced and justified criticism of political rivals. For example, Gerindra's official website posted commentary on the corruption investigations into Atut, who was investigated for large-scale corruption along with several members of her family. In addition, every Gerindra post on the topic of corruption was followed by a short summary of Gerindra's own commitment to corruption. The summary

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<sup>34</sup> Based on author observations, Gerindra seemed the most prolific publisher of website content, sometimes posting up to 6 times per day on its website in the months leading up to the election.

<sup>35</sup> For example, on 14 January 2014 an article was posted on *Hanura.com* entitled *Wiranto bantu korban banjir di Purworejo* ('Wiranto assists flood victims in Purworejo') (Hanura 2014a); Nasdem published *Nasdem Pekalongan Bantu Korban Banjir* (Nasdem in Pekalongan Helps Flood Victims') on 23 January 2014 (Nasdem 2014d). Also publicizing their flood assistance, Gerindra posted *Prabowo Bantu Korban Banjir Soppeng* ('Prabowo assists Flood Victims in Soppeng') on 28 January 2014 (Gerindra 2014f).

reads: 'Gerindra is a political party that has the vision of becoming the party that brings prosperity to the people, social justice, and order based on nationalism and religion while preserving the Unitary State of Indonesia... Gerindra is the only political party with a clear and structured program enshrined in the 6 point action plan for the Transformation of the Nation. Amongst the numerous awards received by Gerindra are awards from Transparency International Indonesia and ICW as the party with the best financial transparency'.<sup>36</sup> In one post, Fadli Zon, Deputy Leader of Gerindra, demanded that Atut resign immediately and allow a new governor to be appointed for Banten. Zon criticized existing legislation, which allowed a governor to continue to rule even if indicted on corruption charges (Gerindra 2014c).<sup>37</sup> Gerindra also posted an opinion piece on the Hambalang scandal, condemning Anas Urbaningrum, former Chairman of the Democratic Party, for failing to attend a hearing called by the KPK. In the statement, Zon stressed Gerindra's unconditional support for the KPK, while contending that a failure to cooperate with the KPK set a poor example for other politicians (Gerindra 2014b). In another example, on 12 March 2014 the party issued an opinion piece asserting that voters needed to 'punish' corrupt political parties by refusing to vote for them in the election (Gerindra 2014d).

Nasdem similarly used its official website to draw attention to the corrupt behaviour of its political rivals. For example, in January 2014 it argued that three 'stars' of the Democratic Party's anti-corruption advertisements had been dishonest, referring to the now infamous 'say no to corruption' political advertising campaign from 2009 (Nasdem 2014e).<sup>38</sup> The story quoted an expert in political communication from the University of Indonesia, Tjipta Lesmana, who stated that the advertisement reflected inconsistencies between the rhetoric and actions of the Democratic Party, while also warning that the party was likely to suffer political backlash in the election because of this hypocrisy. Nasdem also published articles on corruption cases involving Anas, Akil and Luthfi. Although these articles were opinion pieces, they were usually framed as a media article reporting facts, unlike those on the Gerindra website. In cases where opinion was included, Nasdem tended to quote outsiders rather than members of its own party. In continuing to publicize these corruption cases, Nasdem focused

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<sup>36</sup> An example can be seen at Gerindra (2014b).

<sup>37</sup> Zon noted that government officials are only technically required to resign once found guilty by the judiciary.

<sup>38</sup> This advertisement was screened nationwide during the Democratic Party's 2009 legislative campaign. It featured rising stars of the party, as well as Yudhoyono, filmed saying 'no' to corruption.

public attention on the large number of scandals linked to the Yudhoyono government.

While some emerging parties had privileged access to traditional media outlets, the internet and social media played an important role in election campaigning.<sup>39</sup> Offering instant and unrestricted access to official party statements, as well as those made by individuals, social media—in particular Twitter and Facebook—was a means of communicating directly with voters via non-relational channels.<sup>40</sup> These new technologies, to some extent, reduced the importance of personal social relationships, as well as on-the-ground campaigning by party members, because messages could diffuse directly from the party elite to voters without the need for an intermediary. Of course, more traditional forms of campaigning continued to exist as electioneering in rural and regional areas still relied on television and the print media, as well as even more traditional campaign techniques, such as posters, pamphlets and ‘whistlestop tours’, especially when the internet was unavailable or unreliable.

Social media was an important component of the campaigns, particularly in reaching out to upper and middle class voters who were technologically savvy.<sup>41</sup> It allowed parties to develop an online ‘track record’ of their anti-corruption rhetoric, reinforcing their efforts in other spheres and building and entrenching their use of anti-corruption as a political symbol. This was particularly important for emerging

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<sup>39</sup> While there is little in the way of published academic studies on the impact of social media in the Indonesian election, there is much anecdotal evidence showing it played a key role. Indonesia is one of social media’s largest markets. According to figures released by Twitter in June 2014, there are approximately 20 million active Twitter users in Indonesia (Lukman 2014). Indonesia is also the fourth largest country for Facebook use, with around 60.5 million registered users according to a survey by research firm eMarketer (Ross 2014). For some examples of commentary on the importance of social media during Indonesia’s elections, see Belot (2013) and Hearne (2014).

<sup>40</sup> Much of the social media presence was also fragmented because several candidates had their own Facebook and Twitter accounts. Enli and Skogerbø (2013) argue that Facebook and Twitter are, by their nature, an individual-focused arena, and therefore are more useful for personalized campaigning, particularly given that even though candidates represent particular parties, they essentially campaign for themselves. However, during the presidential elections, the social media presence was much more coherent, with the campaign messages clearly emanating from the central office. For more academic studies on the role of social media in elections, see Bennett *et al.* (2008); Howard (2003); and Howard (2005).

<sup>41</sup> In a study on the use of social media for the 2014 elections in Indonesia, Yuliatiningtyas (2014) found that although television and newspaper advertising were still the most popular campaign strategies, the use of social media did have significant results. This is supported by research from other countries. For example Bean (2011: 27), researching the use of internet for political engagement in Australia, found that a significant amount of voters gained information from the internet. In Norway, Enli and Skogerbø (2013) assert that the use of social-media led to increasingly personalized campaign strategies and higher individual profiles of candidates.

parties with little history of anti-corruption activism to draw upon in constructing their symbols. Parties hoped that consistent online posts discussing the party's anti-corruption stance would help them to 'own' the issue. Gerindra, which was acknowledged as having one of the more tech-savvy campaigns during the election, was at the forefront of this strategy (*Asia Calling* 2013). Gerindra had an entire office dedicated to the party's social media marketing, responding to messages and tactically uploading pictures, statements and media links that portrayed the party in a positive light.<sup>42</sup> To a lesser extent, Hanura and Nasdem also used the internet to promote themselves and their anti-corruption ideas.

Social media formats such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube were another popular means for communicating information to voters. Often echoing or linking to website posts, these fora gave parties the opportunity to provide real-time information to voters and responses to questions and criticisms. Each of the three political parties had a professional communications team responsible for updating social media content. These teams controlled the official party accounts, as well as those of the main leaders. For example, in Hanura, Wiranto would sometimes contact the communications team to put up a certain message, but oftentimes the team would post updates on his behalf, following the directions of the campaign manager. Links to television interviews and positive media articles dominated, but the team also posted messages of gratitude to citizens for their support and generic statements about the political priorities of the party.<sup>43</sup>

Gerindra was the most popular and prolific across social media, amassing over 3 million 'likes' on its official Facebook site and over 180,000 'followers' on its official Twitter handle.<sup>44</sup> The party posted regularly in the lead-up to the legislative elections, linking to articles about Gerindra and displaying photos of its leaders in action.<sup>45</sup> The Twitter account also provided one of the only up-to-date sources of information regarding when and where political rallies would be held.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, Nasdem's Twitter account, with over 25,000 followers, linked to news articles about the party,

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with Gerindra party official, 28 May 2013.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Hanura media advisor, 17 February 2013.

<sup>44</sup> These figures were correct as of 2 May 2014.

<sup>45</sup> Gerindra's social media activity increased after the legislative election as Prabowo launched his presidential campaign.

<sup>46</sup> The author used Twitter to keep track of the rallies organised by the DPP during the official campaign period.

as well as providing details of rallies.<sup>47</sup> While it did have a presence on Facebook, this was mostly a forum for users to post opinions about Nasdem rather than a medium for propagating information. Activity on the page increased during the presidential campaign, in which Nasdem ultimately backed Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla.<sup>48</sup> Hanura also had active Facebook and Twitter accounts, with over 500,000 and 11,000 followers respectively, though they were not updated as often as those of Gerindra and Nasdem. Hanura's online activity also intensified in the weeks leading up to 9 April 2014 but dropped off after the official electoral results were announced.

Emerging parties also made use of YouTube to post videos relating to their campaigns. YouTube effectively provided a free-of-charge online depository for open-access advertising material. Clips posted by the parties during the legislative election campaign aimed to portray a positive party image overall, unlike video clips posted in the lead-up to the presidential elections, which had a clear focus on candidates. One example of the use of viral video campaigning was Gerindra's 'Mas Garuda' series, which featured a super-hero like figure dressed in an eagle mask addressing various political issues including corruption and 'vote selling' (voters accepting bribes from candidates).<sup>49</sup> The official Gerindra YouTube channel contained a variety of other videos on the topic of corruption. These included titles such as 'Prabowo: what will happen if we allow corruption to continue?' (GerindraTV 2013b), 'Prabowo's struggle: an Indonesia free from corruption' (GerindraTV 2013a) and 'Prabowo: At this time the government system is weak, inefficient and corrupt' (GerindraTV 2013c). Hanura's official YouTube channel operates under the name 'Wiranto Channel'. While Hanura's channel had fewer videos than that of Gerindra, it featured similar clips emphasizing Hanura's commitment to being clean. For example, it posted a nine minute illustrated video entitled 'Your Conscience Eradicates Corruption' (Hanura 2013b), explaining the link between corruption and the other social ills facing Indonesia.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> These figures were correct as of 2 May 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Nasdem was quick to declare their 'unconditional' support for the presidential candidate Jokowi and his running mate, Jusuf Kalla, releasing an official statement on 14 May 2014 (Hutasoit 2014). Hanura followed, declaring their backing for the pair on 17 May 2014 (Ruqoyah and Ansyari 2014).

<sup>49</sup> The full range of videos can be found at the Mas Garuda YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/user/MasGaruda>.

<sup>50</sup> Nasdem did not have an active, party-run channel on YouTube; however, advertisements and speeches by party leaders were posted by individual Nasdem members and district offices and were, therefore, available online. Media outlets also posted some interviews and news stories featuring Nasdem leaders, such as Surya Paloh and Patrice Rio Capella.

## Conclusion

Emerging parties acknowledged the risks of using an anti-corruption symbol in their election campaigns but chose to do so anyway. While they identified these symbols as vote-getters that were popular with voters, the lack of hesitation in adopting them suggests that parties only superficially considered these risks, judging that anti-corruption symbols would backfire *only* if the party later became embroiled in a corruption scandal. Underscoring the need to remain clean and ensure that party members did nothing to jeopardize the party's reputation, these parties simply threatened to expel anyone accused of corruption and hoped that their members would uphold party values.

Assessing this strategy in terms of the benefits of using salient issues, emerging parties need do nothing to promote the importance of corruption as a serious political concern. Given the ongoing attention corruption scandals received between 2009 and 2014, as well as its long political history since colonial times, emerging parties did not need to convince voters that corruption was bad, or even that it was prevalent—both were obvious to citizens. As corruption was already a stock political plot, issue priming, which can be difficult and time consuming, was simply not required. What parties *did* need to do was convince voters that they were the most committed to addressing corruption in Indonesia, more so than all other political rivals. As such, parties had to construct a narrative that cast them in a positive light while vilifying other parties.

To this end, emerging parties used non-relational channels to highlight corruption cases and the failings of the government, hoping to demonstrate that current political elites were insincere in their anti-corruption promises. Moreover, new parties developed their own anti-corruption symbol through master narratives around corruption issues. Through this narrative, parties could capitalize on the moral discontent of voters and cast the problem as one of good versus evil. Having already outlined the failings of older parties and the need for change in their party manifestos, other party publications reinforced the rhetoric of emerging parties of being cleaner and more committed to building a better country, free from corruption. During the election campaign, these messages were augmented and further marketed through coverage of party leaders in the media as well as through more traditional articles and advertising formats. The 2014 election campaign also saw a rise in the

use of online communication to reach out to voters, appealing particularly to middle and upper class voters with ready access to the internet.

In spite of these campaign efforts, emerging parties did not achieve their stated electoral goals and it may appear that the campaigns simply failed to inspire the public support that emerging parties had hoped for. This failure, however, cannot be put down to the failure of non-relational campaigning. While these campaigns were costly and intended to sway voters across the country, they were far from the only input received by voters. While campaigns at the national level were designed to construct the anti-corruption symbol, this remained difficult to reconcile with the experiences of voters in towns and villages across the archipelago. In order to understand the latter, it is necessary to consider how party symbols were sold to voters within the multi-scalar framework in which campaigns operated. An examination of how parties campaigned nationally can only answer questions about what the parties did, not how voters responded to party attempts to own the issue of anti-corruption. As expensive or expansive as these national political campaigns were, the influence of individual candidates remained paramount in legislative elections in Indonesia. The next chapter explores three case studies of individual candidates from each of the emerging parties and examines how they personally interpreted and presented the anti-corruption symbol that their parties were so desperate to own.

# Chapter Five

## Candidates on the campaign trail

While political parties undertake national campaigns to attract support, individual candidates still play an integral role in campaigning, both for themselves and their parties. Most candidates still campaign in person at the local level, hoping to use relational channels to win votes, rather than simply relying on the popularity of the party to ensure their success. Relying on party reputation is insufficient, not least because the open party list system means that the party candidate that garners the most personal votes will win office.<sup>1</sup> Under this system, the importance of individual campaigns is paramount, as candidates compete not only against those from other parties, but also against other candidates from their own party.<sup>2</sup> Given that the elections for the national, provincial and district parliaments, and the DPD, occur concurrently, voters are exposed to the names and faces of hundreds of political hopefuls, placing candidates under additional pressure to stand out from the crowd.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Aspinall (2014a: 96-97) argues that the introduction of the open party list system has led to an increase in money politics as voters become more pragmatic in assessing candidates- assessing them on their ability to deliver cash or goods rather than their political ideals.

This chapter draws on close studies of three emerging party candidates, representing Hanura, Gerindra and Nasdem respectively.<sup>4</sup> All were candidates for the DPR-RI and

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<sup>1</sup> As noted in the Introduction, in the past, political parties ranked and numbered their candidates and votes were allocated according to a candidate's place on the party list. From 2004, voters could opt to vote for a particular individual and there may be up to ten candidates from any given party contesting a particular electorate, corresponding with the number of seats available to be won (Sherlock 2004).

<sup>2</sup> The influence of the party list system can also be seen in the shift of allegiance from trade union candidates to party candidates in elections (Caraway *et al.* 2014). Previously, candidates with strong union links were recruited by political parties as 'vote-getters' and placed below party cadres in order to boost the party's overall vote. Some union candidates suspected that in the 2009 election party officials bribed electoral officers to reallocate votes intended for them to candidates higher on the party list. For further discussion of this relationship, see Caraway and Ford (2014).

<sup>3</sup> Mietzner (2013: 121) touches on this issue in his discussion of the need for national candidates to have good relations with district branches in order to better compete against rivals in elections. However, while the point is widely accepted, the influence of the open party list voting system upon intra-party competition in Indonesia is as yet understudied.

<sup>4</sup> Information was gathered via interviews and participant observation conducted from 2013–2014. As discussed in the Introduction, this participant observation was 'moderate'. I attempted to balance my roles as an outsider (I did not join any political party or offer support in any form to a party or its campaign) and insider (I travelled, ate, socialized with, and stayed in the same accommodation as my subjects while in the field, which allowed me to develop a

were the first-ranked candidates on the party list in their electorate, but differed in terms of gender and experience. The Hanura candidate observed in East Java was female, while the other two candidates, in South Sulawesi and North Sumatra, were male. The Gerindra candidate in North Sumatra was an incumbent while the other two were not. The South Sulawesi Nasdem candidate was a former DPR-RI parliamentarian who resigned in 2013 after changing parties.<sup>5</sup>

In the 2014 legislative elections, these candidates were influenced to different extents by the nature of their relationships with central, provincial and local party committees.<sup>6</sup> Nominations for the DPR-RI candidates were registered and approved by the central committee, which also determined the candidate's ranking on the party list. However, on the ground, candidates campaigned alongside fellow parliamentary hopefuls from the national, provincial and district levels of legislature. This provided scope for both cooperation and further contestation. Furthermore, a candidate's relationship with the central committee affected the resources they received. Although the case studies presented here are all based on the experiences of first-ranked candidates with close ties to the central office in Jakarta—both the Nasdem and Gerindra candidates were involved in their parties' central committees, while the Hanura candidate had long worked in the accounts department of the party's central office—they received different levels of central support.

Candidates faced many decisions in operating their own campaigns. With the autonomy to decide how much money they spent, who they employed and how they campaigned, they were able to draw upon symbols chosen by the central committee, create their own symbols, or, if they decided that campaign symbols and rhetoric were not useful, they could instead choose to bribe voters. Candidates could even opt to mobilize anti-corruption symbolism *and* pay for votes if they wished (Aspinall

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level of trust with them as the campaigns progressed). Throughout this chapter I have referenced the specific date of interviews where relevant, but not where comments have been made that applied to the campaign in general. In these cases I have indicated whether the comment was made at the outset, during the middle, or towards the end of the campaign in order to provide relevant context for statements.

<sup>5</sup> DPR-RI members are voted in as party representatives. As such, if a member opts to leave their party, they must also resign from their position as a member of parliament.

<sup>6</sup> Interaction between DPR-RI candidates and the provincial branch office was least evident. While candidates knew the provincial party leadership, none were campaigning in provincial capital areas and therefore they did not cooperate or coordinate closely with local leaders. However, these national candidates did have individual relationships with specific provincial candidates with whom they campaigned in tandem.

2014b; Muhajir Forthcoming).<sup>7</sup> The extent to which the individual candidates studied here used anti-corruption symbols depended mainly on how they wished to present themselves to the public, which in turn was largely dictated by their own history and ideals and those of their target audience. Each candidate stressed in initial interviews the importance of combating corruption and a total rejection of money politics and vote-buying. By following the progression of the three campaigns from their commencement during the first half of 2013 through to the election on 9 April 2014, I was able to compare how candidates were influenced by external factors.<sup>8</sup> The candidates responded differently to the pressures placed on them by their parties and voters: the Hanura candidate seemingly acquiesced to demands for goods and money and began to downplay anti-corruption symbols, the Nasdem candidate became even more fervent in his anti-corruption and anti-vote-buying rhetoric, while the Gerindra candidate maintained a steady course in his use of anti-corruption symbols.

### **Hanura, East Java**

When I first met the Hanura candidate in October 2012, she was in the planning stages of her bid for party nomination.<sup>9</sup> As the daughter of a previous member of the MPR selected by former President Suharto, she had worked for the party since its inception, having known and respected the party founder, Wiranto, for some time. As she explained it, her father had been in the military at the same time as Wiranto and they were friends, and this was how she met him. Her initial motivation for joining the party was her support for Wiranto's presidential bid. She described Wiranto as 'patient and wise', and believed he could lead Indonesia 'back onto the track of Reformasi'. Her support for Wiranto's presidential bid was, therefore, an important motivation for becoming a Hanura candidate, rather than a particular affinity with the party's ideology or platform. Her impetus for running for office also stemmed from her family history—she had observed and admired her father's work when he was a

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<sup>7</sup> For example, during a presentation on vote-buying in Indonesia, Aspinall (2014b) relayed an anecdote about a PAN candidate in Rembang, Central Java, who sent out two sets of envelopes to voters. He distributed 12,000 envelopes to middle class voters with an anti-corruption message enclosed and 15,000 envelopes to other voters with money inside. In another example, Muhajir (Forthcoming: 203-204) discusses the campaign of some PKS candidates in South Kalimantan, describing that while candidates made a show of refusing to buy votes, there were suspicions that some candidates did so in spite of this rhetoric.

<sup>8</sup> See the Introduction for the definition of 'campaign period' adopted in this study.

<sup>9</sup> Hanura opened nominations for candidates at the national (DPR-RI), provincial (DPRD I) and district (DPRD II) levels in November 2012, with final candidate lists submitted to the KPU in March 2013. The KPU was then responsible for ensuring that candidates met all the necessary eligibility criteria for participation in the 2014 election. The confirmed list of approved candidates was released by the KPU in May 2013.

parliamentarian. The candidate did, however, highlight a number of issues that she supported that were part of Hanura's image-building, including its stance against corruption. She stated that Wiranto had identified anti-corruption as a party priority, both for maintaining Hanura's integrity and in presenting itself as an alternative to the current leadership, which Hanura claimed was thoroughly corrupt.<sup>10</sup>

At the outset of the campaign, the Hanura candidate made it clear that she believed that being 'clean' was very important for the party's campaign. She contended that the fundamental aim of the fight against corruption was to improve the lives of ordinary people and that eradicating corruption would also alleviate poverty in Indonesia. The candidate acknowledged that it was crucial that Hanura maintain its anti-corruption reputation because this differentiated it from the other parties. For her, the anti-corruption symbol provided a point of difference, and the party would be at risk if this symbol was co-opted by candidates who then engaged in corruption and bribery to win seats. Because anti-corruption symbolism gave the party a crucial advantage, ensuring that Hanura's reputation was upheld by party members and political aspirants was a party priority. The Hanura candidate was adamant that she was against buying votes and using bribes.<sup>11</sup>

However, while the candidate felt that combating corruption was both a party priority and useful for her own campaign, she was apprehensive about explicitly using the term 'anti-corruption'. During my first site visit to her electorate in March 2013, she discussed concerns about the terminology used in her campaign materials at some length. Some of her campaign team were worried about using the term 'anti-corruption', and suggested that the candidate instead use the word 'clean'—the term used in the party's official slogan. Presenting herself as 'clean', rather than as being 'anti-corruption', was preferable as it was seen as a more encompassing term. It could refer to a number of her characteristics, such as coming from a modest background, being honest and hard-working. The candidate and the team agreed that the term

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<sup>10</sup> This statement was reiterated in a number of public presentations made by Wiranto. For example, in his initial speeches presented in early 2013, there were repeated references to Hanura being the 'cleanest' party in Indonesia (2013a; 2013b). This claim was framed as legitimizing Hanura's claim to power, centring on its distinction from the current leadership, which it claimed was corrupt and untrustworthy—a claim that Wiranto felt Hanura could afford to make given that it remained in opposition throughout the 2009-2014 term and had no parliamentarians accused of corruption during this period.

<sup>11</sup> It was possible to speculate, though, that she took this stance because she felt she had less funding to draw on than several of her competitors. Even if she had wanted to flout party symbols and give money for votes, she simply could not compete with wealthier candidates.

'anti-corruption' had been tainted by its use in the 2009 election, when the Democratic Party used 'say no to corruption!' as its national campaign slogan. The Hanura candidate wanted to avoid any parallels between the two campaigns, given the subsequent fate of the Democrats.

During the early stages of campaign planning, the Hanura candidate often talked of her intention to conduct a clean campaign, regardless of these debates over terminology and the identified risks of using such symbolism. She had run for office in 2009 and therefore knew that she lacked the capital to effectively use vote-buying to win office. The candidate also felt that vote-buying was not only expensive, but had an uncertain return. There was no means for ensuring that people actually voted as they said they would and no recourse if voters took the money but voted for someone else. Instead, she planned to focus upon building a positive image as someone committed to public welfare while supplementing her campaign rhetoric with 'charitable works', such as purchasing new equipment for the community mosque, donating to local schools, and bankrolling entertainment events.<sup>12</sup> In addition to giving money to such causes, the candidate often subsidized the costs of food, tea, cigarettes and transport for villagers who had travelled to attend meetings (which the candidate often referred to by the Arabic-derived term *silaturrahmi*, meaning group discussions that are intended to build fraternity or affection for a person or an idea). Payments were sometimes in kind, and sometimes in small amounts of cash that (at least in theory) compensated people for their time and effort in attending.

The Hanura candidate did not consider small gifts and other gratuities to be a form of money politics.<sup>13</sup> These gifts were secondary to her main aim of generating support by meeting voters personally, and her primary campaign strategy revolved around village visits. While time consuming, this approach circumvented the ban on mass rallies outside the official campaign period. The Hanura candidate stated that she was following Jokowi's strategy of *blusukan*, which involved walking through villages and

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<sup>12</sup> Observation of conversations between the Hanura candidate, her staff and other party members showed that this candidate had purchased new sound systems for local mosques, refurbished the washing area at local mosques, provided female students at a local Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) with new headscarves, ran colouring-in competitions at local primary schools with small cash prizes for winners, purchased new percussion instruments for a local martial arts group and funded a shadow puppet (*wayang*) performance.

<sup>13</sup> Aspinall (2014a: 104) found that there were a number of commonly distributed gifts during campaigns, ranging from tokens bearing the party logo and the candidate's picture, religious gifts such as prayer mats or headscarves to basic foodstuffs, which were commonly delivered by the candidate's campaign team rather than the candidates themselves.

talking to people in their own environments, and had proven popular during his tenure as both mayor of Solo and governor of Jakarta. The Hanura candidate argued that, as many Javanese villagers still did not use Twitter or Facebook, campaigning through social media was better directed towards urban voters. Even television and print media campaigns, she contended, were not guaranteed to reach many of the rural constituents and so could be a waste of money. She therefore opted to visit her potential constituents where she could present herself, answer questions and hand out trinkets, t-shirts or food.

These visits, which were usually set up in advance by her campaign team (often referred to in Indonesia as *tim sukses*), varied in nature.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes they were brief and confined to meetings with village leaders and other times they were gatherings attended by up to 50 people. The Hanura candidate would usually introduce herself, highlight her links to the area and the fact that she had family there, and discuss her educational background (she held a Master's Degree and taught at a university in Jakarta). She also attempted to engage with villagers in order to discover their 'aspirations' (*aspirasi*), hoping to build trust with villagers by seeming interested in and empathetic towards their problems. This strategy met with different degrees of success. Sometimes there was dialogue between the candidate and the attendees, but on other occasions attendees were unresponsive. She was sometimes met with requests for money or services to the village. She was disappointed by these experiences. On other occasions she suspected that the unresponsiveness was due to the fact that the village had already been 'bought' by another candidate and was irritated with her campaign team for setting up a pointless meeting.

In spite of her frustrations, the Hanura candidate continued to visit villages and meet with voters in these forum-style events. Sometimes she went to five villages in one day, focusing particularly on those in more remote areas that were unlikely to have been visited by other parliamentary hopefuls. Her personal philosophy was based on an old Indonesian saying: 'If you don't know them, you can't love them'. In my earliest interview with her, she argued that a political party could not expect support without being trusted, or having a 'mandate' (*amanat*) from voters. Talking to people in person was, to her mind, the best way to build this trust. She also identified this as a point of difference between Hanura and other parties—Hanura candidates were

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<sup>14</sup> 'Tim sukses' has also been translated literally as 'campaign team' in the work of scholars such as Aspinall (2014c: 546) and Mietzner (2013).

willing to go to villages and engage with ordinary voters, unlike officials from other parties who were too 'arrogant' (*sombong*) to do so.

The Hanura candidate focused particularly on gaining access to communities through two women's groups: the Family Welfare Development (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, PKK), a locally based mothers' association which was established during the Suharto period and usually run by the wife of the village head,<sup>15</sup> and Jemaah Talil, an Islamic devotional group where women gather to sing/recite passages from the *Qur'an*. She concentrated on women for two reasons. First, the candidate believed that women often feel ignored by parliamentary candidates and, therefore, were more likely to value someone showing an interest in their concerns. Second, the candidate said that she sometimes found men irritating and condescending. During her meetings with women's groups, she would emphasize 'women's spirit' (*semangat perempuan*) as a reason for voting for her, arguing that women understand each other's problems and a female candidate was more likely to sympathize with their priorities.

In the early stages of campaigning, the Hanura candidate used meetings with citizens to express Hanura's party line on corruption and vote-buying—namely, that asking for money promotes 'low-quality leadership' (*pemimpin yang kurang berkualitas*). This argument was based on two contentions. First, if a candidate has paid money to gain their position then they will have spent large amounts of money during the campaign, which will then need to be recouped once in office. Second, if a candidate has paid voters for their position then they have no responsibility to voters once elected because voters have already been compensated. This idea was advanced to discourage citizens from asking for or expecting money in return for votes. It also echoed arguments used by the party's central leadership, playing upon the party's clean reputation and its purported desire to remain free from corruption. She also used this argument to emphasize their loyalty to voters—the fact that she *did not* offer money was a demonstration of her long-term commitment because she intended to deliver benefits to citizens by doing a good job as a parliamentarian.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For more on the history and work of PKK, see Marcoes (2002).

<sup>16</sup> For example, she had declared to a number of villagers during different meetings that 'You shouldn't sell yourselves so cheaply' and had suggested that they deserved 'more than Rp. 20,000 or Rp. 50,000 for your votes'.

The candidate chose to adopt Hanura's official slogan—clean, caring, decisive (*bersih, peduli, tegas*)—as her own slogan during the campaign. This was significant, because Hanura candidates were given autonomy in designing all aspects of their campaigns, including all their publicity materials. There was no directive from the central party office requiring the use of a particular slogan or format. As such, candidates had control over the image they wished to portray. This particular candidate gave a number of reasons for choosing to directly align herself with national party symbols. First, she believed that in using the official party slogan and pictures of Wiranto on some of her more prominent advertisements (such as large billboards); she was aligning herself as closely as possible with the values of the party and the figure of Wiranto himself. She saw this as being a major draw-card, explaining that one of the main reasons why people would choose Hanura was because they supported Wiranto's presidential bid. Second, as a candidate who was neither independently wealthy nor wishing to go into debt, she felt the argument that buying votes promoted a poor level of parliamentary representation was one she could use to her advantage. Third, she also mentioned that it was a claim that could be supported, citing a survey undertaken in March 2013 that named Hanura the cleanest political party in Indonesia.<sup>17</sup>

Despite her initial rejection of vote-buying as a strategy, the Hanura candidate came under increasing pressure to pay cash to villagers in return for their votes as the election neared. This pressure came chiefly from members of her campaign team. Responding to internal polling done in the second half of 2013 that suggested she would not secure sufficient votes for election, some within her campaign team urged the use of cash payments, especially to village heads or respected figures (*tokoh*) who could promise a number of votes in return for the money.<sup>18</sup> Many members of her campaign team who had worked on various other elections, either the national election in 2009 or other local elections, argued that money was the only way to secure votes in the area. Because vote-buying was such a prominent strategy in East Java, some team members were concerned that if she refused to offer cash then she had no chance of success as it was assumed that several rival candidates would do so.

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter Three for survey details.

<sup>18</sup> People capable of rallying votes are sometimes referred to as 'brokers'. The campaign team is usually comprised of at least some vote brokers, people of influence who claim to be able to persuade others to vote for a particular candidate. The phenomenon of using brokers was widespread in 2014 and brokers wielded significant influence over campaigns and their successful outcomes (Aspinall 2014c).

As one team member put it, 'It helps if people like you... But it's hard [to win] if someone else is offering them money'.

These suggestions concerned the Hanura candidate, who was torn between her desire to maintain her principles and keep her campaign budget to a minimum and how best to win. To further complicate matters, not all campaign team members agreed that using cash was a good idea. Most had no moral objections to vote-buying; rather, they did not believe it would be an effective strategy for her. They also reasoned that she lacked the local ties needed to win using money, as she was an outsider from Jakarta. In short, even if she chose to engage in vote-buying, she could not be certain that those she paid would actually vote for her. Moreover, she had already told voters during meetings that asking for money reflected poorly on them and would lead to the election of leaders who did not really care about their needs. These discussions highlighted a tension within her campaign that worsened as the election drew nearer.

While the Hanura candidate focused her energy on *blusukan*, she also adopted other common campaign strategies. In August 2013, a few months into campaigning, a *posko*—akin to a campaign office where citizens can come and talk to the candidate or their team—was set up. Mass rallies were used later during the official campaign period. Later that year, she purchased space in some local media outlets and organized to have positive biographical pieces about her published.<sup>19</sup> The candidate lacked connections within the local media and found that rival candidates, even within her own party, had made deals with certain media outlets that made it difficult for her to advertise in them. Consequently, the media outlets she paid were small and had low circulations. At the beginning of 2014, the Hanura candidate also set up Facebook and Twitter accounts. Though she had previously stated that she was wary of using social media in her campaign, she now said that candidates had been encouraged by the central office to make use of the internet, particularly since many services were free. The Hanura candidate was not especially technologically savvy, so most of the Facebook updates, tweets and photos posted were handled by her staff.

There were some occasions when the Hanura candidate was quizzed directly by audience members about her own dedication to remaining corruption-free. On one

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<sup>19</sup> These were funded by the party. Though she had been reluctant to pay for media stories about herself, she had received money from the central office specifically to do so. However, this particular strategy was not overly successful. While one article went to print, another did not, being purchased in a magazine that subsequently went bankrupt before the election.

such occasion, she was told never to become like Angelina Sondakh, a politician who became infamous for her involvement in corruption and eventually imprisoned, an admonition she readily agreed to. Other times, villagers requested payments or favours, implying they were necessary for her to win their votes. Veiled requests for a 'contribution' (*kontribusi*) to the village were not unusual and early in her campaign the Hanura candidate would try to explain why she could not provide anything. She argued that this could be seen as a type of vote-buying and even if she could afford it, it would still be wrong. For example, during one meeting in March 2014 she was asked to contribute money to a PKK to start a new training program. She refused, saying that unfortunately she could not do this because she was afraid people would think she was buying their votes. Later she expressed annoyance at the request as she believed that the village was fairly well off and the women did not really need training and were just fishing for money. On yet another occasion, she was asked what her contribution to the village would be.<sup>20</sup> The candidate responded by asserting that candidates who spend lots of money on their campaigns and have to get loans will have to resort to corruption to pay their debts because the salaries of parliamentarians are not that big. This statement was initially welcomed by the women's group being addressed, but the discussion changed course when a different woman asked if the candidate might consider donating money so they could purchase new uniforms. This request was deflected with the rationale that she was a clean, simple candidate who did not have lots of money like some of her rivals and she could not afford to contribute much money. Furthermore, she argued that if she bought uniforms for one group, she would have to buy them for all groups. In making this statement, she used the opportunity to highlight the fact that she was not a corrupt candidate, and also that she had a sense of fairness. However, after leaving the meeting, she expressed irritation at the request and said that she felt that the women would not vote for her because they had not received anything from her.

After campaigning for several months, the candidate had become cynical about the motives of voters. Having been repeatedly asked for contributions, both subtly and overtly, the candidate began to express a sense of hopelessness about her campaign towards the end of 2013. She believed that presenting herself as a clean and honest candidate was not appealing to voters because they were more interested in the material benefits offered by candidates. Subsequently, the Hanura candidate referred

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<sup>20</sup> The candidate adopted a chiding tone during this interaction on 6 June 2013 but agreed to contribute Rp. 500,000 to the local mosque.

to the topic of corruption less and less frequently. If she was asked about it by a villager she would methodically rehash Hanura's 'tagline' (which was also her own) of being 'clean, caring and decisive'. However, even when given the opportunity to talk in more depth about being 'clean', the candidate did not choose to focus on this symbol. The explanation she gave in villages about being 'clean' was as straightforward as saying: 'our party wants honest candidates and won't tolerate members who are not honest ... that like to "play games" (*main-main*)'. In a different village she explained being 'clean' as meaning 'we don't have candidates who are ... like that (*seperti gitu*)', but provided no elaboration.<sup>21</sup> Her discussion of the party and its stance against corruption became increasingly vague as her interest in promoting herself as being aligned with Hanura's anti-corruption symbol diminished.

As the election approached, the Hanura candidate's references to corruption diminished significantly. By the time of the official campaign period, she had developed a formulaic approach to meetings that often involved a similar, rehearsed introduction which included no mention of any anti-corruption stance, either as an individual or from a party perspective. Even in discussing Hanura, her focus was upon the party's leader rather than its goals or policies. By this stage, the Hanura candidate felt that rhetoric would not persuade voters and the most important aspect of her meetings was providing instructions on how to vote, including where her name was on the ballot paper and how to avoid casting an invalid vote. She even developed a tip to help voters remember her. Since she was the first-ranked candidate for Hanura, she suggested that voters think of the shape of a nail, which Indonesian voters use to pierce their ballot papers, as resembling a number '1' to remind them that she was the 'number 1' candidate.

While her focus on anti-corruption symbols diminished over the course of the campaign, the candidate's strategic donations to mosques, school and arts groups, as well as funding village works, increased. The Hanura candidate became less concerned about upholding a 'clean' symbol and increased contributions, even though she was uncomfortable about them. Usually, members of her campaign team would scout areas to find institutions or schools that could benefit from additional funds and then negotiate with the leaders of the areas to arrange a donation in return for electoral support. Alternatively, they would approach local figures and ask them how

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<sup>21</sup> These comments were both made on the same day (11 March 2014) when the candidate visited four different villages.

the candidate could help the village—that is, to what purpose could she donate money.<sup>22</sup> The candidate's discomfort with these transactions reflected the fact that she saw this as a grey area and was worried about how her actions would be perceived by onlookers. While donations could be justified as acts of charity, if they were given with the intention to influence voting, then this was, technically, illegal.

The candidate was wary of her budget limitations, and sought to strategically donate for maximum return. A big budget, she asserted, provided a distinct advantage when campaigning because it could fund several different projects and if one group did not vote for you, other groups would. She could not afford donations that did not result in votes. One donation made by the Hanura candidate was to a local traditional martial arts (*pencak silat*) group who performed at public events. The rationale behind this donation was that it would give her ties to the group, enabling her to ask them to perform at her functions when the official campaign period began. However, other donations appeared to be less successful. She made a substantial donation to an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*). However, during a later meeting with the school's leader, the Hanura candidate was disappointed to find that the school and village were flying banners and flags from another political party. The preacher explained that the village chief had a family member competing in the election and there was nothing he could do about the banners. After the meeting, the candidate expressed her frustration that her donation appeared not to have garnered the influence she had hoped for and worried that she had wasted her campaign funds. On another occasion, the Hanura candidate agreed to use her own money to finance the provision of a new piping system for a village in return for their support. At the time, the candidate justified the upfront donation as a good strategy because people were used to unfulfilled promises from politicians.

Another common campaign strategy was to team up with other candidates from the same party who were competing at other parliamentary levels. This is often referred to using the English word 'tandem', meaning to campaign together, sometimes with names appearing on the same posters or banners, and sharing the cost of rallies. In this East Java electorate, there had been much in-fighting between local candidates, precipitated by contested nominations and rankings on the party list. The Hanura candidate herself had displaced a sitting parliamentarian, who was moved to another

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<sup>22</sup> The language used when discussing this topic was euphemistic. No one ever referred to this process as 'vote-buying'. The payments were always referred to vaguely as 'contributions' or 'donations' (*donasi*).

electorate. This had caused consternation and factionalism, as the incumbent had several family members in the party who disagreed with the party list rankings. This friction alienated the candidate from some factions within the party. However, as the election date drew closer it became evident that Hanura was polling poorly and that cooperation was needed if the party was to win any seats at all. This prompted the Hanura candidate to reach out to candidates at the DPRD II (district) level. She already had some tandem agreements with other candidates in place, but they were lowly ranked and poorly funded. The candidate needed to find a more lucrative tandem arrangement through which to better promote herself during the crucial last weeks of campaigning. She entered into an arrangement with an incumbent who came from a wealthy family and had a high profile in her district. Through this arrangement she was able to piggyback on a better-funded campaign, but was also expected to contribute more money than she would normally spend. The events of her tandem partners were much more lavish than her own events had been, and she was obliged to contribute to the cost of marching bands, dancers, singers and other entertainment, as well as the usual payments to attendees for food and travel costs. She was also required to purchase several motorcycles and a refrigerator requested as 'door prizes' at their shared rallies.

As the campaign drew to a close, the Hanura candidate admitted that her strategies had changed over time and that her emphasis on being clean had diminished. She gave several reasons for this. First, she had found that corruption was an uncomfortable issue to discuss publicly (*nggak enak dibahas*). Everybody knew what corruption was and there was no point in bringing it up—people could see that she was not corrupt simply because she did not seek to buy their votes. Second, it was an awkward subject because she believed most people actually did want to be bribed. She feared alienating them by talking about anti-corruption issues or money politics, making them feel guilty and her unpopular. Third, people thought all politicians were corrupt in some way and found it hard to believe that candidates genuinely cared about fighting corruption. In other words, she believed that talking about corruption alienated voters and made her seem like a hypocrite. As a consequence, anti-corruption symbolism became something of a defensive tool for the Hanura candidate; a discourse used to counter requests for money or goods that she was not willing to give. She lamented in an observation that underscored the cynicism with which many view the electoral process, 'even a blind person here can still read money'.

Ultimately, the Hanura candidate pulled back from using anti-corruption symbolism in her campaign because she felt that voters did not really connect with the issue. During a post-election interview in April 2014, she observed that: 'anti-corruption doesn't mean anything to those people ... they don't care'. She added that parties tried their best to avoid being corrupt, but it was just an 'intellectual exercise' because there is a market for votes and voters demand money. Expectations of being paid in exchange for votes were too strong in East Java and too hard to fight. Contemplating her experiences, the Hanura candidate described the campaign as 'unfair' (*nggak fair*) and 'a mess' (*kacau*) because it was all about 'playing games' (*main-mainan*):

Every election is like a party (*pesta*). People want a present. The people who take the money, they aren't taking any risks ... who's going to arrest them? It's the people who give the money who get blamed ... the candidates.

She thought Indonesia was not ready for a clean election, since even some of her own staff urged her to buy votes on the eve of the election (*ngebom*).<sup>23</sup> Reflecting on her loss, the Hanura candidate opined that her electorate did not support clean candidates and that the election had reinforced money politics. Commenting on the issue in general terms, she observed:

In newspapers there are always comments about elites paying [for votes], but they are quiet about the other side of the story. No one ever writes about what people demand from candidates. But it's the truth ... why would anybody pay [for votes] if they didn't have to?

The experience was a bitter one for the candidate. She felt forced to go against her own values in the campaign and was still unsuccessful in her bid for parliament. Her cynicism towards the electoral process underscored her overall frustration that vote-buying still played a crucial role in the election, and that candidates with large coffers had a distinct advantage.

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<sup>23</sup> One of the candidate's staff reported that they had been asked to withdraw Rp. 200 million on 8 April 2014 (the day before the election) and distribute it to members of the candidate's campaign team (personal communication, Hanura campaign team staffer, 8 March 2014). This suggests that the candidate may have reneged on her resolve not to buy votes with cash.

## Nasdem, South Sulawesi

My first meeting with the Nasdem candidate took place in May 2013. As noted earlier, he had joined Nasdem earlier that year after resigning from parliament, where he had represented a different political party. The candidate felt he needed to explain this move because allegations of politicians switching parties because they think it will improve their chance of success are common in Indonesia and he did not want to be accused of acting out of self-interest. Such moves are often criticized as being self-serving and devoid of ideological conviction. He stressed that the decision had been very difficult but he felt his previous party had not supported his stance on a number of issues. In joining Nasdem, the candidate sought to return to parliament with a party that he believed was more committed to improving the country and a leadership that was more genuine in its intentions. Nasdem's stated pledge to change the lot of ordinary Indonesians was something the candidate both related to and believed in. While he knew he would be criticized for defecting, he felt it was a risk worth taking. The candidate's explanation for joining Nasdem was indicative of the discourse and symbolism he would use throughout his campaign.

The Nasdem candidate was a senior party official and a member of the central party committee responsible for overseeing the nation-wide electoral campaign. While Nasdem had made use of anti-corruption symbols, the party's national campaign focused more upon broader themes of change (*perubahan*) and restoration (*restorasi*), playing to the party's newness.<sup>24</sup> However, the candidate strongly supported anti-corruption issues as a key plank of the party's platform. This fit well with his own background as an activist. Having been involved in the protests against Suharto in 1998 and having worked as a journalist, he decided that being an activist was not enough and resolved to try to change the system from within. His speeches during rallies drew on this narrative. Nasdem was committed to change, just as he was, and he was convinced it would support his efforts to fight corruption if elected.

Throughout his campaign, the candidate leveraged his past to justify his use of anti-corruption symbols. According to his narrative, he was unlike other candidates, who were primarily interested in being elected for their own personal profit, whether money or prestige. In speeches to voters, he repeatedly discussed his experience in the DPR-RI, claiming that he had left his former party because, amongst other

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<sup>24</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, Nasdem's advertising billed the party as a movement to restore the spirit of the 1945 constitution in Indonesia.

reasons, he did not want to betray the people. He had felt like a traitor for accepting the salary and perks of parliamentary office while not being able to fight for what he believed in. Referring to himself satirically as 'stupid' for leaving the large, secure salary and lifestyle of a DPR-RI member, he said he would rather resign than be part of 'a dirty place ... full of corruptors and traitors'. In doing so, he positioned his actions as evidence of his commitment to the people: he was so disgusted by the behaviour and priorities of other parliamentarians that he simply could not be one of them, even if it was a comfortable job. By contrast, he argued that Nasdem was different and its members would do their utmost to work for the people rather than for personal gain.

The Nasdem candidate also mobilized anti-corruption symbolism in stressing his commitment to agitating for the resolution of the Bank Century case, using this commitment both as proof of his track record against corruption and as a future promise.<sup>25</sup> The candidate had, during his time in the DPR-RI, crusaded to have the Bank Century case investigated further, working to keep it in the media spotlight and finding new evidence relating to the case, which he presented to the KPK.<sup>26</sup> His campaign rhetoric and paraphernalia drew heavily upon his involvement in the investigations, including in his campaign slogan. In demonstrating a prior commitment to fighting corruption, for which he had made sacrifices, he believed he would have an advantage over competitors who lacked experience or evidence of ongoing engagement in anti-corruption efforts. He also hoped his dedication to the case would make him seem trustworthy. He conceded that anti-corruption symbols might not appeal to most voters because money politics was still very influential in South Sulawesi. But, he argued, those not swayed by financial benefit would be more inclined to vote for somebody like him, who had proven his commitment. He was targeting these people with his campaigning.

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<sup>25</sup> Nasdem's focus on this particular corruption case was discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>26</sup> This new evidence was given to him by an unnamed source, but it was he who officially presented it to the KPK. Its contents were never revealed, but the candidate maintained that the documents would help the KPK to prosecute those involved in Centurygate. It is possible that this was more a media stunt than the submission of beneficial evidence for the investigation.

Because the candidate's campaign symbols drew so heavily on his personal history, he rarely discussed other aspects of Nasdem's platform in his public appearances.<sup>27</sup> When he did discuss the party more broadly, he drew parallels between its status as an emerging party, and its need to be 'brave' and 'unyielding' in its approach to policy. He used the example of 'attacks' against the KPK—by DPR-RI members who wished to curtail its authority, particularly limiting its surveillance powers—and asserted that Nasdem was not afraid to vigorously oppose such moves. In the candidate's view, Nasdem could not ignore corruption, and making it a core election issue was both strategic and necessary. He argued that because Nasdem was a new party, its candidates had to work harder to convince voters not only that they were serious about fighting corruption, but also that they were *more* serious than candidates from other parties.

In many ways, the candidate's use of anti-corruption symbols was more prominent than the party's. He spoke often about the negative impact of corruption in his speeches, reflecting his personal opinion that was the single biggest threat to Indonesian democracy. The Nasdem candidate's campaign rhetoric was much more individualized than that of the Hanura candidate, portraying *himself* as a change.<sup>28</sup> The need to present Nasdem (and, by extension, himself) as even more uncompromisingly against corruption than other emerging party rivals, Hanura and Gerindra, was also something that he considered when determining how to present himself:

We have to learn from Hanura and Gerindra in parliament ... they have no corruption cases against them and we can learn from that ... [But] as the newest party, we have to aim higher [than Hanura and Gerindra], be more thorough and more disciplined about it ... if we breach it even once, we'll be finished. I think other parties have already felt the effect of that.

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<sup>27</sup> For example, Nasdem's slogan in the 2014 election was 'the restoration of Indonesia' (*restorasi Indonesia*), claiming that the DPR-RI had become too powerful and calling for a return to the 1945 constitution. This included advocating for stronger executive powers, giving the president control over the police and dispensing with direct elections at the district and town level. While this was part of the party's central platform, front and centre in party advertising and on the Nasdem website, these aspects of party policy were never mentioned during any of the campaign activities I witnessed.

<sup>28</sup> In contrast to the Hanura candidate, the Nasdem candidate rarely spoke about the leader of Nasdem, Surya Paloh, or made any mention of the party's presidential aspirations, relying much more on selling his own persona.

Besides acknowledging that any corruptions scandals within the party would be dangerous, the Nasdem candidate also asserted that Nasdem was stricter than most other parties in trying to ensure candidates did not violate party rules or the law.<sup>29</sup> In the candidate's opinion, any party member accused of corruption should be immediately expelled and only be reinstated if their name was cleared.<sup>30</sup> Even if there were subsequent indications of their innocence, the party could not afford to be undermined by any suspicion. The Nasdem candidate explained that as a new party, these mechanisms for dealing with corruption allegations had not been tested, but he was in favour of being strict and 'merciless' (*tanpa ampun*).

While the funding he received from Nasdem to conduct his campaign covered most of his costs, the candidate generally aimed to minimize spending, and to avoid using his own funds. His former career as a journalist gave him access to local media, which he used to build a positive image of himself, Nasdem and its other candidates. Coming from Nasdem, he also had direct access to national and local media outlets owned by Surya Paloh. During the official campaign period he was followed by a television crew from Metro TV, who recorded footage and reports for broadcast on local television. He also participated in televised debates, which helped him to further cement his media profile. In addition, he campaigned via Facebook and Twitter, tweeting daily (often more than once) and answering questions posed by his followers. His Facebook page was less active, but staff would upload photos from his campaigning activities every few days.<sup>31</sup>

Like other candidates, the Nasdem candidate also made strategic donations, most commonly to local mosques. He claimed that he would not make payments to individuals (even for a charitable cause) or to village projects, because it was too easy for individuals to embezzle the funds. Fearing that he might be perceived as engaging in money politics, he diligently checked receipts for services and goods (though he acknowledged that these were easily forged). Gift-giving was also a sensitive issue for

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<sup>29</sup> The selection of candidates, according to a Nasdem member, carefully considered the background of potential candidates, claiming that some had been rejected because the party could not ascertain exactly how they had gained their wealth (interview with Nasdem central committee member, 23 May 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Party rules were, in fact, more flexible, with members accused of corruption being given the opportunity to present their case to an internal committee that decided, along with the party executive, whether the member should be suspended or expelled.

<sup>31</sup> The Nasdem candidate's Facebook page actually became much more active in the lead-up to the presidential election, in which Nasdem opted to publicly back Jokowi and Jusuf Kalla for president and vice-president.

the candidate, who did take part in the usual campaign activities of giving out t-shirts and other memorabilia, providing food and organizing events, including a traditional Javanese puppet performance for Javanese migrants in his electorate, and a soccer clinic for young boys in his hometown.

The Nasdem candidate undertook these activities reluctantly, and when asked why he did so, he responded that it was expected and that he would not like to lose because of a 'trivial thing like not giving away t-shirts'. To his mind, the campaign should focus on demonstrating his commitment to improving the lot of ordinary people. In one address to a local party branch office, he became irate because he felt that his campaign staff were failing to 'sell' him to local voters. He was annoyed to see members of his campaign team simply giving out t-shirts and walking away. This did not meet his expectations that they would use their interaction with voters to promote his policies and ideas. In the same meeting, the Nasdem candidate reiterated that money politics was completely against his ethos and urged his staff to report any suspicious behaviour on the part of other Nasdem candidates so that he could have them dismissed from the party. He also asked that details of violations by candidates from rival parties be conveyed to the national Election Supervisory Board (Badan Pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu).

The Nasdem candidate's use of meetings, and later rallies, followed a typical campaign trajectory. However, due to his seniority in the party, he was forced to divide his time between local campaigning and national level commitments. The candidate therefore relied greatly on local staff members and his campaign team to campaign on his behalf. Like the Hanura candidate, he believed that the optimal campaign strategy was to meet and converse with voters directly, even though it was time-consuming. The sizes of the meetings varied, usually between 15 and 50 people, and were relaxed: he wanted to avoid lavish, formal events in order to promote his image as 'one of the people'. He also explained that he preferred non-formal settings because they made it easier for him to 'connect' with voters. The Nasdem candidate met with voters in mosques, at people's houses or at his own *posko*.

In contrast to the Hanura candidate, whose use of anti-corruption symbolism waned over time, the Nasdem candidate's personal pledge to continue to fight corruption gained increased visibility during the official campaign period. His views on corruption did not need to be solicited through questions from the audience; he

invariably shared them without prompting. At meetings with voters, the candidate presented his ideas on government and encouraged audience members to share their concerns and aspirations with him. Because he was a known anti-corruption campaigner, instances of alleged local corruption were sometimes raised during these meetings. For example, one villager complained that the village chief had made a deal with a private company to set up an irrigation system for crops. In return, villagers had to give 15 per cent of their crops (or cash equivalent) to the company, and they were required to buy all their fertilizer from it. The company was owned by a local district parliamentarian, who was exploiting the villagers by marking up the cost of fertilizer. The Nasdem candidate responded passionately to this story, saying that it was clearly a case of rent-seeking. He encouraged the villagers to share the story with neighbours and friends to prevent the owner from gaining re-election and also to document the case so that he could report the village head to the authorities. His response was received positively by villagers, who were pleased that someone in power would take the time to listen to their complaints and lobby on their behalf.

As this example suggests, the Nasdem candidate was certainly not afraid to condemn (perceived) money politics when he saw it. On one occasion in July 2013, meeting his team members in a five-star hotel in Makassar, he discovered that a rival from another party was hosting a 'workshop' for district heads (bupati) at the conference centre of the hotel. This rival candidate had paid for district heads from all over his electorate to come to Makassar, accommodating them in the hotel. When the Nasdem candidate discovered this, he was outraged and expressed his frustration to some of his team members. He claimed that the lavish trip was clearly an attempt to win favour with the bupati and that if the meeting was just to discuss local issues then there was no need to hold it in such an expensive hotel. At one point, he recognized some of the bupati and confronted them in the hotel lobby. He told them, in full public view, that he hoped they were ashamed to be accepting favours from a man who wanted to use them to get votes. He urged them to think about the villagers and what was best for them, not who would give the most nights in a fancy hotel. The confrontation was awkward and the targeted bupati did not defend themselves against his accusations. He told them that if they sold themselves for money they risked losing their dignity, and were traitors to the nation.

Once the official campaign period began, the Nasdem candidate focused on attending large rallies—both his own and those of other Nasdem contenders—at which he

introduced and endorsed other candidates. Though he claimed not to enjoy them, he felt that they were more effective for broadcasting his messages because of the larger audiences, often in the thousands, which they attracted. As a member of the central party committee and the party's first-ranked candidate, he received significant funding from the central committee and did not enter into tandem arrangements with any provincial or district level candidates. He did, however, attend a number of different rallies in order to promote the party.<sup>32</sup>

Like the Hanura candidate, though, the Nasdem candidate became increasingly cynical about the election as the campaign progressed. His disillusionment was clear when I interviewed him after the electoral quick count results became available. While he was successful, he received fewer votes than polling had suggested in the week leading up to the election. Being a local—a 'son of the region' (*putera daerah*)—he was disappointed that he did not receive more votes in his own 'backyard' (*kampung halaman*). His disappointing result was not, he felt, a reflection on his efforts, but rather the fact that vote-buying remained the norm, making it difficult for honest candidates to succeed. He blamed his poor numbers on the use of money politics by his rivals, claiming that 'the winner of the election was money and basic goods'. He claimed that the bribery had been 'brutal', much worse than in the previous election, and reflected the other candidates' lack of morals. After the elections there were several reports in the media of candidates complaining about the use of vote-buying and money politics. For example, it was argued that women candidates were disadvantaged by money politics and this was why they performed poorly in the election (Syafari 2014). In Bandung, hundreds of candidates registered dissatisfactions with the vote count, suspicious of the election oversight committee (Rizal 2014).<sup>33</sup>

Upset by the extent of money politics in the province, the candidate formed a coalition with other candidates in South Sulawesi who shared his concerns. Coalition members from a range of parties were united in their disappointment at the influence of money on the election. They were particularly disheartened by the fact that their attempts to run clean campaigns had been undermined by unscrupulous rivals. The coalition received some media coverage in the period after the winners were announced but

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<sup>32</sup> For example, at a rally on 19 March 2014, the Nasdem candidate gave a speech ending with: 'Vote for any of these people, they are all good, but don't forget to choose Nasdem!'

<sup>33</sup> For further examples of candidates reported in the media for money politics and vote-buying see, JPNN (2014), Khosir (2014) and Syahni (2014).

otherwise did not gain much traction. Accusations of vote-buying and money politics were commonplace and complaints, even when reported to the electoral commission, rarely ended in prosecution. Accusations that electoral processes had been unfair were regarded as justified, but even so, the concerns were not taken up by the KPU.

### **Gerindra, North Sumatra**

The Gerindra candidate had been in parliament for over 25 years, having first been elected in 1987 as a member of Golkar. In our first meeting in April 2013, he recounted his decision to join Gerindra in the lead-up to the 2009 national legislative election, the party's first. In deciding to shift party allegiance, the candidate highlighted his interest in promoting economic equality within Indonesia, particularly assisting the 50 per cent of Indonesians working in the agricultural sector. As his interest in agricultural policy grew, he became involved in the Indonesian Farmer's Association (Himpunan Kerukunan Tani Indonesia, HKTI), led by Prabowo Subianto.<sup>34</sup> After discussions with the Gerindra leadership, he decided to represent the party in the 2009 elections. The candidate asserted that he had moved to Gerindra because the party was better aligned with his priorities, not because of ill-feeling towards Golkar.

In our first interview, the candidate asserted corruption was tied to broader problems of inequality in Indonesia and was therefore one of the most important challenges facing the country. This was why Gerindra was firm in its commitment to combating corruption. In terms of its symbolism, the candidate argued that Gerindra's image had become synonymous with fighting corruption and that it was widely recognized as the cleanest party in Indonesia. The public, he said, appreciated that consistency:

Gerindra has taken a leading position in eradicating corruption. That's what we hope will differentiate us from other parties ... Like the seriousness with which we defend the KPK ... that increases our value [to people] ... now Gerindra is seen as one of the cleanest parties because we don't have any cadres involved in corruption.

The candidate contended that every person who joined the party was obliged to uphold these values, without exception. The fact that Gerindra had never had any

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<sup>34</sup> For more history of the HKTI, see Hadiwinata (2003: 126).

members arrested for corruption reminded people that this was a party intent on remaining clean. Members accused of corruption would receive no protection from the party, and faced immediate expulsion (though if absolved by the courts they could return). Fortunately, according to the candidate, Gerindra had yet to find itself in this position.

The candidate admitted that this election would not be as easy to win as previous elections because there was increasing cynicism towards parliamentarians, driven by prevailing stereotypes that all were corrupt and self-serving. He claimed that even he had been accused of corruption, not because there was evidence against him but because people refused to believe that there were any clean parliamentarians, but he conceded that voters had a right to feel angry about the high levels of corruption in the national parliament. The lack of trust generated by these stereotypes led the Gerindra candidate to draw heavily on his ethnic ties within the Batak community. As a respected Batak elder, he hoped that ancestral ties would give him an advantage over other candidates. During speeches to audiences from related family groups, he would make reference to their common ancestors (*sama nenek*) to encourage support. He also appealed to religious ties. Being Christian, the candidate opted to concentrate his campaign activity in majority Christian areas, arguing that it was unlikely that Muslims would vote for a Christian candidate, regardless of their views on other issues. He also noted that votes could never be taken for granted, and he would need to focus particularly on areas that had supported him previously, but that he had not managed to assist through development or infrastructure projects during his past term.

The campaign strategy of the Gerindra candidate differed from the Nasdem and Hanura candidates for a number of reasons. First, as an incumbent, the Gerindra candidate could draw upon his previous election results. Due to the large size of his electorate, it was impossible to campaign across the entire area. Thus he chose to focus on areas where he had polled well in the past and he was most likely to win. The candidate believed that if you preserved a 'good reputation' (*nama yang baik*) throughout a parliamentary term—which he felt he had—people would probably vote for you again. His campaign strategy was thus to reclaim previous votes rather than to seek out new supporters. Second, the candidate could draw upon a trusted network of people who had assisted him in previous campaigns, allowing him to be more hands-off than the other two candidates. This was a practical necessity because

he lived and worked in Jakarta. His *modus operandi* was to meet with power brokers—usually influential party or ethnic group figures and businessmen with whom he had worked in the past—and request their assistance. They, in turn, would rally votes on his behalf. These meetings were often familiar, resembling a get-together between old friends, and revolved mostly around how the vote collecting was progressing and whether any additional goods (such as t-shirts or business cards) or money to pay for events were required. They also discussed whether there were any local issues the candidate should be aware of, especially whether his rivals were campaigning in the area and whether they presented a threat. In the meetings, combating corruption was not discussed. The candidate did not feel that he needed to talk to his campaign team about the party or its platform because they were already willing to champion him. He argued these people wanted to help him because they ‘know my name, know my work ... know I am a good person’.

Third, the candidate’s history in parliament helped him attract the attention of journalists. Being a senior party member, he was often contacted by the media, especially local outlets, for comment on political issues, subject to a tacit agreement that the papers would paint him in a good light. He also had good relations with certain journalists to whom he gave money in return for favourable news stories. This, he explained, was a payment for a service in recognition that journalists received low salaries and therefore needed additional income. The candidate had Facebook and Twitter accounts but these were managed by one of his assistants. He admitted that he was not very good with technology, but understood that Gerindra expected candidates to make use of social media. However, he did not think that social media was particularly beneficial, believing that it was more useful to new candidates who were trying to build their profile, but not someone like himself who was already a familiar face.

In his speeches, the Gerindra candidate also emphasized some of the small-scale efforts that Gerindra was making, without support or endorsement from other parties, to reduce corruption within the national parliament. One oft-repeated example was Gerindra’s ban on legislators taking part in overseas study tours. The candidate argued that this was an unnecessary expense which did little to benefit the country; for him they were a form of corruption and an excuse for parliamentarians

to go on holiday.<sup>35</sup> While even some other members of Gerindra had asked if Prabowo might make some exceptions to this ban, the candidate was unwavering in his support for it. In presenting this stance to his audience, he framed the issue in comparative terms, suggesting that because other parties did not care enough to ask their members to refrain from participating in these ‘unnecessary’ study tours, they were morally bankrupt and uninterested in saving the government money.

Another achievement the candidate promoted was Gerindra’s public rejection of plans to renovate the parliament building in Jakarta. The party contended that the project was merely a money-making opportunity for the ruling Democratic Party. In several speeches, the candidate outlined his view about the proposed renovations and their budget of Rp. 1.8 trillion. He alleged that the project budget had been marked up, and stated that the company awarded the project tender was linked to Nazaruddin.<sup>36</sup> He said that he suspected that the mark-up was a means for the Democratic Party to channel funding into its campaign coffers. He also noted that Gerindra had consulted with the bureaucrats tasked with building management and maintenance, who had estimated that the cost of the proposed renovations was Rp. 700 billion—less than half of the allocated budget. The project was slated to go ahead in spite of Gerindra’s opposition, but it was halted at the last minute due to the arrest of the construction company’s director on an unrelated corruption charge. The candidate referred to this arrest as an ‘intervention from God’, allowing protest to mount until the renovation plans were finally abandoned.

The candidate used these examples to illustrate his commitment to the transparent and responsible use of public funds. His speeches linked Gerindra’s overall anti-corruption symbolism to his own visible efforts to fight corruption, which he then compared to the record of other parties, which had many seats in the parliament but had achieved nothing. With a small number of seats in the national legislature (26 seats), Gerindra was not in a position to drive changes to the law, budget, or policy. Nevertheless, the party was doing what it could to improve the government. These small-scale achievements were presented not only as concrete evidence of the party’s anti-corruption stance, but also as an indication of what could be expected if the party gained power. In his speeches, the candidate repeatedly underscored the fact that

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<sup>35</sup> For example, in a speech on 13 July 2013 he stated that: ‘Flying overseas is a big waste of the people’s money... They [parliamentarians] fly Business Class, they get per diems, they stay in expensive hotels. Gerindra has saved the government over Rp. 40 billion over the past four years because we refuse to go [on these trips]’.

<sup>36</sup> The Nazaruddin case was discussed in Chapter Three.

even with its small representation in parliament, Gerindra strived to be honest (*jujur*) and support anti-corruption measures in any way it could.

The candidate emphasized his own 'track record' (*rekam jejak*) to promote himself as a symbol of anti-corruption. While in parliament he had been vocal in the press, for example, speaking in defence of the KPK and against perceived government efforts to undermine it. He was frequently interviewed by journalists about this, which further fostered his anti-corruption reputation. The candidate believed he was obliged to highlight corruption issues in the government and to demonstrate, through the media, that Gerindra was staunchly against corruption. While he commented on a range of issues, corruption cases were a priority for him. He also believed that the media now sought him out for comments because they knew that he would have an opinion on the various corruption scandals faced by the government. At the same time, he admitted that a member of a small opposition party would find it difficult to make large-scale changes. Indeed, he presented this as another reason to vote for Gerindra: if Gerindra could increase its parliamentary presence, it could implement government-wide strategies to combat corruption more easily.

In order to further establish his anti-corruption image, the candidate distributed booklets at his meetings and rallies. The booklet bore the slogan 'corruption breeds poverty, fight corruption for a prosperous society' (*Korupsi akar kemiskinan; Berantas korupsi, rakyat sejahtera*) and included 36 pages of media articles in which the candidate had discussed a range of issues, most prominently corruption. Some articles included in the booklet were entitled: '[Name] chooses the lonely road amongst the "cowboys" at Senayan', '[Name]: Consistent in eradicating corruption', 'A new parliament building is not what the people want' and 'Gerindra is prepared to protect the KPK from threats to dissolve it'. All the articles firmly aligned the candidate with anti-corruption symbolism, which supported Gerindra's hard-line anti-corruption rhetoric.

During the official campaign period the candidate's speeches continued to emphasize the importance of trust between voters and leadership, drawing a link between the need for tough reforms and firm (*tegas*) leadership in order to re-establish public faith in the parliament. This presented an opportunity for the candidate to focus on some of the advantages of Prabowo's leadership, which he described as 'strong' and having 'proven integrity'. He presented Prabowo as the only leader committed

enough to eradicate corruption, something which he had promised since founding Gerindra in 2008. The candidate contrasted this with other leaders who had not made corruption a priority. He also referred to Prabowo's main rival for the presidency, Jokowi, as 'untrustworthy', especially because he had betrayed Prabowo by electing to run for President.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, the candidate portrayed Prabowo as a trustworthy leader who had clearly stated his platform to the public and intended to follow through with it. To some extent he was also pragmatic in his campaigning, admitting that he sometimes said things that were untrue in order to appeal to voters. For example, at one rally he stated that Gerindra was staunchly against polygamy and that no man who was a party member was permitted to have more than one wife, expecting this would be well-received by his female and/or Christian audience.<sup>38</sup> He later conceded that Gerindra had neither policies against polygamy nor any party rules about it for members, admitting that he made the statement to increase his popularity.

While earning trust was important, the Gerindra candidate also acknowledged that money was crucial in political campaigns. He was open about this fact, stating that his own campaign had cost him around Rp. 3.5 billion. This, he acknowledged, was a significant sum, though much less than a newcomer would need to spend. He did not need to worry about branding as much as other candidates, because he had already had a long and successful career in politics without any hint of scandal. He also said that while around Rp. 1 billion of his campaign funds came from his own pocket, the remainder was provided by the party or donated. Donations, the candidate stated, mostly came from businesspeople with whom he was on good terms. While he accepted that some people may see this as buying influence, he argued that he had never done anything illegal in return for these donations. He gave an example of a donor who had faced court and was asked for money by the judge in order to rule in his favour. The candidate claimed that when the businessman had asked him to intervene so that he could have a fair trial without having to pay, the candidate rang a friend of his in the judiciary on the businessman's behalf and requested he ask the judge to rescind his request for a bribe. In the end, the donor did not have to pay a

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<sup>37</sup> This accusation of betrayal was based on the fact that Prabowo had supported Jokowi's mayoral candidacy in Jakarta during 2012 and contributed significantly to his campaign, and the alleged breach of the Batu Tulis Pact (*Pakta Batu Tulis*) in which Megawati, chairperson of PDIP, had allegedly promised in writing to support Prabowo's presidential bid in 2014.

<sup>38</sup> The debate over whether to legalize polygamy in Indonesia is controversial, with proponents on both sides. For more information about the history of this debate see Butt (1999).

bribe and the judge still ruled in his favour. The candidate also claimed that he had been asked to mediate in land disputes involving people who had backed his campaign, but asserted that he had never been corrupt.<sup>39</sup>

According to the candidate, the availability of funds played a key role in campaigns because it determined the feasibility of different campaign strategies. Rallies and meetings were costly. A single rally with just 500 attendees could cost up to Rp. 35 million including rental costs for equipment, food, t-shirts, entertainment and 'transportation money' (*uang transpor*) for the audience.<sup>40</sup> The candidate found these expenses irritating, but accepted them as an integral part of Indonesia's 'campaign culture' (*budaya kampanye*). Like the Hanura candidate, he also lamented that even after this expenditure there was no guarantee that people would vote for him. He estimated that for every rally held, a candidate might expect 40 per cent of the audience to vote for her/him. For this reason, candidates had to hold as many rallies as they could afford in order to be assured of winning the number of votes they needed.

The candidate was not opposed to individual payments to people at rallies, stressing that such payments were not bribes, but rather reimbursements for the costs of attending. It was important that people were not left out-of-pocket. Moreover, he said that if attendees did not receive a payment they would be disappointed, because they expected to be compensated. Without a small payment, the rally could do more harm than good, because the attendees could end up disgruntled. The candidate contrasted such payments, which he described as tokens of appreciation, with 'money politics', which usually involved much larger sums of money and was improper. When asked what he deemed 'a large amount of money' he replied that he would not give more than Rp. 10,000 to any individual, and that the amount would depend on where people had travelled from. If they lived near the rally site he said he would not give them any money, but would provide food and drinks. These moral qualms aside, the candidate's rationale was also pragmatic. Because he was a national parliamentary candidate, distributing large amounts of cash across his electorate would have been

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<sup>39</sup> The use of political campaign donations to buy influence is not uncommon in Indonesia, especially since individual candidates often have to source their own funds. Both the Hanura and Gerindra candidates acknowledged that campaign donations often held implicit expectations of political favours if they won. However, both also denied that they would accept such donations if they believed the donor would ask for something illegal as they would prefer to stay clean rather than have the money.

<sup>40</sup> The candidate said he distributed over 80,000 t-shirts during the campaign.

prohibitively expensive, claiming that even giving Rp. 10,000 to rally attendees, in spite of it being a small amount of money, added up to a significant expense.<sup>41</sup> In addition to expenditure on rallies, the Gerindra candidate, like other candidates described here, made donations to local causes and groups in order to curry favour with voters. He said that these payments demonstrated his generosity and helped to ensure that people did not forget him. Many of his donations were given through church communities. He supported local Christian youth groups and parishes and, in turn, many youth group members volunteered to be part of his campaign team. When asked about contributing to local development projects, the candidate said that he rarely did this unless he was approached by a friend and could trust that funds would be spent appropriately. Also, as an incumbent, he had access to parliamentary funds such as 'Social Assistance' (*Bantuan Sosial*, Bansos) and 'Aspiration Funds' (*Dana Aspirasi*), which he could channel towards village level infrastructure and social development, and therefore did not need to fund such projects himself. He had no qualms about taking credit for these projects, even though they were fully funded by the government.

He also acknowledged that, since his staff organized the events, it was sometimes difficult to say exactly what happened to all the money he provided to cover expenses. For example, he did not personally select where the food was bought, so he conceded it was possible his staff might channel money for this purpose strategically in order to get votes, but as long as the event ran smoothly, this was not a problem for him. In essence, delegating planning, procurement and payment responsibilities to his campaign team allowed him to be more blasé about how campaign funds were spent, so long as the events were successful.

The Gerindra candidate was certainly the most experienced and relaxed candidate of the three. However, while he was a frontrunner for re-election and seemed confident of retaining his seat, the candidate still expressed frustration at the expectations of his party, especially in the lead-up to voting. He said that he had been told by Gerindra's central committee that he must win at least 150,000 votes in North Sumatra. When he complained this would be extremely difficult, the central

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<sup>41</sup> While following the Gerindra campaign in North Sumatra I witnessed several exchanges of money in return for attending rallies. While the Gerindra candidate seemed to be exempt from having to find 'supporters' to attend his rallies (possibly because of his status), other Gerindra candidates (running for all levels of parliament) who were not so highly ranked were given quotas of how many people they had to find to attend. Payments witnessed for attendance at another candidate's rally in Medan ranged between Rp. 20,000 and Rp. 30,000.

committee's response was that he should 'do what is necessary' to get the votes, even if he had to buy them. While this clearly went against the party's own anti-corruption rhetoric, the candidate was not morally outraged at the request itself, arguing that entrenched election practices were unfortunate but difficult to ignore. While the new quotas put him under considerable stress, he was confident of winning without buying votes because of the relationships he had fostered over time with his constituents. He gave an example of helping resolve land disputes in the early 2000s, when he was asked by some local people to call the police and the judges to explain their situation. These people, he said, were now part of his campaign team and he could rely on them because he had helped them in the past. He also built relations with people in communities by using their services during campaigns (such as purchasing food or paying local youths to put up posters). His strategies paid off as he was re-elected for another term.

The candidates from Hanura and Nasdem both argued that accepting payment in return for votes was immoral and would lead to poor leadership. By contrast, the Gerindra candidate acknowledged that it was normal for candidates, especially newcomers, to buy their way into parliament, either through lavish campaigns and/or vote-buying. In one discussion, the Gerindra candidate gave an example of an acquaintance from a party that was unlikely to pass the parliamentary threshold, and said that he was amazed at his campaign spending because he believed he was wasting his money. Out of concern for this person he said he rang and advised him to stop 'wasting' his money. He also joked that the period following election campaigns was a good time to buy land because so many candidates went into debt as a result of campaign spending. While this candidate did want to uphold his anti-corruption image and did not condone vote-buying, his primary argument against it was based on practicality rather than morality; it was expensive, could not guarantee him votes and was potentially a waste of money.

### **Intra-party relationships**

All three candidates tracked in this study were party staff. The Gerindra and Nasdem candidates were in their respective central party committees, while the Hanura candidate had worked for the party since its inception. Of the three, the Hanura candidate was the most removed from the central party committee as she was the only one who was not part of the decision-making team that developed national campaign strategies. For other candidates, who were not pre-existing party members,

some training was available to brief them on the basics of the party platform. While there was an 'induction' program designed to introduce new recruits to the party's vision and mission, this was seemingly done on an ad-hoc basis, if at all. Regular party meetings were held in key party offices, usually in larger towns, but these were more geared towards planning strategy rather than educating new recruits. Party members reported that the frequency of these meetings was usually driven by the branch leader—if they were organized and committed then there would be regular meetings. However, this was not always the case and some branch leaders were lax in calling such meetings. Most candidates had little interaction with the local branch office beyond this, let alone the central party committee.

The three case studies exhibited different dynamics between the candidate and the central office. The Hanura candidate received funding from the central office in mid-2013. As the party's first-ranked candidate, she was given funding to lease billboards, print posters and banners, rent a *posko* and hire a team of office staff. This funding was insufficient to cover most of the donations and small-scale projects that she offered to voters in order to secure support. Towards the end of the campaign, the candidate was spending her own money to pay for rallies, prizes and travel. Similarly, the Gerindra candidate received some initial funding but was expected to finance the majority of his campaign costs. Being an incumbent, he had access to government funds which he could direct strategically to please his existing support base. While he did draw upon some personal funds, he acknowledged that he had a significant advantage as an incumbent because he could take credit for government development projects. The Nasdem candidate received much more funding from the central party office than the other candidates. He did pay some donation costs out of his own pocket, but other expenses were met by the party. As one of the party's most prominent candidates, with a high potential for success, the party invested substantially in his campaign, with much of the funds spent on rallies during the official campaign period which he shared with other candidates from the provincial and district levels. This was in line with Nasdem's pledge to support candidates with funding of Rp. 5-10 billion in each electorate (Badudu 2013).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> As noted in Chapter Four, Nasdem had undertaken to fund candidates' campaigns in an effort to discourage corruption. The rationale was that if a candidate did not have to spend their own money throughout the campaign (which can be very costly) then they would be less likely to need to recoup their spending through corruption while in parliament if they were successful in the election.

National candidates' interaction with local level party offices also depended upon their personal relationship with local branch leaders. For the Gerindra and Nasdem candidates, who were both natives of their electorates and senior party members, the local branches provided integral logistic support during campaigns, such as putting up banners and organizing rallies. The Nasdem candidate, in particular, drew heavily upon local cadres to campaign on his behalf, also wanting them to approach people in public and discuss with them the benefits of voting for the candidate and Nasdem. In the case of Hanura, the relationship between the local branches and the candidate were initially strained because she had taken the position of another Hanura member who had strong local support. She received little support from local cadres for most of her campaign. Additionally, while the offices of other candidates were staffed by party cadres, the Hanura candidate was forced to hire contract staff for the duration of the campaign. This reflected the fact that she was not a local to the area and could not draw upon family or close party ties for support.

National candidates sometimes agreed to share costs with others in the party who were vying for positions in provincial or local parliament. This meant organizing joint election activities and sometimes even printing banners with the candidates together, hoping to reduce their own expenditure. Although tandem arrangements were generally informal, they provided a means for candidates within the same party to work together, which did not usually occur between candidates competing for seats at the same level of government. While the arrangements were primarily financial ones, there was scope for intra-party influence through these cooperative efforts. Tandem arrangements could bolster anti-corruption symbolism if the candidates' rhetoric was in alignment, but it could also undermine such a symbol if rhetoric was inconsistent. For example, if one member of the tandem partnership decided they would give people money in exchange for votes, the others within the partnership might be pressured to contribute. Moreover, if one member in the tandem arrangement did buy votes, citizens may assume that all the associated candidates would follow the same strategy. If candidates had previously attempted to project an anti-corruption symbol, vote-buying by tandem partners could weaken it.

The primary concern of the central party committee was to maximize votes. Targets were identified for each electorate, nominally based on the party's history in the area

and the estimated number of votes needed to win a seat.<sup>43</sup> While the central party funded and approved marketing which it hoped would positively influence voters, they also placed significant expectations on candidates. Yet, despite the dependence parties have on candidate success, in the three case studies observed there was very little oversight over campaign activities at the local level. All candidates chose their own slogans, designed their own campaign materials and selected their own meeting and rally sites. There was no formal approval process or oversight for any of these activities.<sup>44</sup> Candidates could decide how closely they wished to align with party symbols as there was no requirement for them to be included in the campaign publicity material, or systems to enforce uniformity of symbols amongst candidates. Monitoring was further constrained by the sheer number of candidates competing in the national election. Even if parties wanted to ensure uniformity of symbols, or monitor the use of vote-buying across the campaigns of candidates, it would be difficult given that there were around 180,000 candidates across four levels of government competing for 19,699 positions in 2014 (Aspinall 2014a: 97; Iqbal 2014). While cooperation could be beneficial for both candidates and parties as a whole, the scalar dimensions of campaigning in Indonesia made it difficult to coordinate across national and individual campaigns.

## **Conclusion**

These case studies present an empirical basis to investigate how anti-corruption symbolism is employed in the conceptualization and execution of a campaign strategy at the local level, discussing the relational transference of the anti-corruption symbol (or lack thereof) from the centre to the masses, via the conduit of individual candidates. Candidates could draw from the national level party symbols created at the centre; however, there was no compulsion for them to do so. Anti-corruption symbols were used, to varying degrees, by all three national legislative candidates. The candidates had differences in terms of past experiences, standing within the community and the party. Each campaign was conducted in a unique political

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<sup>43</sup> The means through which this target was determined varied across the candidates. While the Nasdem candidate did his own calculations, created his own target and reported this back to the central party committee, both the Gerindra and Hanura candidates were dictated numbers by the party separate to their own calculations. As identified in Chapter Five, the Gerindra candidate was annoyed at the high expectations placed on him by his party, concerned that they were unrealistic without resorting to bribery. The Hanura candidate was also considerably anxious about her targets, especially when it became apparent later in the campaign that she was not on track to achieve them.

<sup>44</sup> This was evidenced by the wide variety of posters and banners amongst candidates from the same party during the election period. There was little consistency because there was no external impetus to adopt party symbols.

environment and the candidates' own backgrounds saw them respond to election demands differently. These distinctions played into the narratives used to construct the anti-corruption symbols.

The way candidates used symbols was not static—the symbol was promoted when candidates deemed it beneficial and downplayed when it was considered unhelpful. Although corruption was identified as a primary election symbol nation-wide, candidates found that talking about fighting corruption did not always elicit the desired response amongst citizens. Voters who rejected the anti-corruption symbols, for whatever reason, sent a message to the candidates about its lack of value. Candidates adapted their campaign strategies in different ways to manage these responses. The Hanura candidate eventually stopped using such symbols altogether, claiming they were counterproductive while the Nasdem candidate increased the intensity of his anti-corruption symbol and the Gerindra candidate maintained a steady approach to constructing his symbol, drawing upon his years of election experience. On the other hand, candidates also recognized the limitations of using money politics, which could be costly but unable to guarantee victory. Faced with this dilemma, it was the personal ideals of the candidate that eventually determined what campaign approach they would take.

Even an adamant self-identification as 'clean' or 'anti-corruption' did not prevent the candidates from using money to influence voters. Candidates often expressed a narrow definition of electoral corruption, which was usually described as the exchange of cash for votes, or bribing electoral officials to manipulate results in their favour. But while giving cash to individuals in return for votes was deplorable, other types of contributions, although sometimes given reluctantly, were accepted as a normal aspect of political campaigning. Though acknowledging that such campaign norms were expensive and not ideal, they did not necessarily consider giving out money or goods as money politics per se. For example, donating to village funds, religious institutions or paying citizens 'transport money' as reimbursement for attending rallies were acceptable and standard campaign practices, rather than immoral or corrupt behaviour. After the election was over, candidates expressed different opinions regarding the use of money in elections. While the Hanura and Nasdem candidates vocally begrudged it and blamed it for their unsatisfactory results, the Gerindra candidate stoically described it as just another part of elections

in Indonesia. His sympathies lay with new candidates who did not have the benefit of incumbency and access to government funds to influence voters.

Parties had a vested interest in the success of their candidates, but they performed minimal oversight of their campaigns. While candidates had to account for their spending with receipts, many transactions occurred 'off the books' and in reality parties did little to prevent this practice. Outwardly, parties took a strong stance against corruption and money politics, but in reality the definitions were unclear, and in some cases the message given to candidates contradicted the symbol. Candidates came under pressure to engage in vote-buying from the central party committee, which set ambitious vote quotas for candidates, and suggestions from campaign teams that without vote-buying they risked defeat.



# Chapter Six

## A successful strategy?

The three case studies outlined in Chapter Five provide a basis for exploring how anti-corruption symbols were imagined and mobilized by individual candidates in the 2014 legislative elections. Considered in the context of broader national campaigns, the employment of an anti-corruption symbol by candidates reveals both the influence of local context and the nature of intra-party relations, uncovering tensions between party structure and individual agency. Focusing on the consistencies and inconsistencies in how anti-corruption symbols were imagined and deployed by different emerging parties, and the results they garnered, allows us to interrogate the link between national and local symbols, and electoral outcomes. The coordination (or lack thereof) that exists within campaigns, in turn, helps to explain why this campaign strategy is so flawed.

While the national level election campaigns were intended as an all-encompassing reflection of party values and, subsequently, the values of its members, local candidates had the autonomy to decide whether they wished to mobilize the same symbols as those in the national campaign. Even when candidates did adopt the same symbols—as was the case to a greater or lesser extent for the three case study candidates—they adapted them to suit their local context and imbued them with their own principles. Some candidates, especially those with positions in their party's central committee, felt pressure to uphold party symbols, but, in reality, there was little done by party officials to ensure that candidates maintained the party line or refrained from using money politics.<sup>1</sup> Parties did not force their symbols upon candidates and, therefore, whether a candidate 'stuck to their guns' and maintained an anti-corruption symbol was the results of personal judgement.

### **Justifying the use of an anti-corruption symbol**

Opposition parties around the world often use anti-corruption symbols to promote themselves and challenge rivals and Indonesia is no exception. Viewed as moral

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis does not seek to go into detail about the opinions or rationalizations for corruption and vote-buying from the voter perspective. While the field work conducted casts some light on possible theories as to why many voters in the particular districts covered by this research wish to be paid (either in cash or in goods/services) by parliamentary candidates, it was not the focus of the research. While there are few in-depth academic studies on this topic, Wahid (Forthcoming) provides some insight.

resources, parties see the fight against corruption as a universally appealing issue aligned with broader ideals such as trust, honesty and helping ordinary citizens. Deciding to vocally oppose corruption, parties draw upon moral arguments to portray themselves as bastions of all that is good, while hoping to create a symbol that is an effective vote-getter. Establishing an anti-corruption symbol not only presents emerging parties in a positive light; it also frames existing parties as villains within a black-and-white discourse that ignores the complexities and nuances of entrenched political corruption. The simplification of the problem is evident as election campaigns usually seek to assign blame rather than propose meaningful solutions. Presented crudely as a stock political plot, the complexity of the problem is dissolved and rhetoric can be simplified. An anti-corruption symbol also represents a competitive advantage for emerging parties that have yet to suffer from any significant corruption scandals. The parties' lack of history, in some cases a disadvantage, can be leveraged to promote the party as a clean and, therefore, preferable alternative to those in power.<sup>2</sup>

Emerging parties were eager to portray themselves as political saviours, and one way to do this was to embark on a 'project of newness'. Downplaying the party's lack of past achievements and arguing that change, in itself, is a desirable political outcome, a project of newness emphasizes what new parties are *not*—most particularly that they are not responsible for the current state of government affairs.<sup>3</sup> Anti-corruption symbols fit well with the project of newness, especially as new parties can portray themselves in opposition to the status quo, relying on the assessment that nothing could be worse than the incumbent government returning to power. Campaigns contributed to this project by painting old parties as failures and new parties as much-needed change. This was most explicitly illustrated through Nasdem's campaign slogan, '*Gerakan Perubahan*' (Movement for Change), although other emerging parties used similar themes in their rhetoric. However, simply being newer than other parties was not enough, particularly for individual candidates who were competing against several rivals

Hanura, Gerindra and Nasdem all branded the incumbent government as being corrupt in their 2014 national election campaigns. This was not surprising given the

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<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that the emerging parties studied had no candidates or members with 'questionable' pasts, but in general they did not have members who had been involved in gross misconduct or misuse of public office for personal benefit.

<sup>3</sup> While the campaign language of emerging parties cast older rivals in a bad light, there was almost no antagonism amongst the three new parties themselves.

number of scandals publicized between 2009 and 2014.<sup>4</sup> Opinion surveys in the lead-up to the election suggested that Indonesian voters felt that many Democratic Party members had had no intention of ‘saying no to corruption’, despite the party’s campaign to that effect. Concentrating public attention on corruption was an easy way for new parties to fuel disdain for the political elites in power. Although not all the scandals involved the cabinet or parliament—there were numerous corruption cases that affected the judiciary, the police and the bureaucracy—the pervasiveness of corruption made the government seem all the more hypocritical. By attempting to keep corruption cases in the public eye, emerging parties become moral entrepreneurs, hoping to capitalize on the perceived flaws of the incumbent leadership, whilst maintaining a level of moral panic in order to convert anti-government sentiment into support for their parties.

### ***Salient and primed***

The salience of anti-corruption issues in the 2014 election campaign was undeniable. The history of corruption as a political concern meant that the public were already aware of the seriousness of the problem. With issue salience already established, parties and candidates could position themselves within the dominant discourses explaining why corruption was so prevalent. Past attempts to link corruption to elite greed and disregard for the good of the nation fostered a sense of moral panic and outrage around corruption issues. Parties could position themselves positively by exploiting this panic, hoping to provoke an emotional connection with voters who were frustrated by corrupt government practices.<sup>5</sup> They seized upon narratives holding that corruption impeded national and social development and was driven by selfish materialism. Whether these narratives reflected reality was irrelevant. The question was the extent to which they could build upon this salience with their own declarations in order to better align themselves with an anti-corruption symbol.

Priming is intended to convince voters ‘to give more weight to those areas when assessing candidates’ (Druckman *et al.* 2004: 1180). Although anti-corruption was already a salient electoral issue, emerging parties used their national campaigns to further highlight the concern, priming voters using extensive media coverage and public statements by party leaders. In doing so, they aimed to set the agenda for the election, reinforcing to the public that corruption was a critical national issue. Parties

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<sup>4</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>5</sup> This idea is drawn from Becker (1973: 2), who asserts that parties seek to engender a sense of *communitas* with voters who identify with the morals promoted by the party.

also needed to convince the public that they were best placed to lead the fight against corruption.<sup>6</sup> However, while history may have primed corruption to be of grave concern to voters, emerging parties still had to exploit the issue effectively in order to benefit from salience and priming.

With only a short history and some small-scale anti-corruption efforts (generally commensurate with their existing political influence), the emerging parties' success in owning the issue came primarily from their claims of not having been corrupt rather than claims about what they have achieved. Ownership gained under such circumstances is 'leased' rather than entrenched and is generally precarious, requiring effective rhetoric in the absence of concrete examples to convince voters of a genuine commitment to fighting corruption, particularly if parties have a long-term plan to establish more stable issue ownership.

### ***The art of persuasion***

Edelman's (1964;1971) early work on political symbolism allows for the conceptualization of anti-corruption issues as a tool for persuasion rather than a party platform or even a rudimentary basis for policy. In the 2014 elections, emerging parties believed a successful anti-corruption symbol would act as a reflection of the moral credibility of the party and its candidates. Building moral credibility relies on bridging the gap between the symbolic (dramatic) and the authentic, convincing the public that there is a direct correlation between the rhetoric used and the values held by parties and candidates. In Indonesia, this alignment was challenged by pre-existing public cynicism, as past experience has repeatedly shown that politicians often say one thing but do another.<sup>7</sup> In this sense, attempts to establish an anti-corruption symbol were treacherous because parties who had used the symbol in the past had since been cast as hypocrites.<sup>8</sup>

Without a long-standing track record in fighting corruption, emerging parties were left to convince voters of their anti-corruption credentials using language and dramatism. The Aristotelian definition of successful rhetoric—consisting of ethos,

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<sup>6</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three, corruption was widely identified as a key political concern in Indonesia through a number of public surveys conducted in the lead up to the 2014 election.

<sup>7</sup> As evidenced by the political corruption scandals of the Democratic Party and PKS discussed in Chapter Three.

<sup>8</sup> The Hanura candidate articulated this explicitly when she admitted that her use of anti-corruption symbols was influenced by its co-option in the 2009 campaigns of the Democratic Party and PKS.

pathos and logos—allows us to assess the quality of anti-corruption symbols in the Indonesian context.<sup>9</sup> If emerging parties were to effectively confront the public disappointment fostered by the previous regime, they needed to craft rhetoric that was morally credible, supported by evidence and able to arouse sympathy from the audience. However, while ethos and pathos were often drawn upon to establish an anti-corruption symbol, both by the parties as a whole and individual candidates, logos was often more difficult to demonstrate.

Emerging parties relied on their newness and the relative absence of scandal in their short histories to establish ethos. When scandals had erupted, such as the Bambang Soeharto case faced by Hanura, the leadership was quick to condemn the perpetrator and maintain that this individual act was not a reflection the party's culture.<sup>10</sup> Individual candidates played on their clean reputations to prove their personal ethos, but also, where possible, focused on establishing ethos through their connections to the area, especially highlighting their kinship and/or religious ties. In doing this, candidates hoped to win the trust of voters as they were a *putera daerah* ('local son') who was more committed to representing their fellow locals than candidates from other areas. For the Hanura candidate, who lacked strong familial ties to her electorate in East Java, establishing credibility was especially difficult.<sup>11</sup>

Pathos played a central role in the campaigns of the two successful candidates from Gerindra and Nasdem, both of whom were engaging public speakers. As a highly emotive issue, speaking about the evils of corruption compellingly and pledging to fight it was certain to rouse public interest, if not support. Conversely, even though the Hanura candidate could legitimately promote herself as untainted by corruption, she lacked the charisma of the other candidates observed in this study.<sup>12</sup> She shied away from speaking to large audiences of men, and even when talking to groups of women her orations were generally short and perfunctory. Moreover, as mentioned, she was uncomfortable speaking openly about corruption, claiming that it was an

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<sup>9</sup> These are: to have moral 'worthiness' or credibility (ethos), proof to support argument (logos) and be able to arouse feelings in the audience (pathos). These concepts were discussed in Chapter One.

<sup>10</sup> The Bambang Soeharto case was discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>11</sup> The Hanura candidate complained that her efforts to demonstrate that she would be a clean and committed representative were often met with requests for a contribution, even though she had hoped that this rhetoric would dissuade people from asking for goods or money.

<sup>12</sup> This assertion is based on the researcher's own experiences with the three different candidates.

unsavoury issue that made her audiences feel uncomfortable, and so was less clear in publicly articulating her views on corruption other than to assert that she opposed it.

While demonstrating logos seemed the most difficult aspect of rhetoric construction for parties as a whole, the ability of individual candidates to establish it depended on their past experience. In particular, the Gerindra and Nasdem candidates made much of their personal commitment to fighting corruption, using stories of their past anti-corruption endeavours. The Gerindra candidate talked about his efforts as a parliamentarian; that he had fully supported and implemented the ban on international travel by Gerindra legislators at public expense and rallied against unnecessary renovations to the national parliamentary building, which he believed were part of a plot intended to channel funds to the Democratic Party. The Nasdem candidate underscored his past as an activist and his previous resignation from the DPR-RI, contending that he had been disgusted by the immoral and corrupt behaviour of his peers, and now wished to return in order to expose their venality. While both asserted that their parties were committed to eradicating corruption, it was difficult to present concrete examples of impactful anti-corruption measures undertaken because the parties had never been in a position to meaningfully influence anti-corruption efforts. It was also strategic to highlight their own track record as should their party suffer from a major corruption scandal in the future, they could maintain their anti-corruption symbol because they based it mostly upon personal achievement instead of party rhetoric.

In the early stages of the campaign these candidates claimed a strong association with their party's ideals, including in combating corruption. However, the *framing* of these symbols was driven more by the individual's own priorities rather than those of the party. For example, while Hanura publications criticized the deep entrenchment of corruption at the elite level and Wiranto had argued for the death penalty for those found guilty of corruption, the Hanura candidate did not mention any political corruption scandals or speak about punishment for corruption during her campaign. Conversely, the Nasdem candidate's anti-corruption symbol was more pronounced than that of his party. His campaign centred on his commitment to fighting corruption, both in Centurygate and against the 'traitors' in parliament. Nasdem party rhetoric was much more general, emphasizing nationalism and the party's commitment to addressing all of Indonesia's problems, one of which was corruption. The Gerindra candidate's anti-corruption symbol was the most closely aligned with

that of his party: his status as a senior party member and incumbent meant that he could influence party policy and its national campaign. At the same time, there did not appear to be any additional compulsion for him to follow the party line and, like other candidates, he was free to campaign in whatever way he saw fit. It was clear, too, that each candidate presented the symbol in a way that underscored their personal achievements and promises, rather than those of the party as a whole.

In addition, while all candidates stated at the outset of the campaigns that they were opposed to corruption, some were cautious about the use of this rhetoric, acknowledging that it had been co-opted in the past. The historical context of the symbol meant that it would be difficult to convince voters that the dramatism surrounding the use of anti-corruption rhetoric was a true reflection of the candidate's authentic self. In this respect, the parties' clean image was helpful to candidates and allowed them to speak about corruption from a position of authority, but was not the sole basis for their personal anti-corruption symbols. As candidates were competing against a host of rivals, both from other parties and their own, the methods of persuasion they chose were of paramount importance. Voter support was fuelled by two means: using the most convincing rhetoric or by offering material rewards. Given the difficulties in convincingly establishing anti-corruption symbols in the face of voter scepticism, it is unsurprising that candidates did not rely solely on rhetoric to win them votes.

Appealing campaign symbols presented a competitive edge, especially in cases where numerous candidates offered comparable material rewards to voters.<sup>13</sup> For candidates who lacked deep pockets, anti-corruption symbols were also a mechanism for justifying the absence of sizeable material rewards. This was particularly visible in the Hanura campaign. When asked whether she could provide a contribution, the candidate deflected requests with responses that identified such contributions as illegal and that candidates willing to make them would not serve voters' interests. Ultimately, though, all three candidates used both symbols and material rewards to lure voters, hoping the dual strategy would secure victory. The scope of material rewards was determined by the candidates' campaign budget. The decision of whether to provide material rewards was also linked to the candidate's relationship

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<sup>13</sup> Aspinall (2014b) suggests that in the event that several candidates distributed money or goods for votes, voters tended to select the candidate that they personally liked the best.

with party networks (local branches) and tandem agreements with other candidates, which affected their capacity to maximize the geographic scope of their campaign.

Even though Law No. 10/2008 on the General Election of Members for the DPR, DPD and DPRD forbids the use of any incentives to gain votes, the fact that this behaviour has become common campaign practice meant that candidates had to decide how to confront the challenges this poses. In the case studies observed, candidates walked a line between acceptable and illicit practices and where this line fell was mostly determined by their own concept of moral behaviour. Material rewards were, in fact, an indispensable aspect of election campaigning. More important, though, was how the candidates themselves justified their use in terms of their own self-identification as being clean and their definitions of money politics and vote-buying. Material contributions were always framed as a gift and the cognitive dissonance was addressed by rationalizing contributions as both normal and permissible. Sociological definitions of corruption played a crucial role in facilitating this rationalization as ideas of what was normal and acceptable were used to justify actions that, strictly speaking, were illegal. The candidates themselves seemed to oscillate between acceptance and frustration that the boundaries of normal behaviour and illegal behaviour were not one and the same. As the campaigns wore on and there was increasing pressure to engage in money politics to secure votes, all the candidates became increasingly annoyed but also responded differently to the pressure.

### ***Candidates matter***

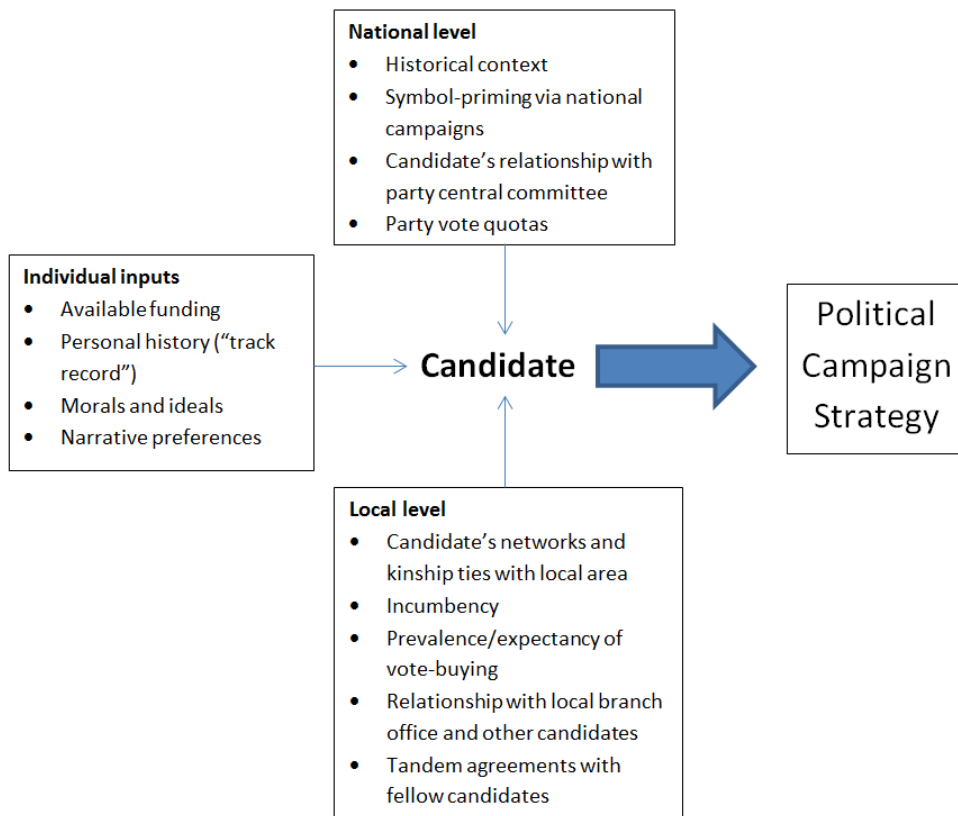
As Aspinall (2014a: 101) contends, voters are more influenced by individual candidates than the parties they represent. Logically, then, the campaign strategies they adopt at the local level are more important than those adopted at a national level by the parties they represent. The decision by individuals to adopt an anti-corruption symbol for their personal campaigns rests on two factors—whether the candidate believes the symbol will draw support (narrative preference) and whether it fits with their own moral priorities. Having great autonomy in planning and executing their own election campaigns, the symbols chosen by candidates needed to resonate with their own set of values and/or be seen as a vote-getter. If a symbol did not resonate, they were free to ignore it. In other words, all the ‘big picture’ rationalizations for using an anti-corruption symbol may or may not have convinced candidates to adopt them.

Just as history had primed the electorate to scorn corruption, the national electoral campaign primed the symbol for individual candidates. As a consequence of the symbiotic relationship between parties and candidates—candidates require party nomination in order to run for office, while the parties need to win seats in parliament to gain political influence—the image of candidates was necessarily affected, to a greater or lesser extent, by the overall image of their party. In theory, candidates have the opportunity to capitalize on national agenda-setting, relying on it to fill ‘knowledge gaps’ (Geys and Vermeir 2014). In the absence of information about a particular candidate, voters draw on ‘party cues’, judging them on the reputation of the party that they represent. In practice, some candidates recognized that their parties had already developed an anti-corruption symbol and capitalized on this by adopting it as a personal symbol as well. However, while party image can play a role in determining voter decisions, most candidates saw national-level campaigns as ‘secondary to their own efforts’ (Aspinall 2014a: 107).

Amongst candidates who opted to construct an anti-corruption symbol, the conceptualization of the issue varied leading to different types of narratives in their election campaigns. They could ‘mobilize’ voters by making their personal ideological priorities attractive to voters or ‘chase’ them by crafting rhetoric in line with what they believed the public wanted to hear (Rohrschneider 2002: 368-369). The Hanura candidate was clearly chasing votes, illustrated by her decision to stop using an anti-corruption symbol when she felt it was not appealing or if it made people feel uncomfortable. The Gerindra candidate, while using a very different type of rhetoric, also appeared to be chasing votes. While he touched upon the importance of combating corruption during some speeches, his focus was on demonstrating his commitment to the problem. He assumed that people wanted parliamentarians that would fight corruption and believed he had to prove that he was the contender for this job. Party policies were generally only mentioned when they supported his personal symbol. By contrast, the Nasdem candidate tried to mobilize votes. He spoke of corruption as a terrible evil throughout the campaign, ramping up his rhetoric as the election date drew closer. He openly criticized others, in spite of the discomfort this caused, and endeavoured to persuade voters of the importance of dealing with what he believed to be major cases of corruption. His approach relied partly on convincing voters that having clean legislators who would not break the law, rather than the ‘traitors’ who were already in parliament, was crucial to their own interests.

The relationship between candidates and their parties' national leadership played some role in shaping how candidates used these symbols. All the candidates in this study were party members with strong links to the central committee, if not members of it themselves. As senior representatives of the party, they felt more inclined to adopt a party symbol as their own. It was also made more likely by the fact that all three of these candidates had been party members prior to being nominated and were the first-ranked party candidate in their respective electorates. They felt the need to uphold the reputation of the party and paint it in the most positive light possible. In addition, as spokespersons for their parties, the Gerindra and Nasdem candidates were public figures and it would reflect poorly on them if they ignored party rhetoric. The Hanura candidate was a keen supporter of Wiranto and thus also had an allegiance to the party and incentive to support its rhetoric.

However, ultimately, the decision to uphold party symbols was driven more by the candidates' desire to win than by their sense of party loyalty. And while all three candidates asserted that they wished to appeal to voters by denouncing corruption and portraying themselves as clean, they still had to gauge their local context when deciding how best to rouse support (Figure 6.1).



**Figure 6.1** Influences upon candidates' political campaign strategy

Local context was particularly influential for candidates chasing votes, because their strategy depended on selecting symbols that were pertinent to voters. Also important, however, was their ability to influence voters using kinship ties and broker networks. Where such ties were strong, the use of symbols was more consistent because the candidate could, on at least some level, be assured of some voter sympathy if not outright support. But these local relationships still needed to be complemented with effective campaigns, especially where candidates needed to appeal to swing voters or if more than one candidate had strong local ties in the same electorate. Theoretically, the most effective approach would include a coordinated use of symbols, representing the party as a united force committed to eradicating corruption and working for the benefit of the people. However, given the geographic distances and the different scales across which election campaigns occur in Indonesia, ensuring that party symbols are promoted in a consistent manner is more easily said than done.

### **Diffusion of symbols**

In general, political campaigns in Indonesia are highly individualized. Even in nationwide party campaigns media attention is often focused on key party figures, rather than on relaying the party's vision and mission as a whole. Similarly, at the local level candidates tend to emphasize their individual family or ethnic links and personal history rather than the platform of their party. The nature of election campaigns in Indonesia is such that it generates two different arenas of campaign 'theatre'.<sup>14</sup> The arenas are distinguished by who organizes the campaigns and the scope of the audience. Aspinall (2014a: 101) identifies these distinct arenas in his discussion of the different terminology used to describe political campaigns in Indonesia, namely the 'air' and 'ground' wars. On the one hand, there is a national-level campaign led by professional media personnel in conjunction with senior party officials, targeting voters across the entire country. On the other hand, there are individual candidates looking to raise their profile within specific electoral districts. The sense that national campaigns are removed from those of individual candidates is cultivated by the nature of their target audience and the strategies those target audiences inspire. These two theatrical arenas necessarily use different campaign methods to sell the anti-corruption symbol to voters (see Table 6.1). National campaigns are designed to

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<sup>14</sup> The term is drawn from Blackburn (1987) and Apter (2006) (discussed in Chapter One), who argue that politics is a form of theatre because it involves the instrumental manipulation of symbols in order to attain power.

appeal broadly but are relatively static. At the local level, because of their direct proximity to voters, candidates are more susceptible to citizen scrutiny and requests.

**Table 6.1** Summary of different types of diffusion in election campaigns

	<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>INDIVIDUAL</b>	
	<b>Non-relational</b>	<b>Relational</b>	<b>Mediated</b>
<b>Mechanisms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media advertising</li> <li>• Media reports</li> <li>• Television advertising</li> <li>• Official website</li> <li>• Social media</li> <li>• Mass public rallies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grassroots meetings</li> <li>• Public rallies</li> <li>• Donations and/or contributions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign team</li> <li>• Brokers</li> <li>• Contributions and other material rewards</li> </ul>
<b>Characteristics</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Centralized</li> <li>• Unidirectional, top-down diffusion</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Multi-directional diffusion; candidates' campaigns influenced from above and below</li> <li>• Campaign strategies may include the use of symbols and vote-buying</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Draws upon existing social networks for support</li> <li>• Used to facilitate the transfer of goods/money to influence voters</li> </ul>
<b>Outcomes</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Less scope for voters to directly influence strategy</li> <li>• Themes of the campaign and strategies relatively static</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Voters are able to personally make demands of candidates</li> <li>• Candidates pressured to respond to voter requests</li> <li>• Candidates may adapt campaigns in response to voter feedback</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Logistically easier for candidates to gather votes</li> <li>• Easier for money and goods to change hands</li> </ul>

Cross-scalar diffusion provides a conceptual framework for understanding the communication of symbols during an electoral campaign. National level campaigns occur primarily through what diffusion theorists describe as non-relational forms such as publications, the media, the Internet and billboards. Concentrations of funding, advertising resources and marketing and communications expertise were

found in the central party office, controlled by the Central Committee. While party leaders toured the country prior to the election to appear at rallies, these events could hardly be considered relational forms of diffusion as there was little direct contact between the party leaders and attendees. The efficacy of these rallies is also debatable given that people were often paid to attend.<sup>15</sup> Political communication in these national campaigns was generally characterized by a unidirectional flow of propaganda. In the non-relational diffusion of ideas, scope for dynamism and multidirectional flows is inherently limited by the lack of direct contact with voters or feedback from them.<sup>16</sup> Using dogmatic and absolutist slogans, which do not invite a response from citizens, parties discouraged meaningful voter engagement.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, marketing and public relations experts were based in Jakarta and were unlikely to go out of their way to elicit input or criticism from those outside of major urban centres, let alone incorporate feedback into the campaign strategy.

While national campaigns relied primarily on non-relational diffusion, many candidates chose to campaign on the ground, hoping to garner support via relational electioneering. As noted in Chapter One, relational diffusion is premised on the notion that ideas are spread by contact between people, flowing between them on the basis of trust. To say that Indonesian voters are generally distrustful of political parties is reflective of the country's political reality (Tomsa 2014b: 249) so candidates hoped to build social capital with voters through direct engagement. Inspired by the popularity of now-President Jokowi's *blusukan* style of campaigning- getting closer to voters by visiting them in their villages- candidates wanted to be seen to be listening to voters. Thus, trust-building was premised on the idea that meeting the candidates in person would increase support. As the Hanura candidate explained, 'If they don't know you, they can't love you.' While candidates did use posters, stickers and the media, they generally felt that meetings with villagers were most influential. All of the candidates studied lived in Jakarta, and therefore had to travel to their electorates to campaign in person. Each assessed that this was a crucial part of their campaigns and made time to tour their local electorate.

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<sup>15</sup> As discussed in Chapter Four, rallies are often populated by paid attendees (Pepinsky 2014; Simandjuntak 2012: 101).

<sup>16</sup> Fiona (2014) argues that the prominent media campaign tactics adopted by parties fail to truly influence their intended audience, with survey findings suggesting that voters do not consider television advertising and the use of banners and posters, which are the primary mode of electioneering, to be effective.

<sup>17</sup> For example, one of Gerindra's primary campaign slogans was: 'Gerindra Wins, Prabowo is President' (*Gerindra Menang, Prabowo Presiden*).

On their visits to neighbourhoods and villages, candidates could not simply give a stump speech. They had to be open to voter comments and requests—or at least give the impression of being open to them— in order to gain their confidence. This was especially important if they did not have familial ties to the area or other kinds of social networks. This direct interaction between candidates and voters facilitated a more multi-directional flow of ideas. Moreover, the influence of voters themselves became more cogent, since candidates generally wanted to secure their votes in advance.<sup>18</sup> Candidates thus felt pressured to meet their requests. This could be problematic because some villages made demands that could not be addressed within the limits of the candidate’s budget. In addition, the candidate had to decide how to proceed, knowing that while vote-buying was standard practice in some places, it was also illegal. Although it was unlikely that they would be prosecuted for bribing voters, they risked being labelled a hypocrite for projecting an anti-corruption symbol while at the same time using money politics to gain support.<sup>19</sup>

Some of the difficulties in establishing trust on the ground could be mitigated by using a mediated approach. Campaign teams are a key component in the ‘ground war’, because they allow candidates to make use of the trust and influence of respected community members in their team in order to reach a wider group of people.<sup>20</sup> These teams often include members who are hired specifically because of their pre-existing influence within areas of the electorate. This practice is a form of mediated diffusion, which occurs through the use of a ‘broker’ to connect people who would not otherwise know each other, that is, the candidate and the voter via the broker. Brokers are valuable because they provide insight into the voter patterns of a neighbourhood:

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<sup>18</sup> Research by Aspinall (2014a: 101) on the strategies of individual candidate campaigns supports this assertion. He proposes that voters preferred candidates who were able to connect with ordinary people, speak to them in their own vernacular, were willing to visit them in their own homes and were gracious rather than “arrogant”. As a result, many candidates adopted campaign strategies that prioritized grassroots meetings rather than media campaigns and large-scale party rallies.

<sup>19</sup> Thornley (2014), in an opinion piece written following the election, contends that vote-buying and money politics was a malignant feature of the legislative elections and that the Electoral Supervisory Board (Badan Pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu) did not demonstrate ‘a clear commitment to prevent and prosecute cases of electoral corruption’.

<sup>20</sup> This practice is common in several countries across the world. For example, Callahan (2005) explores vote-buying and social norms in Thailand; Gonzalez Ocantos *et al.* (2014) conducted a study on vote-buying norms from a range of countries in South America; and Wantchekon (2003) provides insight into vote-buying and clientelism in Benin.

Of particular value are people who live in the same neighbourhood as the set of voters for whose actions they are responsible. It is much easier for a neighbourhood insider to know whose children are ill, who turned out in the last election and who stayed home, whether a voter turned against a party, or who seems to have defected and voted for an opponent, despite having benefitted from party largesse (Stokes *et al.* 2013: 19).

Most brokers have positions of influence and use political connections to assist people to gain votes in their neighbourhoods (Gonzalez Ocantos *et al.* 2014). Where a decision is made to distribute goods or cash to voters, brokers do so on behalf of the candidate—the rationale being that the broker’s social status will add value to the gifts while also insulating the candidate from allegations of wrongdoing.

The broker system, by its very nature, requires candidates to deeply trust their campaign teams as it can be difficult for candidates to ensure that brokers fulfil their promises and that voters who take their money do in fact vote for them (Stokes *et al.* 2013).<sup>21</sup> Employing brokers is risky. They may betray the candidate they agreed to help, for example, by taking money from several opposing candidates in one area or siphoning money from the funds they have been given to distribute to voters (Aspinall 2014c). The use of brokers varied between the individual candidates observed in this study, influenced by their personal circumstances—experience, background and party status all mattered. The Hanura candidate was most reliant on advice from her campaign team, who convinced her to engage in vote-buying in the late stages of the campaign, even though she had claimed from the outset to be staunchly against the practice. The Gerindra candidate used the same people he had used in previous campaigns, with whom he felt he had established strong trust relationships. As a result, he was not concerned about being betrayed. The Nasdem candidate primarily used party cadres to organize his campaign and did not express any suspicions about people on his team misusing money.

The separate campaign spheres, associated with different types of diffusion, also had distinct purposes. The national campaign, which was intended to represent the party as a whole, focused on building an anti-corruption symbol that would not only prime the issue of corruption but also establish a strong ownership of the issue. Non-

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<sup>21</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the use of brokers in the 2014 Indonesian legislative election, see Aspinall (2014c).

directional diffusion, however, left little room for nuanced discussion and tended towards propaganda. Meanwhile, the two-way communication flow between the individual candidate and the voters facilitated by relational interactions accounted for less cohesive symbol development as well as divergent strategies. On the one hand there was a desire to own the anti-corruption symbol and be perceived as just, righteous and clean. On the other hand, there was a strong temptation to respond to voter demands for money and goods in order to secure votes, but giving in to this demand would damage the anti-corruption symbol and paint the candidates and their parties as hypocrites.

### **Mixed messages**

Emerging parties sought to own the anti-corruption symbol because they thought it would help them achieve their electoral goals. Gerindra became the third-largest party in parliament, Hanura improved on its 2009 results and Nasdem attracted more than enough votes to ensure its presence in parliament—yet all three fell short of their stated targets. While many factors contributed to these results, including over-ambitious targets, it is clear that their campaign strategies did not deliver. Using symbolism was one campaign strategy among many, and anti-corruption symbols were one of many symbols adopted by the parties. But the evidence presented here suggests that, while potentially a positive campaign tool, the parties' anti-corruption symbols failed to inspire mass support.

A key reason for this was the disjuncture between the national and local arenas. Disparities between national and individual rhetoric, as a consequence of the relative independence of the two campaign arenas, led to an inconsistent use of anti-corruption symbols. While the campaigns operated simultaneously and had the same ultimate goal—to maximize public support for the party—coordination across scales was neither prioritized nor encouraged. Moreover, the relationship between the two arenas depended on the candidate's own status within the party. As noted above, candidates with party leadership roles at the national level tended to adopt campaign symbols that matched those selected by the party. At times, also, they used their position to steer the party's campaign in a direction that served their own interests. This was the case with the Nasdem candidate, whose main priorities included the resolution of the Bank Century case, who was able to make this part of the national party symbol. For the most part, though, individual candidates had very little influence upon the campaign strategies developed by their party's central committee.

The converse proved to be almost equally true. Parties relying on individual candidates to adopt campaign symbols used at the national level also ignored the possible motivations that candidates may have for running for office. While some candidates were already party members, staff or even leaders, many more were recent recruits with little grounding in the party's 'vision and mission', or people who simply wished to run for office and went shopping for a party to allow them to do so.<sup>22</sup> Because the number of party members wanting to run for office often fell short of the number of seats available in any given electorate, parties often approved candidates that were more interested in winning than adhering to party norms.<sup>23</sup> Recruiting candidates from outside the party was even encouraged, as many parties charged a fee in return for their backing, providing a revenue-raising opportunity (Mietzner 2013: 85). Furthermore, parties made little effort to ensure that candidates were genuinely committed to party values—in fact, it was widely accepted that most candidates felt little obligation to their party after the election (Mietzner 2013: 85). In many cases, the only real requirement was that the candidate paid the party nomination fee and/or that they were vote-getters who could potentially amass votes through their popularity or connections.<sup>24</sup>

Parties, moreover, had no institutional means for ensuring that symbols were used consistently or that candidates ran clean campaigns. Half-hearted attempts to sanction wrongdoing fell to the party's ethics committee, which handled complaints and reports of electoral misconduct internally. If party members were found to have bought votes or otherwise used funds illegally during the campaign, then they were (theoretically) answerable to both the ethics committee and the law governing election campaigns.<sup>25</sup> Given the enormous number of candidates and the limited resources of the party, it was not surprising that the ethics committee was rarely

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<sup>22</sup> Tomsa (2014b: 269-270) argues that this had led to the phenomenon of 'party shopping', in which candidates would simply switch parties so that they could attain the highest party ranking possible. While the open list system has effectively abolished this need, many candidates still believe that a first-ranked position will increase their likelihood of success.

<sup>23</sup> Parties wanting to run the maximum number of candidates, believing that this will translate to the maximum number of votes, often need to recruit candidates from outside the party. This was particularly the case with sourcing female candidates, with parties required by law to have at least 30 per cent female candidates on their candidate lists (Shair-Rosenfield 2012: 579-580).

<sup>24</sup> Caraway *et al.* (2014) contend that this is the case with many trade union leaders who are invited to become candidates for parties. Political parties assume that these candidates can rally votes from the members of their union, therefore acting as a 'vote-getter' for the party.

<sup>25</sup> The only corruption case to affect an emerging party during the 2014 campaigns was Hanura's case of Bambang Soeharto. The party's ethics committee ruled to suspend Soeharto's membership until the case was resolved, but otherwise there were no reported cases of the ethics committees dismissing party members for illicit activity during the campaign.

called upon during the campaign period. Moreover, if used, these mechanisms had the potential to draw publicity to illegal campaign practices within the party, which could damage its reputation. Whether compelled by lack of resources or lack of will, the ethics committee could also simply choose to ignore complaints. The most common accusations of money politics and vote-buying were, in fact, usually lodged via informal channels by fellow party candidates.<sup>26</sup> Sometimes these complaints reflected disputes surrounding territory, access to resources, or party-list candidate rankings. Such complaints were usually expressed to branch office party leaders rather than national office because those relationships were generally stronger and local party elites were more attuned to the campaign activities of candidates. However, even when such complaints were made from within the party, dismissals were uncommon.<sup>27</sup> The lack of oversight of individual candidates leads to questions about whether the parties were genuinely committed to preventing electoral corruption. As noted earlier, party rhetoric formulated at the national level aimed to convince people that they were committed to maintaining the integrity of their parties—that is, ensuring that their members did not act illegally—and to the eradication of corruption more broadly. But the parties' anti-corruption symbols were conveniently vague on the use of money politics in elections, and the lack of effective oversight mechanisms implied little interest in policing the problem.

With almost no input or oversight of local campaigns by the parties' central committees after the candidates had been selected, it was ultimately up to individuals as to whether they adopted an anti-corruption symbol, how they constructed that symbol, what rhetoric they used, and whether they sustained the symbol throughout their entire campaign. While national party symbols had some influence, candidates

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<sup>26</sup> Party members could report back to the local, provincial or central party leader(s) about perceived breaches by other party candidates. During fieldwork this process was observed once in the East Java electorate where a DPRD II candidate had complained about the tactics of a national level candidate, who was also a well-known businessman, accusing him of spending vast sums of money to buy votes in particular villages with which the DPRD II candidate was connected. The accusations were common knowledge within the party and a hot topic of conversation for several weeks. In spite of this, the candidate suffered no sanctions, nor was there an investigation into the allegations. The Hanura candidate held that the party needed the businessman's money and therefore was reluctant to dismiss him.

<sup>27</sup> Some effort was made to police campaign territory to avoid overlapping campaigns. This was observed anecdotally in all three case studies, although its intensity depended on how involved individual party leaders at the local level were willing to become in the disputes between candidates during the campaign. Hamdi (Forthcoming: 186) describes the territorial divisions between candidates in Madiun, East Java, noting that striving for territorial dominance in areas of influence and advantage was a popular election strategy.

focused on promoting a personal rhetoric in their campaigns.<sup>28</sup> The distinction between rhetoric used by the parties and individual candidates reflected the different arenas in which they operated. A further explanation for the disparity between national and local level campaigns was that the symbols identified by the party simply did not resonate with voters in particular electorates. Individual candidates who chose to prioritize personal encounters with voters found that anti-corruption discourse could be unpersuasive. For those campaigning on the ground, it was all too evident that the provision of material rewards remained an integral part of electoral politics. Candidates commonly distributed election paraphernalia (such as t-shirts and stickers) and provided food and entertainment at rallies in order to invoke backing from citizens. But that was often not enough: voters were used to being offered material rewards for their support and proved in many cases not only to be comfortable with the practice, but indeed to expect it.

Cognitive dissonance is generated between the voters' perception that money politics continues to be the *modus operandi* of candidates and parties' anti-corruption rhetoric, which ultimately undermines the anti-corruption symbol itself. Ethos was lost, as it is difficult to establish moral credibility within a system that seems so thoroughly corrupted. All three candidates complained about money politics, but even they had to carefully consider the pros and cons of refusing to engage in it. For example, the Hanura candidate—who did not have the same local connections as other candidates, and thus found it more difficult to win over people—believed at the outset of her campaign that she could garner support through an anti-corruption symbol and by promoting herself as clean and honest. She cautioned villagers against accepting money for candidates, as vote-buying leads to poor government representatives that will not protect the interests of ordinary folk. Citizens, she argued, should select the person who is most committed to representing their interests, not the person who offers the most money. But, in the end, she felt that this

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<sup>28</sup> The tradition of figure-centric politics continues to be evident today, demonstrated both by the national party-level focus on promoting (potential) presidential candidates and the individual-centric campaigns of the candidates themselves. Alongside campaigns based on symbols, parties also attempted to appeal to voters based on their preferred presidential candidate. Some parties, including Gerindra and Hanura, identified their presidential nominees from the outset. In the same vein, PDIP used the nomination of Jokowi to garner popular support amongst voters, hoping that people would vote for the party because they wanted Jokowi to become the next president (Kwok 2014). The so-called 'Jokowi effect' was expected to help PDIP gain enough votes to nominate him as a presidential candidate without having to form a coalition with other parties. PDIP did gain more parliamentary seats than any other party in the election, but fell short of expectations, with the party failing to obtain over 20 per cent of votes (Croft-Cusworth 2014; McRae 2014; Mietzner 2014: 118).

approach was ineffective, not because she was unsuccessful in creating an anti-corruption symbol, but rather because voters were not actually interested in clean candidates. Her opinion was supported by an Indikator survey released in December 2013, which found that 41.5 per cent of those surveyed considered vote-buying an 'acceptable part of democracy' while only 4.3 per cent of those surveyed said they would not accept any form of payment for their vote (Halim 2013).<sup>29</sup>

Ultimately, all three candidates felt pressure to use money to gain influence.<sup>30</sup> This put them in a difficult position—knowing that the party symbol contradicted the election norms of money politics and vote-buying and that they jeopardized their chances of winning if they refused to use money as a tool of persuasion altogether. While the candidates hoped that anti-corruption rhetoric would appeal to their constituents—both because it was part of their own moral beliefs and vote-buying was prohibitively expensive—in reality, they did not find this to be the case. Research from other countries suggests at least two factors that may foster such a situation. First, as Gonzalez Ocantos *et al.* (2014) found in their cross-national study of Latin American states, the more normal vote-buying is, the less stigmatized people who do it will be. People rationalize their behaviour to avoid cognitive dissonance, because no one likes to think of themselves as 'bad'. Thus, if people have accepted money in the past, they may be reluctant to buy into anti-corruption symbolism because it will force them to accept that they have been 'bad' in the past. Second, as Balmas and Sheafer (2010: 208) contend in relation to Israel, the more salient an issue is to the public mind, the more likely it is to be a criterion for candidate evaluation. It seems that corruption, at least in some electorates, was simply not as salient an issue as candidates had expected. As a consequence, they adopted multifaceted campaigns

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<sup>29</sup> This study did not seek to determine why the electorate continues to seek material rewards for their votes. However, the case studies demonstrate that this was a persistent question faced by candidates. A number of academics have proposed explanations for this phenomenon. Goodpaster (2002: 100) argues that citizens understand that their opinions are of little consequence to office-holders once elected—a sentiment that remains true today—and so believe that candidates are accountable to their constituents only during their bids for (re)election. Having been represented by parliamentarians who paid little attention to their needs in the past, voters have become accustomed to judging candidates on the material benefits they offer in the 'here and now'. Voter cynicism towards politicians is not new: Aspinall (2005a) argues that it was common early on in the Reformasi period. The corruption scandals during Yudhoyono's second term did little to quell this cynicism.

<sup>30</sup> This is supported by Mietzner (2014: 119), who argues that the 2014 elections demonstrated the 'continued importance of money and organized machine politics in post-Suharto Indonesia'. Research by McRae (2013: 291) also found that the cost of running for office can be 'prohibitively expensive', with parliamentarians interviewed estimating that they would spend around USD100,000 on their re-election campaigns for 2014.

that integrated anti-corruption symbolism into electoral strategies that also included the use of vote brokers and money politics in order to influence voters.

In order to rationalize the incongruence of combining an anti-corruption symbol with money politics and vote-buying, the candidates framed their use of money as donations, reimbursements, or culturally-necessary gifts—all of which were not only normal election practice but are widely accepted. They openly admitted to strategically using donations and giving gifts in order to persuade voters, but vigorously denied that they had engaged in money politics. In doing so, they mediated the underlying cognitive dissonance they experienced by narrowly defining money politics and vote-buying and distinguishing it from other payments, which, although intended to persuade, fall outside the narrow limits of the definitions they adopted. This also allowed the candidates to maintain that they were ‘clean’ in spite of distributing money, therefore, retaining their anti-corruption symbol and sustaining its link to broader party symbols.

## **Conclusion**

Political symbol theory allows us to understand that the intention of emerging parties’ use of anti-corruption symbols was to influence the audience and gain votes rather than necessarily being a sincere reflection of political principles. Successful alignment with a particular political symbol depends upon well-constructed rhetoric that is able to persuade voters that the symbols put forward are a true reflection of authentic goals. While both the national campaigns of the emerging parties and the local campaigns of those parties’ individual candidates attempted to mobilize an anti-corruption symbol, neither truly achieved ownership of the symbol—let alone coherence across scales. The deep disconnect between the anti-corruption symbol constructed at the national level and what happened on the ground compromised the symbol’s integrity. At the national level, parties competed to be seen as the ‘cleanest’ and the most firm against corruption. Individual candidates, however, found that—despite the apparent traction of the anti-corruption movement—money still talks.

This lack of cohesion provides a prism for understanding one of the key political paradoxes of Indonesia: how can anti-corruption rhetoric be so widespread and yet money politics and vote-buying be so prolific? The simultaneous existence of these phenomena can be explained at least in part by the lack of coherence within political parties during electoral campaigns. In 2014, party actors in the national arena constructed symbols with little input from the voters, identifying corruption as a

popular political issue. When individual candidates invoked these symbols in their 'ground wars', the reaction of voters demonstrated that the assumed salience of the issue did not always result in electoral support. The candidates examined in this study truly wanted to run a clean campaign. However, they faced a conflict between morality and practicality. Vote-buying is a risky endeavour with uncertain returns. But while paying may not guarantee a win, failure to distribute material rewards almost certainly guaranteed a loss. Refusal to engage in money politics and vote-buying thus meant jeopardizing their electoral fate.

The incongruity between what happens at these different scales demonstrates the fragmented nature of political parties more broadly, reflecting that they are not a single, coherent entity, but a collection of individuals with their own interests and priorities. The successful use of political symbols in campaigns depends, to some extent, on consistency of rhetoric and action. While already primed, an anti-corruption symbol loses all persuasive power if it is not credible, demonstrable and convincingly relayed. As political parties and candidates already have to battle voter perceptions of being untrustworthy and corrupt, the lack of cohesion in political symbols—particularly between what voters hear and what they experience—undermines the use of an anti-corruption symbol as a whole, squandering resources and opportunities to truly connect with voters and limiting their chances of success.

# Conclusion

Several studies have identified the important role of political campaigns in determining the outcome of elections (Dalton 2000: 923-924; Edelman 1988; Grofman 1985; Kraus and Giles 1989; Rosenberg *et al.* 1991; Smith 2001; Trilling 1975). Studying the selection, development and mobilization of political symbols during election campaigns allows us to better understand the relationship between rhetoric, persuasion and political outcomes. A close analysis of emerging parties' campaigns in the lead-up to Indonesia's 2014 national legislative elections provides a basis for analysing the successes and failures of symbol development and promotion both by the parties and the candidates who represented them. In focusing on their use of anti-corruption symbols, this thesis has offered an explanation for why these symbols failed to help parties achieve the results they were hoping for.

In the opening chapters of this thesis, the contextual significance of corruption as a political issue and, subsequently, of anti-corruption sentiment, was highlighted through a historical account of the use and manipulation of anti-corruption symbols since Indonesian independence. Appreciating how anti-corruption symbols have been used (and abused) by politicians in the past, it is not surprising that corruption remains a concern, especially given the frequency and seriousness of corruption scandals in the period preceding the 2014 national legislative election. A recounting of both the long-term and more recent history of corruption, and attempts to foster an anti-corruption symbol, provides the context both for why these symbols were so prominent in 2014 and why their projection carried certain risks. Emerging parties, in particular, were able to benefit from the recent corruption scandals faced by rivals, but adopting an anti-corruption symbol was also perilous because it had backfired for other parties, namely the Democratic Party and PKS, in the very recent past, and this was still fresh in voters' minds.

Using a framework of analysis drawn from insights provided by theoretical literature on political symbolism, the thesis then honed in on the two basic elements of election campaigns identified by Norris (2002): the messages that the campaign wishes to communicate and the channel(s) of communication employed to relay those messages. The framing of campaign messages was described using the lens of rhetoric and dramatism as tools of persuasion, while channels of communication were explored using pertinent aspects of diffusion theory. In analysing the qualitative data

collected related to these two elements, this study also assessed the impact of these messages upon target audiences and the feedback loop from the audience back to the campaigning organization.

In order to more comprehensively understand how anti-corruption symbols were imagined and promoted to the public, symbol use was studied at the national and local levels. The nature of campaigns at these scales was very different, especially with regard to the target audience and the type of diffusion involved. At the national level, emerging parties' professional public relations managers created homogenous campaigns intended to establish anti-corruption credentials nationally. Selling the symbol non-relationally to voters, the parties invoked a simplistic anti-corruption discourse that blamed the incumbent government's lack of commitment and the greed of government officials for the ongoing lack of progress in corruption eradication. Perhaps more importantly, the centralized decision-making that underpinned these nation-wide campaigns was far removed from the day-to-day campaign activities of individual candidates, who were left to promote themselves with little guidance or oversight.

For the 2014 election, the candidates followed in this study could choose to adopt or ignore their party's anti-corruption symbol. In each case, the extent to which the symbol was harnessed depended heavily on the candidate's personal history and how useful they thought the symbol would be in attracting support. As such, their personal choices, beliefs and local-level experiences shaped their campaigns far more than any national party-level symbols ever could. Local context was also extremely important in settling on a campaign strategy. In addition to factors such as the extent to which candidates were embedded in local communities, the prevalence of money politics in those communities was influential, as candidates had to gauge its potential effect on their chances of being elected. In cases where the use of money politics by rivals posed a real threat to electoral success, the candidates—all of whom had stated at the outset that they would like to portray themselves as clean and avoid money politics—were forced to decide whether they would maintain an anti-corruption symbol or not.

This finding sheds further light on the paradox of corruption in Indonesia: although it is almost universally condemned it is also exceedingly prevalent, not only within elite political circles but also within voter communities. Money politics is seen as par for the course, not least by voters, many of whom both expect and embrace it. The

dilemma faced by these candidates, who chose to adopt anti-corruption symbols but were then confronted by the demands of voters that contradicted this symbol, was not easily resolved. The stereotype of Indonesian candidates as wanting to win at any cost was challenged through this considered portrait of three (aspiring) politicians, both in terms of how they viewed themselves and how they reconciled their choice to use anti-corruption symbols with the realities they faced during their campaigns. Candidates are commonly assumed to be 'corrupt', but the case studies presented here demonstrate that, at least for some, the decision to engage in money politics was not taken lightly. The illegal practices they adopted were a pragmatic, yet reluctant, response to local context and their interpretation of voter demands, rather than a pre-meditated strategy for victory.

Diffusion theory, meanwhile, provided a valuable mechanism for understanding the inconsistencies that occur in election campaigns explaining this paradox in terms of the disconnect between rhetoric at the national level and actions at the local level. It also reveals the inconsistencies in the legal, moral and sociological definitions of corruption that co-exist in Indonesia. Legal definitions of corruption are routinely criticized for their limitations (Cheng and Zaum 2008; Philp 2008) while moral interpretations of corruption are drawn from religion and culture, also making them difficult to classify. Sociological definitions of corruption, which frame behaviour in terms of what is deemed acceptable or unacceptable, are at odds with both the legal and stated moral views of corruption held by candidates. The illegal practices they engaged in, such as giving goods and cash to voters, is so normalized in Indonesia that candidates could re-frame them as being acceptable and routine; even culturally appropriate. The lack of accord between the three facets of the definition undermines the coherence of the symbol and, therefore, its ethos. Despite all the resources candidates put into constructing a symbol, both in terms of finances and time, the symbol presented is fundamentally flawed, rendering these efforts largely fruitless.

Theoretically, this thesis speaks to the literature on the selection, development and broadcasting of political symbols in election campaigns by elucidating the relationship between symbol development, mobilization and effectiveness. In doing so, it has deepened our understanding of the use of political symbols by demonstrating that symbols present both an opportunity and a risk to those who adopt them. Edelman's (1964;1977) seminal discussion of political symbols frames them primarily in terms of their persuasive value and their impact on public

acquiescence, an interpretation that has continued largely unchallenged. Marrying political symbol discourse and theories of persuasion and rhetoric, this thesis has found that the campaign rhetoric around the issue of corruption was not cohesive, ultimately undermining the value of the anti-corruption symbol. This lack of cohesion placed additional weight on local contexts and individual strategies. Candidates exploited their local ties or used money politics, rather than directing their efforts to formulating a more compelling anti-corruption symbol to capture the imagination of voters. Party anti-corruption symbols were undermined by others' attempts—and even those of the candidates themselves—to win voters over with donations or favours.

This thesis also extends diffusion theory from its basis in social movement studies, as developed by Givan *et al.* (2010) and Tarrow (2011), to understand the parameters and constraints of election campaigning at different scales. Applying diffusion theory to campaign strategies and classifying them as non-relational, relational and mediated, allows for a more nuanced understanding of how different aspects of campaigning can both support and weaken symbol construction. While many studies focus either on the actions of nation-wide campaigns or individual candidates, this thesis combined the two in order to fully explain the impact of intra-party relations on campaign messages. The application of diffusion theory in this way illustrated the importance of considering election campaigns at a variety of scales in order to gain a holistic picture of how symbols are used and why they fail to resonate.

The incongruence between national and individual campaigns described in this study is a consequence of the lack of coordination across scale, confirming the critiques of Sartori (1976), Deschouwer (2003) and Fabre (2011) of the tendency to view parties as monolithic entities. In observing party interactions at a number of levels, this thesis further develops this insight by highlighting the importance not only of parties' subunits and internal systems, but of individuals, who have the power to establish their own systems amongst voters with the assistance of their campaign teams and brokers. Further challenging the view that parties are unified organizations, this study demonstrated that the role of individual candidates is paramount in elections. While joining a party was necessary, and may have offered candidates a brand name to rally behind, their own background and local context—including the pervasiveness of money politics at the grassroots level, which constituted a nearly insurmountable

obstacle to those wishing to retain a clean reputation— remained influential in determining their popularity with voters.

Given that political symbols are constructed for the purpose of acquiring or maintaining power, their success or failure speaks to the political party's ability to effectively use their resources to influence electoral outcomes. A well-chosen and convincingly portrayed symbol has the ability to sway voters and, consequently, confer power on a particular party or individual. This thesis confirms Keane's (1997) assertion that the social spaces in which symbols occur play a crucial role in determining their influence. Parties and candidates assumed that anti-corruption symbols would be popular because they were primed by the existing political context; however, aligning themselves with the symbol proved not only difficult, but in some cases ineffective. To some extent, national campaigns could afford to overlook local context because of their emphasis on widespread, non-relational dissemination of their campaign symbol. Yet while the black-and-white narrative of corruption issues presented in these campaigns suggests that parties, and the candidates who chose to adopt the symbol, viewed corruption as a moral 'non-negotiable', it was, in fact, a highly malleable concept in the minds of voters. Keane's argument resonates particularly at this local level because the success of symbols was determined by how well they were received by individual voters. While citizens may have supported anti-corruption movements against those in the upper echelons of power—such as criticizing the abuse of power by government officials—they did not necessarily associate vote-buying or money politics with corruption, despite it being an illegal exchange.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Surveys from January 2010- 2014 addressing the popularity of parties and the President

Released	Institution	Findings
Jan 2010	Lembaga Survei Indonesia	Yudhoyono and Vice-President Boediono's approval rating down from 85% in July 2009 to 70% in January 2010. <sup>1</sup>
Dec 2010	Lembaga Survei Indonesia	Yudhoyono's approval rating at 63%. Democratic Party the most popular party with 21.4% of votes. <sup>2</sup>
May 2011	Lembaga Survei Indonesia	Yudhoyono's approval rating at 56%. <sup>3</sup>
Jun 2011	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Satisfaction with the Yudhoyono-Boediono leadership at 47.2%. <sup>4</sup>
Sep 2011	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Satisfaction with the Yudhoyono-Boediono leadership at 37.7%. <sup>5</sup>
Jan 2012	Lembaga Survei Indonesia	Only 10.5% only those surveyed plan to vote for the Democratic party. <sup>6</sup>
Feb 2012	CSIS	Survey showed no party had a clear lead in the 2014 elections, although PDIP was slightly in front. <sup>7</sup>
Jun 2012	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Megawati from PDIP the most popular candidate for president with 18.2% of the vote. No candidate from the Democratic Party rated in the survey. <sup>8</sup>
July 2012	CSIS	54% of those surveyed are not satisfied with Yudhoyono's performance as President. <sup>9</sup>
Apr 2013	CSIS	2.7% of respondents plan to vote for PKS. <sup>10</sup>
	Transparency International Indonesia	Gerindra, PAN and PDIP are the most 'transparent' parties in the electoral race according to those surveyed. <sup>11</sup>
May 2013	Lembaga Survei Nasional	3.8% of respondents plan to vote for PKS. <sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As reported by *BBC Indonesia* (*BBC Indonesia* 2010).

<sup>2</sup> As reported in *Tempo* (Jusuf 2011).

<sup>3</sup> As reported in *Indonesia-2014* (Indonesia-2014 2012).

<sup>4</sup> As reported by *Detik.com* (Nugroho 2011).

<sup>5</sup> As reported by *Okezone* (Wirakusuma 2011).

<sup>6</sup> As reported in *Rakyat Merdeka* (Dalimunthe 2012).

<sup>7</sup> As reported in the *Jakarta Post* (Dewi 2012).

<sup>8</sup> As reported in *Tempo* (Wijaya 2012).

<sup>9</sup> As reported by *Detik.com* (Dhurandara 2012).

<sup>10</sup> As reported in *Republika* (Ruslan 2013).

<sup>11</sup> As reported by *BBC Indonesia* (*BBC Indonesia* 2013).

<sup>12</sup> Survey results posted to the website of Lembaga Survei Nasional (2013).

Released	Institution	Findings
Jul 2013	SPACE	43% of those surveyed plan not to vote (golput). Golkar, PDIP and Gerindra lead the parties in popularity. <sup>13</sup>
	Soegeng Sarjadi School of Governance	In party polling, PDIP is most popular with 13.6% of the vote, while the Democratic Party has fallen to 10.3% of votes. Meanwhile Islamic parties have declined in popularity and PKS holds only 1.88% of the vote. <sup>14</sup>
Jul 2013	Lembaga Survei Nasional	Hanura and Gerindra are perceived as being the two cleanest ( <i>bersih</i> ) parties in the election race. <sup>15</sup>
Sep 2013	Indonesian Network Election Survey	56.3% of respondents are not satisfied with the efforts of Yudhoyono and Boediono. 90.2% of respondents associate their government with corruption and scandal. <sup>16</sup>
Oct 2013	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Jokowi and Prabowo are the presidential favourites and the three most popular parties are: Golkar, PDIP and the Democratic Party. <sup>17</sup>
Oct 2013	Political Weather Station	Prabowo is the favoured presidential candidate with 16.7% of respondents saying they will vote for him, followed by Megawati (12.5%). <sup>18</sup>
Nov 2013	Lembaga Survei Nasional	Only 36.4% of voters polled who voted for PKS in 2009 will vote for the party again. <sup>19</sup>
Dec 2013	CSIS	Jokowi is the most popular presidential candidate with 34.7% of respondents choosing him, followed by Prabowo with 10.7 % of surveyed votes. <sup>20</sup>
Dec 2013	Soegeng Sarjadi School of Governance	Analysed 30 opinion polls and found that PDIP was the most popular party, forecasting 17.4% of votes, followed by Golkar with 17.01% and Gerindra with 10.51%. <sup>21</sup>
Feb 2014	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Nasdem and PKS may not pass the parliamentary threshold. PKS predicted to gain 3.12% of votes while Nasdem predicted to win 2.68%. <sup>22</sup>
Feb 2014	Lingkaran Survei Indonesia	Presidential candidate Jokowi would win, receiving 22.3-35.6% of the vote, against Prabowo who would garner

<sup>13</sup> As published in *Kompas* (Kompas 2013a).

<sup>14</sup> As reported by *Detik.com* (Damarjati 2013).

<sup>15</sup> As reported by *Detik.com* (Ledysia 2013).

<sup>16</sup> As reported in *Kompas* (Gatra 2013).

<sup>17</sup> As reported in the *Jaakarta Globe* (Sukoyo 2013a).

<sup>18</sup> As reported in *Tempo* (Anam 2013).

<sup>19</sup> As reported in *Merdeka* (Simanjuntak 2013).

<sup>20</sup> As reported in *Tempo* (Tempo 2013a).

<sup>21</sup> As reported in the *Jakarta Post* (Saragih 2013a).

<sup>22</sup> As reported by *Tribunnews.com* (Ihsanuddin 2014b).

Released	Institution	Findings
		12.6-19.7%. <sup>23</sup>
Mar 2014	Saiful Mujani Research Center	PDIP predicted to win the election with 16.4% of votes, Golkar second with 15%. However 47.7% of respondents decided not to choose a party. The survey also predicted that all parties would proceed to parliament except the Crescent and Star Party (Partai Bulan Bintang, PBB) and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia, PKPI). <sup>24</sup>
Apr 2014	Roy Morgan Research	PDIP expected to gain 37% of votes and Jokowi the clear presidential favourite with 45% of respondents choosing him. <sup>25</sup>
Apr 2014	Pusat Data Bersatu	Survey found Jokowi to be the preferred presidential candidate. <sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> As reported in the *Jakarta Post* (Aritonang 2014).

<sup>24</sup> As reported in the *Jakarta Post* (Jakarta Post 2014b) and *Media Indonesia* (Mustain 2014).

<sup>25</sup> As reported in *Kompas* (Ihsanuddin 2014c) and the *Jakarta Globe* (Jakarta Globe 2014b).

<sup>26</sup> As reported in *Kompas* (Ihsanuddin 2014a).

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