Assessing Democracy from Below

A Framework and Indonesian Pilot Study

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Abstract

The emerging crisis of both elitist and popular strategies of democratisation calls for assessments of the problems and options in such a way that different arguments may be put to the test whilst facilitating debate on improved agendas. This article first discusses the development of a framework for such assessments in the context of the most populous of the 'third wave democracies', Indonesia. The best audit of institutional performance, that of Beetham, is further developed by adding the scope of the institutions and the will and capacity of the local actors to improve and use them. This if followed by a presentation of the salient results from a thus designed expert-survey with 330 questions to about 800 experienced democracy workers in all 32 provinces. Indonesia's actually existing democracy is surprisingly liberal and accepted as 'the only game in town'. It suffers however from defunct instruments to really facilitate political equality and popular control of public affairs. This is due to monopolisation of most rights and institutions by the establishment and the political marginalisation of the democratic agents of change. The problems, however, are not all 'structurally inevitable'. The article concludes with a specification of the potential for improvements.

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Introduction

There is an emerging crisis of democratization. For although predominantly 'pacted' or negotiated transitions at elite level, followed by top-down crafting of 'good' rights and institutions have introduced important civil and political rights as well as general elections, they have not altered the dominance of the upper classes and their practices. Equally problematic is that none of the opposing popular oriented perspectives have evolved into forceful and viable alternatives. Civic activists have often played a crucial role in the initial dismantling of dictatorship and the introduction of democracy, but thereafter they have typically been co-opted into clientelist parties or confined to direct practices in civil society at the periphery of the state, government and business. This calls for a method of investigation to assess the problems and options in such a way that different arguments may be put to the test whilst facilitating debate on improved agendas. This article offers just such a framework in the context of Indonesia, the most populous of the 'third wave democracies'. The framework aims to go beyond the best of the mainstream audits of institutional performance, that of Beetham,[1] by adding indicators of the local actors' will and capacity to promote and use these institutions, and bases itself on a citizen perspective from below. An expert survey with around 330 questions has been carried out among some 800 experienced and reflective local activists within 14 thematic sectors in all of Indonesia's 32 provinces. The results reveal that while the actually existing democracy is surprisingly liberal and increasingly widely accepted as the 'only game in town', it suffers from defunct instruments that are unable to facilitate political equality and popular control of public affairs. The deficit is due to the monopolization of instruments by the establishment, poor representation of people's

interests and visions, and political marginalization of the democratic agents of change. However the potential for democratic improvement exists.

The Crisis of Democratization

The major prescriptions for democracy in the South and the former Eastern Block that have been standard fare in the political science literature on democratization are now being questioned by increasing numbers of scholars and pro-democracy actors. While it is widely recognized that many important freedoms have been introduced and that several institutions for the promotion of democracy are now in place, it is also recognized that the problems that still remain are overwhelming. Foreign intervention and global neo-liberalism have undermined vital preconditions for democracy such as the capacity of elected bodies to implement their decisions and uphold basic public services. Semi-authoritarian regimes return to power or throw off their democratic façade. Corruption, abuse of power and underdevelopment continue. Actually existing civil society does not match up to normative expectations. Much of the 'social capital' that is supposed to 'make democracy work' flourishes within ethnic and religious rather than civic communities. The delegation of authority through 'free and fair' elections is rarely complemented by the representation of basic interests and ideas. Ordinary people – even democracy activists, find it hard to promote and use elections or the many other rights and institutions that are expected to generate democracy to the end of fighting repression, poverty and plunder. The main problem seems to be the persistence of elite dominance.

Practitioners trying to 'consolidate' liberal democracy give priority to the timing and crafting of best possible institutions, but lack convincing answers concerning what interests, powers and actors would be best able to enforce and implement these recommendations. Others argue that institutional changes have proved insufficient. 'Free and fair elections' for instance, have not prevented but rather framed and legitimized the delegation of power to populist and clientelist *caudillo* leaders. There is no convincing explanation for this – references such as to neo-patrimonialism for instance, as in the African context, lie within the long-term cultural patterns of the elite, which look self-evident. The real puzzle relates to the processes through which these practices are sustained and renewed. Such dynamics are more fruitfully analyzed in the literature on the legacy of indirect rule,[2] the links between state and society,[3] and on the *ménage á trois* between primitive accumulation, liberal elections and clientelism and bossism.[4] But we do not know how these structural conditions relate to the rights, institutions and actors that are supposed to generate democracy, and whether there are any agents of change.

These issues are avoided also in the recent attempts to counter popular frustrations by trying to improve the representation of views and interests from the top down. Development aid agencies and political party institutes allocate funds for this,[5] but their functional definitions of parties are revived from universal modernization theories, and fail to clarify which issues and whose interests will be politicized and represented, what organizations are going to be strengthened and how mobilization on clientelistic, religious or ethnic grounds can be avoided.[6]

Worse still, in-spite of a lively discourse and many experiments on different alternatives, there is still no politically viable option. The alternatives that prescribe

greater decentralization, local participation and civic engagement against state dominance and elitist politics all suffer from a political deficit.[7] While the first of these alternatives is linked to civil society-oriented non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and social movements,[8] the second includes attempts by organizations like the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to co-opt and combine these 'civic ideas' with those of their own. On the one hand these two perspectives disagree on policy matters such as the importance of the economic market and 'new-public management'. On the other hand, however, they jointly constitute a single mainstream approach in their desire to supplement and at times replace much of organized politics (including ill-fated ideologies and deteriorated collective interest representation) with direct and polycentric participation of consumers, 'clients' and users. One critique of these perspectives is that they have fostered fragmented, unaccountable and not very effective activities that have not really impacted on elitist control of state and government.[9] Another critique is that a combination of elitist engineering of institutions and governance (rather than government) on the one hand, and citizens' self-management and 'social capital' (rather than conflicts) on the other fails to address the most fundamental issues of power in democracy[10]

In contrast, a third so-called popular democratic perspectives realizes the need to aggregate issues and interests as well as to allow citizen participation – not just as consumers and users, but also within the public policy and decision-making processes. Inspired by experiments like the participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and the attempt at 'people's planning from below' in the Indian state of Kerala,[11] the general aim is to institutionalize local, public spaces between government and people where citizens

can deliberate and participate as equals and take decisions delegated by the politicians.[12] Nevertheless, this too contains a political deficit. Many of the problems of how to combine direct and representative constitutional democracy remain unresolved. The same applies to the implementation of deliberative democracy under conditions of considerable social and economic inequality. Most fundamentally, the crucial importance of political intervention in the creation and sustaining of successfully institutionalized spaces between people and government is often neglected, particularly in the theorization of experiments, in the attempts at popularising concepts beyond existing political loyalties and when exporting models to foreign contexts. In Kerala for instance, the disintegration of the 'people's planning campaign' was partly related to the political inability of the activists and committed scholars to prevent conventional politicians (rightist and leftist) from abusing the project.[13]

The Task

What should be done? One recourse is to return to structural explanations and determinist perspectives, arguing that there are not yet sufficiently strong and liberal middle and/or working classes.[14] However, this does not offer potential alternatives in the conflicts over resources; nor does it provide a critique of the rapidly emerging cynicism, elitism and semi-authoritarianism. Another option is to carry out more contextual case studies of various democratic experiments. But having done that for a few decades,[15] one also realizes the need for supplementary mass data-based assessments in order to challenge the conventional wisdom and discuss the validity of specific findings in a broader perspective. The principal task is thus to develop a framework for comprehensive

empirical studies of the problems and obstacles to 'bringing the democrats back in' – a framework that both combines analyses of structural constraints with critical enquiries of potential agents of change whilst facilitating discussion of competing arguments and strategies.

The Critical Case of Indonesia

Much of the ongoing discussion on democracy assessments shares the same technocratic qualities as the debate on the economic perspectives of the IMF. Yet democracy is political, and politics is contextual. The work on an alternative perspective should begin therefore, at the level of concrete critical cases. And one such critical case is Indonesia. The rise of the world's third largest, albeit fledging democracy was a mystery to many analysts. For there, attempts at promoting democracy through rapid modernization and the rise of a middle class had proved unviable. Even just before the 1997 Asian crisis it was widely believed that a dynamic and fairly stable capitalism was being fostered from top down, and that an elitist, reformist and democracy oriented pact would be possible to negotiate once President Soeharto decided to step down. The weakness of this argument should have been obvious in 1996 with the crackdown on dissidents who were symbolically spearheaded by former President Sukarno's daughter Megawati. Popular resistance against authoritarian exploitation coincided with middle class protests against corruption and repression, and although the protests were poorly organized, the regime's response undermined all attempts at negotiated, reformist compromises.[16] Another year and a half of unrest and repression the international financial institutions and foreign investors began to panic. Having lost their trust in the

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capacity of the regime to guarantee the lucrative combination of primitive and advanced accumulation of capital, 'flexible' investors abandoned the scene, thereby causing devastation to hundreds of millions of ordinary people. Yet, it was neither capital nor the supposedly human rights and democracy oriented international community that finally brought down the Soeharto regime, but the 'instant' student movement that substituted for the lack of broad popular organization by paralyzing Jakarta and several other cities with large-scale protests and demonstrations. Thereafter however, the internationally dominant model of transition to liberal democracy through pacts within a somewhat enlarged establishment rose to prominence with remarkable speed. Once Soeharto stepped down on 21 May 1998, most sections of his loyal associates realized the need to negotiate a compromise with the moderate opposition. Mainstream dissident leaders Megawati, Amien Rais and Abdurrahman Wahid, alias Gus Dur, responded positively by abandoning the popular oriented movement. The major turning point was the decision to opt for early elections in 1999, which paralyzed the activists who were chiefly responsible for bringing democracy to Indonesia, most of whom opted instead for sustained direct action in civil society.

Neither the results of the elitist strategy nor the direct civic actions have been impressive. The elitist model of democracy has generated some important civil and political rights, as well as technically free and fair elections. But the ordinary people continue to suffer economic and social deprivation, and the problem of corruption has probably increased within the framework of decentralization and the increasingly powerful political parties and legislative assemblies. The territorial organization of the 70 per cent 'self-financed' military has been sustained, while much of the previous state

repression is being outsourced to semi-private militias and other security groups. The pact-making elite have remained unable to form stable, trustworthy and effective governments. In consequence in the 2004 general elections the well organized, semi-sectarian Muslim party *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS)[17] rose from marginal status to gain more than seven percent of the national vote, becoming the largest party in the capital region, while the old elite dressed up in conservative populism and was returned to dominance behind the new president, managerial retired general, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), with successful Soeharto-era businessman Jusuf Kalla as his ambitious deputy.

In contrast, the poorly organized students, NGOs and uncoordinated groups of labourers, farmers and urban poor were soon demobilized, humiliated and confined to politically marginalised civil society activity. A comprehensive review and comparative case study program on and with the post-Soeharto democracy movement was presented in early 2002.[18] While many of the protest groups and activists were still in existence, they generally continued to reflect Soeharto's 'floating mass' politics – fragmented and rather isolated from ordinary people – and so unable to make much headway in the new democratic politics beyond their lobbying and pressure groups-type society activities. In the 2004 elections, it was only the semi-sectarian PKS that included some representation from the movement that had given birth to democracy.

The Local Discourse

What explains the trajectory described above, and what if anything might be done about it? There are five main competing arguments.

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The first argument is over whether the problems are overstated since democracy with elections, governance reforms and anti-corruptions measures have become the irreversible 'only game in town'. What is needed now is simply more of the same, plus political stability and liberalization of the economy, which should pave the way for economic growth and more jobs. The critics, however, point to growing corruption and a persistent culture of authoritarianism and violence: the military retains much influence; money politics rather than people govern the parties; and the old powerful bureaucrats-cum-businessmen continue to dominate, for example in the form of localized oligarchs. Democracy, therefore, will remain a façade until there is 'real' structural change. Ironically, many of the latter arguments are accepted by Marxists and liberal modernization theorists alike.

The second argument concerns the pros and cons of decentralisation. Supporters of decentralization associate central governance with the old authoritarianism, and want to see more space for direct participation and for civic associations to take a larger role in public life. They are cautiously optimistic over what has been achieved so far. The sceptics however, point to negative examples and contradictory evidence which upholds no clear-cut relation between decentralization and democracy. Nationalists in the political and military elites want to defend the centrally governed nation state at any price, while yet others see decentralization as inviting the growth of petty-Soehartos, 'uncivil' sections of civil society, and the territorially-based organization of the military. More powers devolved to the local level in combination with weak government and weak civic institutions paves the way for abuse of political and administrative power, rise of religious and ethnic sentiments and destruction of the natural environment for a quick

profit. Priority, some argue, should be given to citizenship and other democratic institutions, not to decentralization *per se*. This calls for strong regulatory institutions and democratic popular organizations at central as well as local levels.[19]

The third argument is over how to counter corruption and revitalise the economy. One side favours neo-liberal measures that (in theory) allow the market to discipline those actors that now take shelter behind administrative and political arrangements. A different side says a stronger state is needed to discipline the institutions and actors: this side encompasses revolutionary socialists as well as discipline-oriented retired generals; in between are the commentators inspired by the comparatively strong executives in Singapore, China, Japan and South Korea. It is unclear how the dominant Indonesian actors would follow suit and what would be the implications for human rights and democracy.

The fourth and most extensive debate takes place between the advocates of elitist- and government-driven institution-building to favour human rights, good governance and democracy, and proponents of civil society based solutions to the same effect. There are similarities as well as differences between the two, but many middle class civil society activists remain sceptical of state and organized politics, and advocate alternative civic institutions and autonomous pressure policies as well as direct democracy and self help activities. One major controversy is thus over state versus civil society, approaches to tackling such major issues as land reform, human rights, gender equality, the environment, provision of basic services like fresh water, garbage collection, and security, electoral regulations, education and the possibilities for participatory local

practices. Corruption is another such issue: in reality, almost all concrete measures taken at the top-level have been due to civic pressure.

The fifth, even more fundamental debate takes place between on the one hand the closely related top-level institution-builders and their civic counterparts and on the other hand groups that give more priority to mass action and organization based on common interests and political vision. In principle, there is nothing to prevent combinations between the two camps and, indeed, the civic groups must broaden their base and engage in politics. But the controversy between elitist institution building and popular mobilization has deep historical roots in Indonesia, from the deterioration of the parliamentary democracy in the fifties to the elimination of all radical popular movements in the sixties.[20]

The Mandate

At a 2002 conference on the democracy movement, scholars and activists debating several of the aforementioned arguments concluded that their merits should be judged against more comprehensive empirical data. A taskforce was appointed to initiate a nationwide, academically solid survey of democracy activists – one that would offer a corrective to elitist mainstream perspectives and form a basis for a renewed agenda for 'meaningful human rights based democracy'. The author of this paper assisted in developing an analytical framework and methodology that could then be put into operation with the benefit of only part-time co-direction. The association *Demos* was established to back up the research, mobilise support and follow up the results. Indonesian democracy organisations, concerned scholars and international organisations

provided support and respect for the intellectual integrity of the team. (See acknowledgements.) The project was launched in January 2003, less than a year after its inception.

Existing Assessments of Democracy

The available schemes for assessing democracy were not able to put most of the abovementioned results and arguments to test. The schemes tend to focus on separate, specific elements of democracy such as basic freedoms, human rights, the rule of law, elections, governance, participatory practices or civil society, the best known example probably being that of the Freedom House ratings. They generate descriptive and often static measurements, rarely addressing the process of generating and implementing rights and so on, thus avoiding how the intrinsic elements of democracy relate to the various actors and conditioning factors. Moreover, the models that do try to consider actors and conditions, like the academic studies of development and democracy and UNDP's *Human Development Reports,* were usually constrained by quite general indicators of democracy and development. Other approaches concentrated on social movements or NGOs without making systematic links to the theory and institutional structure of democracy. Developing a realistic framework for linking studies of such collective actors and institutions had to be a major priority. An important partial exception is the democracy assessment promoted by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), which builds on the 'democratic audit' pioneered by David Beetham and others. But although that model makes firm distinctions between human rights and democracy, the aims and instruments of democracy, the intrinsic and

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nin___ factors of democracy, and so on, it too suffers often from static descriptions

itio___nal performance at the expense of actors, mechanisms, and processes. In any

)st ___of the available assessment schemes are donor-driven and dependent on

s su___c h as databanks that are incomplete in countries like Indonesia and, often,

l to ___elite-level informants with little grass-roots contact or understanding.

ern___ative Framework

lytic___al framework developed for this research consists of seven elements: (1) a

n of___ 'meaningful human rights-based democracy'; (2) a list of rights and

ons___that are needed to promote such a democracy; (3) a set of principles for

g th___ performance as well as (4) the scope of these instruments; (5) indices to

the will and (6) the capacity of the actors to promote and use the instruments;

ndic___ators of how the actors relate to the structural conditions. Take each in turn.

rful Human Rights-Based Democracy

e ele___ments of the dependent variable must be specified to allow distinctions of

para___meters and operational indicators. The usual understanding of 'meaningful' is

al. I___n a given context therefore, the actually existing instruments of human

ased democracy do not have to be perfect but substantial enough for the citizens

to b___ relevant in their attempts to control and influence what they deem to be

of c___mmon concern.

am a___rgued convincingly that democracy's generally accepted meaning or aim is

con___trol of public affairs on the basis of political equality', and that this

presupposes seven principles, namely: everyone's right and ability to *participate*, the

authorization of representatives and officials and their *representation* of main currents of

popular opinion and the social composition of people – in addition to being continuously

responsive to the opinions and interests of the people and *accountable* to the citizens for

what they have done; which in turn requires *transparency* and *solidarity* among the

citizens and others who fight for democracy.[21] The importance of *human rights,* finally,

is simply that they are basic to most (if not all) of these values, while the values in turn

are critical for the shaping and practicing of human rights. The two may not be separated.

The Intrinsic Rights and Institutions

It is also fruitful to start off from Beetham's widely accepted argument that the listed

aims of democracy have to be promoted by a set of means or rights and institutions. Since

these instruments as such tend to be contextual, one should avoid attempts at universal

lists. Elections, for instance are arranged in many different ways. However, one may list

the semi-universal output that the rights and institutions should generate:[22]

(a) Constitutionalism by way of the judiciary: Equal citizenship, rule of law, justice, civil and political rights, and socio-economic rights in terms of basic needs;

(b) Popular sovereignty by way of legislative and executive government: Democratic elections, representation, and responsive and accountable government and public administration;

(c) Civic engagement by way of civil society: Free and democratically oriented media, art, academia, associational life and other forms of additional popular participation, including consultation and various forms of 'direct democracy'.[23]

We shall return to the importance of peoples' political capacity to generate these

outputs, but the review as such may serve as a basis for the much needed specification of

the various element of democracy, in contrast to the simplistic 'black box' studies that

only consider variables such as free and fair elections. Yet, advocates of deliberative and

direct democracy could object to the relative importance attached to representative

democracy here, and the inclusion of 'social and economic rights in terms of basic needs'

might also be controversial. Representation and government are unavoidable, however,

beyond pure associational democracy and extreme forms of sectoral and geographical

fragmentation of the *demos*; and 'basic needs' are necessary for all citizens to survive and

form their opinions with some critical degree of independence from the dominant actors.

Moreover, it is essential to add one precondition to Beetham's list: whether there is

correspondence between the official identification of the citizens and how people identify

themselves in public matters – in our case as Indonesians or members of the districts

rather than as members of a local or religious or ethnic community. That said, the

framework offered by Beetham and IDEA is very unwieldy, so the alternative framework

that was created for the research in Indonesia and improved over the course of two

rounds of survey interviews contains a list of the democratic output of just 40 partially

aggregated democratic rights and institutions (see Appendix to this article), rather than

the formers tally of 85 instruments.

Assessing the Performance of the Instruments

To be meaningful, these rights and institutions must not merely exist but also perform

well. Beetham's most crucial argument is that one cannot assign democracy merely

because some of its instruments, such as elections, are in place – it all depends on the

extent to which such institutions do actually promote the aim(s) of democracy, in this

case by way of *democratic* elections. A question must thus be formulated about existence

and performance in relation to each and every instrument; and when there is a lack of

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comparative data, an additional question may be asked about changes over time (in Indonesia since the first post-Soeharto elections in 1999).

This is not to evaluate whether the instruments are producing policies to our liking or not (the outcome), only the extent to which each instrument fulfils its purpose of contributing to the democratic infrastructure (the output). For instance, to what extent are the institutions that are supposed to uphold equal citizenship really doing so?

Detailed follow-up studies of the character and reasons for good or bad performance in terms of the institutional mechanisms and the balance of power however, are difficult to handle in a broad survey. Some factors may be addressed by considering the answers to other questions. Poor institutional performance regarding the promotion of equal citizenship may for instance be combined with the performance of instruments to uphold the rule of law or prevent corruption. Yet other aspects relate to the scope of the instruments and to the will and capacity of the actors to do something. This calls for additional variables and indicators other than Beetham's on performance, for a democracy to be meaningful, namely the instruments must have a reasonable scope and citizens must be willing and capable of promoting and using them.[24] We shall discuss these one by one.

Assessing the Scope of the Instruments

Well-performing institutions may have a very limited scope. It is possible for instance, that the instruments are not functioning beyond certain urban areas, or that some regions are indirectly ruled through customary leaders or warlords. Similarly, the instruments may be more or less inclusive of the issues that people think ought to be part of public affairs. In some cases, elements of supposedly public agencies such as the military or a

local irrigation department may have been virtually privatised and withdrawn from the public sphere. In other cases it is more difficult to judge, as when some people argue that domestic violence is a matter for public concern while others say that it is a private matter. The assumption in the framework is that while a widely defined public sphere is conducive to a meaningful democracy, this 'ideal' cannot cover the widest possible scope since this may undermine fundamental human rights, which must be upheld. Additional questions must be formulated about the geographical and substantive scope of each and every instrument and how this has changed over time.

Finally, there must sufficient institutional capacity. A widely defined scope on economic matters for instance, is of little use if there is bad performance; both are needed. One reason may be that foreign business or financial institutions are making many of the most significant decisions, thus fostering so-called choice-less democracies.

Citizens' Will to Promote and Use the Instruments

Conventional assessment schemes are often limited to the mapping of the state of democracy, neglecting its dynamics and the process of democratization, or in other words the fact that rights and institutions do not emerge and act by themselves. Hence, one must first ask about the extent to which the citizens are willing to promote and use these instruments.

Assuming that actors' will varies with the extent to which they find that the instruments make sense (or would make sense), the general question should be to establish whether the actors promote and use the instruments, simply use them, only use them sometimes,

or try to look for alternatives. Do the actors produce democracy, only consume it or even obstruct it?

At this point one should also distinguish between citizen-oriented democracy actors and dominant actors. Dominant actors may of course also be democrats, but particularly in new democracies with strong remnants of authoritarianism the dominant actors tend to be based on powerful positions in state and business rather than among the ordinary citizens. Therefore, questions about the actors' will to promote and use the instruments of democracy (and later also the capacity to do so) must be sub-divided – and here it is the experienced and reflective pro-democrats on the ground who are chosen to represent the major source of information, in the alternative framework: what do the experts' experiences reveal of firstly the citizen based democrats and secondly the dominant actors.

Citizens' Capacity to Promote and Use the Instruments

An actors' will is not enough – there must also be capacity. Given structural conditions, what characterises the actors' capacity to promote and use democratic politics? The framework is limited to the basic factors that most students of political and social movements would nominate:

   (a) Effective presence in the political landscape;
   (b) Effective politicization of issues and interests;
   (c) Effective politicization or inclusion of people into politics;
   (d) Effective strategies to promote and use the instruments of democracy.

On the political landscape (see Figure 1), previous research indicates that citizens must be effectively present within the spheres and arenas that *de facto* affect politics. The

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framework distinguishes between the spheres of the state, business and self-managed

units such as co-operatives. In addition, there are private and public domains both within

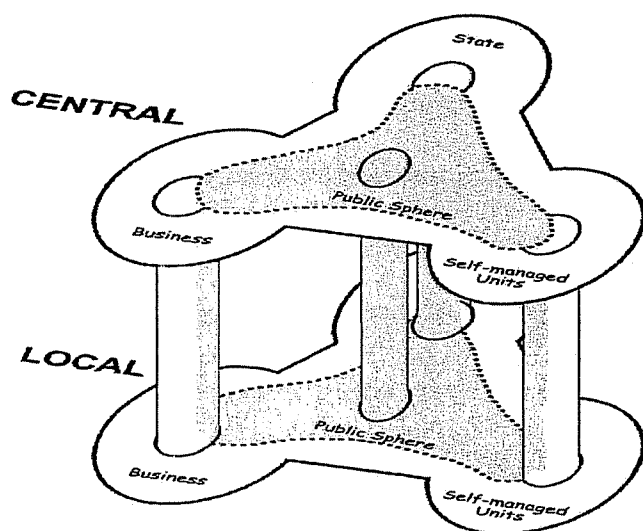and in between these spheres.

Figure 1 here

FIGURE 1
THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

The public domain (as opposed to the private), includes open arenas, institutions,

forums and practices for citizens to deliberate, negotiate, and co-operate. A public sphere

is thus not necessarily managed by the state or government (in fact, the state and

government may be partly closed or privatised); it may also be an open association or a

place to meet, or 'civil society' in terms of citizens' actually existing organizations

beyond the state and outright business. Civil society may thus be more or less public and

open –or part of the private and exclusive sphere;[25] and whether the citizens act as 'good

citizens' or abuse ethnicity for instance, also remains to be analyzed. At this point we are

'only' interested in the presence of the actors. These spheres (and arenas) may be located

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on the central and local levels as well as in the links between them – structured, then, according to the logic of territories (such as regencies or towns) or sectors (such as industry or agriculture, youth or women, education or media).

In sum, the important question is where the actors are present, most often and at first hand. One argument from our previous studies that may be evaluated is that new democratic endeavours tend to be weak where the old progressive forces were strong, for example in relation to the workplace and the state.

On the politicization of ideas and interest, an additional requirement of meaningful democracy is that citizens are able to turn those of their ideas, interests and conflicts that they believe relate to public matters into politics, or in more general terms, public action. While it does matter what issues or policies people focus on, the character of politicisation is even more crucial. The questions in the framework are intended to probe the results of our previous case studies which suggest that pro-democrats often focus on 'single issues and specific interests', and are rarely able to aggregate these into 'broader interests', 'agendas', and 'ideologies', whereas dominant actors may work more on the basis of 'general values and perspectives', such as religion or nationality.

On the inclusion of people into politics, meaningful democracy implies collective action. Citizens without vast individual powers must have the capacity to come together in movements and organizations in favour of their ideas and interests. Drawing on Mouzelis' work already cited, a distinction is made in the framework between the integration of citizens into politics on the basis of relatively autonomous broad popular movements as against the incorporation and co-optation of people, for instance through populism and clientelism.[26] Based on our previous research, the possibility of 'alternative

patronage' is also added. This refers to when an NGO or radical party tries to provide 'protection' so that people can act more independently, at least in relation to their previous patrons. Turning to the integration of people into politics, and drawing on Tarrow's work on mobilization structures,[27] a distinction is made between the old anarchist or syndicalist tradition on the one hand, and the tradition of left socialists, social democrats and many Christian democrats on the other. Based on empirical studies in the Indonesian context, the framework applies the notions of networks, federative networks, non-programmatic political machines, and comprehensive organizations where groups with similar perspectives are unified. So, for illustration, one thesis that may thus be evaluated is that new democrats prefer temporary networking to more highly organized integration, whereas dominant actors prefer a mix of populism, clientelism and machine politics.

Finally, on strategies, ultimately, the meaningfulness of the democracy rests with the capacity of the actors to harness their position in the political landscape, their politicization and their mobilization in a strategy on how to promote and use the previously identified instruments of democracy to favour their views and interests. A fully fledged strategy also includes, of course, policies, ideologies and the like, but the fundamental question is where people turn to when they have a problem that they do not perceive of as being private. Can they make use of the actually existing democracy? Do they act directly within civil society, do they turn to the courts, do they go the state (government and public administration) or do they bypass it all, turn to a patron, burn down a police station, draw on some network or try to buy themselves some leeway? Our previous case-studies suggest that pro-democrats shy away from elections, legislation and governance.

Figure 2 illustrates eight possible strategies identified on the basis of the previously

specified instruments of democracy[28] and earlier research.
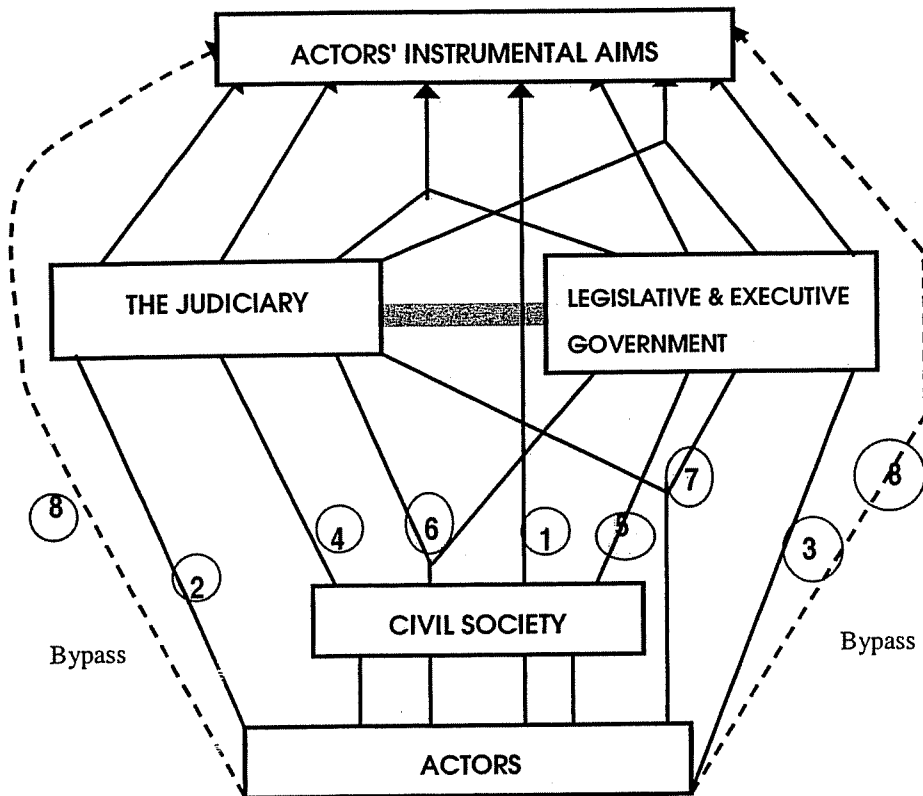
Figure 2 about here

FIGURE 2

STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO INSTRUMENTS OF DEMOCRACY

Relationship of Actors to Structural Conditions: the Importance of Power and

Opportunities

This focus on actors' will and capacity should not neglect conditioning structures and power, but stay within the framework of the minimum factors that are fundamental to meaningful human rights based democracy. Which factors are intrinsic and which are not? Extreme rightists and leftists often argue that while some human rights may be omitted, certain pre-conditions and outcomes in terms of power, market and property relations are inseparable elements of democracy. Thus for example radical rightists still argue that democracy must be prevented from interfering with the market and private property rights and their opponents argue the very opposite. These extremes are unsatisfactory as they are liable to undermine meaningful democracy based on human rights. Moreover, while it is true that 'real' powers are crucial conditions for what can be done, it is also true, for instance, that even quite downtrodden though organized, well informed and reflective *dalits* (oppressed castes and tribes) in India can make reasonably good use of the available democratic instruments. To negate the core instruments of meaningful human rights based democracy as formalistic or procedural would be to neglect the beauty of democracy in terms of its potential to limit the use of raw power and even enable the powerless to increase their political capacity to thus alter their lives.

What democracy is used for then is crucial. Personally, for instance, one may choose to use it to foster social and economic equality.[29] To widen, however, the concept of democracy to include conditions that are not absolutely necessary even for a sufficiently substantial democracy to be meaningful would mix up dependent and independent variables and, moreover, put at risk the practical chances of forming alliances among groups who are agreed on the fundamental importance of a reasonably meaningful

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democracy based on human rights but do not all subscribe to the ideal of wholesale socio-economic equality.

An alternative position – as incorporated by the framework – is that even if it is possible for actors with sufficient capacity to fight for and practice democracy without first having to drastically alter the power structure, it is essential that they consider actual existing conditions. The position in between idealism and structuralism is located in the actors' ability to read, adjust and make use of the prevailing conditions. Thus beyond the actors' will and capacity, the framework asks how they relate to prevailing conditions in order to render their capacity something real and tangible.

If the relations of power themselves are not intrinsic to democracy and democratization, but the citizens' ability to understand and employ them are, what are the most important dimensions? What are the crucial structures and relations of power that the actors have to consider? In an attempt to ensure the ability to consider the critical arguments in the discussion, the framework first enquires after the actors' understanding of the most important variable in the social movement paradigm, the opportunity structure – in terms of the openness of the broadly defined political system and the availability of allies and the risk of repression. Second, a series of questions are raised concerning the actors' reading of the power relations, as conceptualised in Pierre Bourdieu's studies of dominance: (a) the actors' social-, cultural-, economic- (and the framework adds) coercive capital in terms of good contacts, access to information and knowledge, property and wealth, and pressure, demonstrations and violence respectively; (b) the actors' transformation of such powers into legitimacy and authority; and (c) and the actors' *habitus* or permanent dispositions guiding their habits.[30]

In the framework these concepts are defined and operationalized in an outright

empiricist way, incorporating lessons from open questions in the first round of the

survey. To assess the actors' understanding of the opportunity structure, informants have,

for example, been asked about the pros and cons of the political situation after Soeharto.

Transformation of power has proved to be the most revealing dimension, with an open-

ended question generating sub-categorizations such as discursive activities (which seem

to be the most common among the dissidents) and gaining positions within the legal and

representative organs (which score high among the dominant actors).

In general conclusion, the framework thus combines (1) analyses of institutions, actors

and their capacities, and (2) a descriptive mapping of the situation and an evaluation of

the most frequent explanations. The 13 questions in Table 1 capture the essence of the

key variables.

TABLE here

TABLE 1

THE 13 BASIC QUESTIONS FOR ASSESSING MEANINGFUL HUMAN RIGHTS –
BASED DEMOCRACY

Intrinsic factors		
● Political identity/*demos*	1.	How do people identify themselves in public matters (in our case as Indonesians or as members of districts, or as members of a local or religious or ethnic community)?
● Performance of instruments	2.	What is the performance of the 40 major instruments of democracy, and has performance improved or deteriorated, in our case since the 1999 elections?
● Scope of instruments	3.	What is the geographical and issue related scope of the 40 instruments of democracy, and has it improved or deteriorated, in our case since the 1999 elections?

- Actors' relation to instruments

4. How do vital actors relate to the 40 instruments of democracy (promote and use, use only, sometimes use, bypass/abuse), and in relation to what instruments are they strong or weak?

5. What do pro-democracy actors deem to be the pros and cons of working with the 40 instruments of democracy?

- Actors' capacity to promote and use or abuse instruments

6. In what spheres of the widely defined political landscape are the actors present?

7. In what ways do the actors politicize issues, interests and ideas?

8. In what ways do the actors mobilize popular support/involve people in politics?

9. What strategies do the actors apply in making their way through or avoiding the political system?

Link to non-intrinsic conditions

- Actors' capacity to read, adjust to and make use of structural and other conditions

10. What do the actors deem to be their structural political opportunities?

11. What sources of power do the actors rely on?

12. How do the actors attempt to transform those powers into authority, legitimacy and thus political influence?

13. What kind of values, ideas and experiences are the actors consciously or unconsciously guided by in their public activities?

Assessing Democracy From Below: Methodological Considerations

Given the poor availability and quality of relevant databanks and previous research (which existing assessments nevertheless tend to draw on), the challenge is how to formulate questions and assemble information in such a way that one reaches beyond the usual elite-oriented surveys, and instead obtain information about the experiences and endeavours of ordinary people in local contexts. Participatory appraisals are good at generating ideas but lack precision and are difficult to multiply, standardize and generalize. A statistical sample of representative respondents is not a viable option when

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there is a need for the best possible substitute for hard data. People's perceptions matter of course, but realities exist beyond post modern interpretations. Besides, even researchers with political experiences and extensive networks are not in command of what various opinion poll institutes seem to take for granted, namely sufficient knowledge of various contexts in large and complicated countries to formulate theory driven questions that ordinary people will be able to make sense of. So the research asked instead experienced and reflective democracy-activists around the country – after all, they should be the most knowledgeable sources for the problems and challenges of promoting and using democracy along with ordinary citizens. They should also be able to understand rather abstract questions; they should be capable of answering questions pertaining to both pro-democrats and the most dominant actors that they know of within their own contexts or fields of activity and they should be committed, experienced and reflective enough to answer with care.

Selecting the expert-informants is thus the most critical process. To begin with, the informants must be active within the major field of pro-democracy work, which in turn calls for a special survey of the issues and contexts matched by comparative international experiences.[31] In the Indonesian case, the issue areas examined during the first round of the survey were: (1) the endeavours of peasants and agricultural labour to regain control of their land, (2) the struggle of labour for better working conditions, standard of living and trade unions, (3) the work of urban poor for self-help and social, economic and other rights, (4) the promotion of human rights, (5) action taken against corruption in favour of 'good governance', (6) emerging attempts to democratize the party system, and (7) the promotion of pluralism and religious and ethnic reconciliation. During the second round

of the survey, informants working within the following additional areas were included: (8) the improvement and democratization of education, (9) the promotion of professionalism as part of 'good governance' in public and private sectors, (10) the freedom, independence and quality of media, (11) the promotion of gender equality and feminist perspectives, (12) the improvement of alternative representation on the local level, (13) attempts to form popular rooted political parties, and (14) attempts to promote interest-based mass organizations. One of the most interesting results lies in the variations that exist between these different issue areas and different parts of Indonesia, perhaps not surprising given their different histories, character and dynamics.[32]

The second step in the identification of the informants is the identification and mobilization of good key-informants or local representatives – in our case in 32 provinces. This process supplemented the knowledge of the team, helped identify strategic processes and the best informants that relate to the various issue areas, and enabled the selection and supervision of the (109) assistants who carried out the interviews. Since the local representatives must be accountable for their work their identities are public, while the expert-informants themselves remain anonymous.

In Indonesia the ideal equation would thus be a minimum of two expert-informants (independent of each other) within each of the 14 issue areas in 32 provinces – a total of 896 informants. In practice the target had to be reduced because of sheer lack of good enough experts within certain issue areas in some provinces. Meanwhile, the assessment framework generated more than 300 questions; tests indicated that each interview (carried out by our trained field assistants) might take as long as six hours. In reality, some informants took several days to complete the questionnaire. These were therefore

rather demanding tasks for all the parties involved, quite apart from risks to personal security in some places. In fact, it is primarily thanks to good co-operation with remarkably committed sections of the democracy movement that the outcome yielding in total 798 valid responses. The interviews were conducted in two rounds to allow for a trial and error process. A total resurvey should now be feasible within half the time and budget that was allotted for the pioneering exercise.

Limitation and Checks and Balances

Mass data-based analysis is necessary in order to reach general conclusion, and expert-informants are necessary when it is difficult to specify and contextualise the questions and when there is a need for experienced judgments – but there are also major weaknesses. First, of course, contextual factors may not be considered to the same extent as they may be in case studies, and it is difficult to probe into special factors as is possible with more thematic essays.

Secondly, in contrast to an ordinary survey based on a statistical sample, an expert survey helps in obtaining the most qualified and innovative answers, but generates problems of representativity. In our case, the major problem seems to have been the dominance of middle-aged persons and the low representation of women. Whilst this may in itself be a reflection of the actual composition of experienced and reflective experts within the Indonesian democracy movement (or the perception of what constitutes an expert by others), it is important to at least try to compensate for the gender bias in any future surveys.

Thirdly, the background, personal opinions and other biases must have affected: (a) the team's selection of the key-informants as well as their joint selection and training of the local assistants and identification of the expert-informants to be interviewed, (b) the interviewers' guidance and recording of the informants, and (c) the interviewed informants' own judgements and estimates. Some of the weaknesses can be controlled through comparisons within the material itself, including by contrasting information from partially overlapping questions and experts related to different issue areas, regions and gender. Overall, then, the general level of consistency within the material has been high. The concern among many colleagues that critical pro-democracy activists on the ground would be prone to exaggerate the problems in spite of being experienced and reflective has been proven wrong. Many of their collective judgements have in fact been more balanced than those of media-hungry, top level experts. Both the consistency within the material and the comparatively mature judgements also testify to the commitment and seriousness of the informants – and to the value of assessing democracy from below.

In addition, the alternative assessment framework includes quality checks of the team itself and the provision of supplementary information through (two) national and (13) regional assessment councils with senior scholars and reflective activists. This is in addition to meetings with interested organizations and a series of semi-structured interviews with particularly experienced informants.[33] At the time of writing, a mini re-survey on key factors with a limited number of informants is also being carried out in order to glean some preliminary ideas concerning changes over time, in advance of publication of the final report.

Assessing Democracy From Below: General Results From Indonesia

The first round of the survey was carried out in mid-2003, the second in mid-2004. The first round data was analyzed and discussed publicly prior to the second round of the survey in order to contribute to the discourse and benefit from critical commentary. The second round data was then added and a public discussion was held in early 2005 on the combined results. So what are the salient points? What are the problems and options of a meaningful human rights based democracy in Indonesia? What should be done? The conclusions may be summarised under five headings.

Freedom But Democratic Deficit

The character of Indonesia's fledgling democracy is dual. On the one hand, and contrary to the arguments of many liberal as well as Marxist structuralists, Indonesian democracy is not impossible and could be more than just a façade. On the other hand, and contrary to those suggesting that democratization is well under way, there are still serious deficits and even signs of a crisis.

On the bright side, most civil and political freedoms as well as civil society are assessed rather favourably, except in areas of political unrest such as Aceh, and more universally with the exception of 'freedom from physical violence and the fear of it'.

Table 2 here

TABLE 2
RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 50 PER CENT
OF INFORMANTS HAVE REASONABLY GOOD PERFORMANCE AND
SCOPE

	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Good Per-formance	Good Scope
1.	Freedom of speech, assembly and organization	81%	67%
2.	Freedom of religion, belief, language and culture	81%	67%
3.	Freedom to form political parties, recruit members, and campaign for office	74%	68%
4.	Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations	67%	58%
5.	Freedom to carry out trade union activity	66%	(47%)
6.	Freedom of the press, art and academic world	64%	58%
7.	Public access to and the reflection of different views within media, art and the academic world	61%	52%
8.	Gender equality and emancipation	54%	(39%)
9.	All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life	51%	(41%)
10.	Free and fair general elections	(48%)	55%

It is true that social and economic rights together with the real tools of democracy related to law, representation and governance are poor, but in contrast to some previous estimates, even our critical informants say that it makes sense to defend, use and further develop many of the institutions, again with the exception of the conflict areas where they are yet to be built.

Table 3 here

TABLE 3
RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT PRO-DEMOCRATS, ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 50 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS, BOTH PROMOTE AND USE, THUS INDICATING THAT THEY MAKE SENSE

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Per cent of informants
1.	Freedom of speech, assembly and organization	70%
2.	Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations	63%
3.	Freedom of the press, art and academic world	57%
4.	Gender equality and emancipation	57%
5.	All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life	56%
6.	Equal citizenship	53%
7.	Transparency, accountability and democracy within civic organizations	52%
8.	Free and fair general elections	52%
9.	Freedom of religion, belief, language and culture	50%

On the gloomier side however, it is also beyond doubt that one cannot defend, use and further develop the instruments of democracy by way of those civil and political freedoms only and by improving the elitist crafting of 'good' institutions. In Indonesia, as with most new democracies around the world, it is clear from the survey that this model has reached a dead end. More than five years after their introduction, two thirds of the

rights and institutions are deemed to be poor or defunct. These poor or defunct rights and institutions include those that are supposed to promote 'basic social and economic rights' and 'freedom from physical violence and the fear of it'. But worse still, most of the core working tools of democracy are also involved – instruments to promote citizenship, justice, the rule of law, representation, responsive and accountable government and administration, consultation and direct participation.

There have been few signs of improvement since 1999. Many informants even say that one-sixth of the instruments have deteriorated, including those that should prevent money politics, corruption, paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organized crime, as well as promote subordination of the executives to the rule of law.

Table 4 here

TABLE 4
RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 70 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS HAVE POOR PERORMANCE AND THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 58 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS HAVE POOR SCOPE

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Poor Performance	Poor Scope
1.	*Subordination of the government and public officials to the rule of law*	93%	75%
2.	*Political parties' independence from money politics and powerful vested interests*	91%	69%
3.	*Government's independence of strong interest groups and capacity to eliminate corruption and abuse of power*	90%	74%
4.	*Equal and secure access to justice and the integrity and independence of the judiciary*	87%	76%
5.	The transparency and accountability of the executive/public civil servants, on all levels	87%	73%
6.	*The capacity of the government to combat paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organized crime*	86%	73%

7.	Membership control of political parties, and parties responsiveness and accountability to their constituencies	84%	71%
8.	People's direct contact with political representatives and the public services and servants	82%	71%
9.	Good corporate governance and business regulations in the public interest	83%	77%
10.	The right to employment, social security and other basic needs	82%	73%
11.	*The independence of the government from foreign intervention (except UN conventions and applicable international law)*	83%	69%
12.	Political parties' reflection of vital issues and interests among people	81%	70%
13.	The transparency and accountability of the military and police to elected government and the public	81%	73%
14.	Political parties' ability to form and run government	80%	70%
15.	The transparency and accountability of elected government, on all levels	78%	71%
16.	The rights of children	75%	71%
17.	Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions.	75%	73%
18.	Freedom from physical violence and the fear of it	74%	69%
19.	Government support and respect for international law and UN human rights treaties	72%	74%
20.	Equal citizenship	70%	67%

Note: Outputs of rights and institutions in italics are those which 30 per cent or more of the informants say have deteriorated.

Elections But Not Representation

Which problem is the worst? What should be prioritised? The conventional arguments mention either 'good governance' - by way of better rule of law and struggle against corruption - or people's rights and participation – or both. The message from the survey however, is that while those sectors are all poor, the worst is that of defunct representation. Aside from the freedom to form parties and the elections, all institutions aimed at promoting direct or indirect political representation are among those with the worst performance and scope.

The free and fair elections have mainly comprised of unrepresentative and unresponsive parties and politicians. The parties are dominated by money politics and powerful vested interests, they often abuse religious and ethnic sentiments, they are bad at forming and running government, critical issues and interests among people are not reflected and the membership control and relation to the constituencies are very poor. People's contact with political representatives and public officials, as well as opportunities for consultation and direct participation are similarly bad. Interest based representation is also weak. The building of better institutions, our informants indicate, must be guided and propelled by broad-based representation of basic issues and interests, rather than by a (more or less) 'enlightened' elite.

The issue of weak representation has been neglected by many of democracy's supporters. Influential actors and middle class lobby groups may be able to live with this, but people in general who need to come together in broad organisations to make a difference cannot. Most importantly, improved representation is the only way in which all the other defunct sectors can be improved in a democratic way.

Table 5 here

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF INFORMANTS POINTING TO THE PROBLEM OF
REPRESENTATION AND DIRECT PARTICIPATION

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Poor Performance	Poor Scope
1.	*Political parties' independence of money politics and powerful vested interests*	91%	70%
2.	*Membership control of political parties, and parties responsiveness and accountability to their constituencies*	84%	71%
3.	*People's direct contact with political representatives and the public services and servants*	82%	71%
4.	*Political parties' reflection of critical issues and interests among people*	81%	70%
5.	Political parties' ability to form and run government	80%	70%
6.	Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions.	75%	73%
7.	*Political parties abstention from abusing religious or ethnic sentiments, symbols and doctrines*	66%	58%

Note: Outputs of rights and institutions in bold are those which 30 per cent or more of

the informants say have deteriorated; italics indicate those which less than 40 per cent

say makes sense to both use and promote.)

On the one hand this finding supports the critique of the de-politicized focus on seeking better judicial, government and citizen self-management arrangements as well as ideas of promoting political representation through better party systems. On the other hand however, our informants say changing things for the better is not that easy. Most of the existing parties and politicians are obviously part of the problem.

Oligarchic Democracy

The stagnation of democratization is found to be because the elite are monopolizing power, creating an oligarchic democracy. The groups and popular aspirations that brought democracy back to Indonesia have been marginalized. This confirms the international trend that the main problem of the new democracies is the persistence of elite dominance. The oligarchic democracy in Indonesia however, is not identical to the variant often found in Latin America, where the elite primarily bypass or veto the new polity by taking the real decisions in company boardrooms or military quarters. Of course these are common practices in Indonesia as well, but even critical informants 'admit' that the dominant actors usually adhere to the instruments of democracy.

Few dominant actors promote democracy, but according to 40 per cent of our local expert-informants they at least use the instruments that are supposed to advance democracy. Moreover, more than 60 per cent of the informants say that the dominant actors prefer strategies within the political system that relate to legislatures -- where gaining a position is one of their major ways of legitimizing and authorising their powers, while only about 15 per cent of the same critical informants say that the dominant actors obstruct or simply bypass the system. Democracy has clearly become 'the main game in

town'. However, the elite monopolize, bend and abuse the rules of that game. Most of the

supposedly democratic rights and institutions are in place, but they are largely either

defunct or deficient.

Table 6 here

TABLE 6

SELECTED INDICATORS RELATING TO DOMINANT ACTORS

- Selected indications of dominant actors' relation to the supposedly democratic rights and institutions.

→ 16% of the informants say that the dominant actors actually use and promote the supposedly democratic rights and institutions
→ 33% at least use them
→ 36% both use and abuse the rights and institutions
→ 15% only simply abuse or entirely bypass the formally democratic framework

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- Selected indications of dominant actors' strategy within the political system

→ 63% of the dominant actors' strategies are related to the legislatures on various levels
→ 13% are primarily via the judicial sector
→ 8% combine activity in civil society by 'going to court'
→ 13% are confined to direct practices in civil society
→ 9% are simply to bypass the system (in this case figures are only available from the 2nd round)

- Dominant actors' major transformation of power (2nd round only; similar trend in 1st round)

→ 15% of the informants say that the dominant actors make use legislative, judicial and executive public institutions to legitimize and authorise their powers
→ 10% say that they employ the public budget and various regulations
→ 15% say that they rely on outright authoritarian measures
→ 13% only say that they simply try to buy themselves legitimacy and authority
→ 8% only say that they make use of ethnicity and religion to legitimize and authorise their power

The Need for an Anti-Monopolistic Social Pact

To fight oligarchic democracy one must know the root causes. According to the survey, 40 percent of the most powerful actors operate within or are related to the public executive; 16 percent are police, military, militias and hoodlums; 17 percent are related to parliament (local and national) and political parties; and only 12 per cent are directly related to business or NGOs founded by dominant actors. The sources of power and elite strongholds are mainly located in a combination of private business and the state, including through close networks and 'good connections' between the two.

Not unlike indirect colonial rule, powerful businessmen use local state and politics to obtain privileges; many bureaucrats and politicians sustain this process in order to enhance their positions and develop their own businesses. In other words, there is a rather colonial combination of 'advanced' (capitalist) and primitive (political-coercive) accumulation of capital.

Table 7 here

TABLE 7
THE DOMINANT ACTORS

●Major types of primary dominant actors, according to the informants: Per cent of identified dominant actors →40% local or national level public executives or related. →16% police, military, militias and hoodlums. →17% related to parliament (local/central) and political parties →12% related to business and NGOs founded by dominant actors.

●2nd round on dominant actors' major sources of power (The figures are verified by consolidated data from the 1st and 2nd round results, which also add the importance of combining different sources of power.)

Per cent of the informants on the dominant actors' sources of power

→19% outright access to public resources.
→28 % non-economic sources of power (force, coercion).
→25 % social capital in terms of close networks and 'good connections'.
→13% 'real business'

Therefore the monopolization of democracy can be addressed neither by deregulation-cum-privatisation nor by statism alone. Both would only enhance one or the other of the destructive tendencies involved. Instead it requires an anti-monopolistic social pact, a class compromise between on the one hand businessmen and professionals who can advance without privileged protection but need a reliable labour force and on the other hand ordinary people who work efficiently and abide by agreements with their employers if they have access to jobs and social security. In Indonesia today this would be problematic, for most of the dominant actors would stand to lose, and independent private business and professionals are weak and labour is both weak and poor. The necessary pacts thus seem to presuppose the strengthening of democratic rules of the game against the dominant 'raw powers'.

Marginalized and Floating Agents of Change

The major challenge for everyone concerned with the development of meaningful human rights based democracy is to identify the agents of change that are best able to propel three processes – first, the generation of pressure from below and broad-based representation of basic issues and interests to substitute for the stumbling elitist

democracy building; second, the facilitation of a social pact to fight the dominant actors' ability to combine state and business power – which is the root cause of their monopolization and abuse of the actually existing instruments of democracy; and finally, the introduction of a third civic and truly democratic force in unstable locations like Aceh (to counter the monopolization of peace pacts and reconstruction work by government, rebels, private business and foreign donors). The class of liberal politicians with social inclinations is weak, a labour party hardly exists, and the elitist crafting of democracy has largely failed. This is why committed pro-democrats are potentially so important as facilitating agents of change.

But how could this potential be realized? The survey confirms our previous results obtained from case studies, namely that although pro-democrats remain crucial within civil society they continue to resemble Soeharto's 'floating mass' policy – that is, they are 'floating democrats' lacking a firm social base and located in the margins of politics.

There are six major characteristics of the 'floating democrats' (see Table 8): they are marginal within state and business and in the workplace; women's perspectives are rarely included; priority is given to direct democracy in civil society – in contrast to constitutional and representative pathways; single and specific issues and general ideas dominate at the expense of comprehensive issues, interests and governance agendas; populist, clientelistic and other traditional top-down shortcuts to mobilise support is often resorted to; interventions in the public discourse are the main way of gaining legitimacy and authority and hardly anyone tries to seek out the mandate of the people, getting elected or appointed to official positions.

Table 8 here

TABLE 8

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF 'FLOATING DEMOCRATS'

→Their presence in relation to state, business and workplaces is marginal.

→Their inclusion of women's perspectives (which might swiftly broaden the base and capacity of the democracy movement) is poor.

→ According to 55% of the informants they prioritise direct democracy in civil society and according to only 7% of the informants do they engage in civil society-based constitutional, representative democracy.

→According to 50% of the informants they prefer single issues and specific issues and according to 44% they focus on general ideas while only 6% of the informants say that they focus on comprehensive issues, interests and governance agendas.

→ According to more than 50% of the informants they rely on traditional forms of including people into politics through, for instance, popular leaders and dependency relations.

→ According to 42% of the informants they try at first hand to transform their sources of power into legitimacy, authority and political influence by way of providing correct information and analysis, generate public awareness and so forth while only 2 % of the informants say that they give priority to the seeking of the mandate of the people, getting elected or appointed to official positions and none of the informants say that the pro-democrats favour work by way of political and administrative representatives.[34]

Although Indonesia might be cited as but one instance of a more global trend, largely confirming ideas from actors as different as the World Bank and radical social movements that democracy is best promoted by autonomous and polycentric agents in civil society, against state and party politics, the problems do seem to be particularly grave in Indonesia. If the democracy movement cannot overcome the crisis of representation and pave the way for a social pact against political monopolization, it will become irrelevant. So, given the survey results, we can conclude that the cornerstone of the movements' agenda to de-monopolize and resurrect democracy must include the following:

- widening the social base of local civic capacities;
- transforming concrete issues and interests among emerging movements into minimum-platforms for struggle and alternative agendas for governance;
- federating the associated political formations;
- fostering combined forms of direct democracy in civil society and representative democracy through political institutions.

The outstanding question is how can renewed research efforts best facilitate this agenda for action?

Concluding Remarks: a User-Oriented Approach

Whereas the first major task of developing and applying a framework for bottom-up assessment of the problems and options of more meaningful human rights-based democracy may have been accomplished now, the second phase of putting the results into practice by facilitating implementation of the recommendations has only just begun.

The initial steps have been fruitful. The prestigious assessment councils have served the purpose of providing the team with improvements to its work and legitimacy of the results. Popular presentations of the results in 12 instalments in the country's leading weekly news magazine *Tempo* have widely disseminated the results. Additional presentations and discussions with activists and politicians, data summaries and related information and resources are now being made available on the *Demos* web-site. The major task however, of improving the recommendations and facilitating their implementation - in co-operation with the democracy movement - is much more difficult. To do this requires at least three parallel steps. The first is to promote public academic education and further analysis beyond the immediate aims of *Demos*, by sharing de-personalised data and through international academic co-operation with committed scholars and students in the country.[35] The second step is to generate debate within the

democracy movement over what types of research and services *Demos* should prioritise next with its supportive funding partners. The third step is the preparation of the concluding report from the survey to a conference in late 2005 aimed at facilitating discussion on a fresh agenda for the reinvigoration of democratization.

Only the struggle is possible to predict. But given the option and potential of bringing the democrats back in, meaningful human rights based democracy is not a lost cause.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

APPENDIX

THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY

Aside from basic correspondence between citizenship and how people identify themselves in public matters, it is intrinsic to democracy that contextual rights and institutions generate the following output:

I : Citizenship, Law and Rights
1. Equal citizenship
2. The rights of minorities, migrants and refugees
3. Reconciliation of horizontal conflicts

4. Government support and respect for international law and UN human rights treaties
5. Subordination of the government and public officials to the rule of law
6. Equal and secure access to justice
7. The integrity and independence of the judiciary

8. Freedom from physical violence and the fear of it
9. Freedom of speech, assembly and organization
10. Freedom to carry out trade union activity
11. Freedom of religion and belief
12. Freedom of language and culture
13. Gender equality and emancipation
14. The rights of children
15. The right to employment, social security and other basic needs
16. The right to basic education, including citizen's rights and duties
17. Good corporate governance and business regulations in the public interest

II: Representative and accountable government
18. Free and fair general elections at central, regional, and local levels
19. Free and fair separate elections of e.g. governors, mayors and village heads
20. Freedom to form parties, recruit members, and campaign for office
21. Reflection of vital issues and interests among people by political parties
22. Abstention from abusing religious or ethnic sentiments, symbols and doctrines by political parties
23. Independence of money politics and powerful vested interests by political parties
24. Membership-based control of parties, and responsiveness and accountability of parties to their constituencies
25. Parties ability to form and run government

26. The transparency and accountability of elected government, at all levels
27. The transparency and accountability of the executive/public civil servants, at all levels
28. Democratic decentralization of government on the basis of the subsidiarity principle

29. The transparency and accountability of the military and police to elected government and the public
30. The capacity of the government to combat paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organized crime
31. The independence of the government from foreign intervention (except UN conventions and applicable international law)
32. Government's independence from strong interest groups and capacity to eliminate corruption and abuse of power

III Democratically oriented civil society and direct participation

33. Freedom of the press, art and academic world
34. Public access to and the reflection of different views within media, art and the academic world
35. Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations
36. Transparency, accountability and democracy within civic organizations
37. All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life

38. People's direct contact with the public services and servants
39. People's direct contact with their political representatives
40. Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions. (ii)

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Note i: The output of the 40 instruments was measured in the 2nd round of the Indonesian survey. In the 1st round, however, only 35 were applied. The consolidated data to which we refer to in the report relates, therefore, to those 35 instruments only. In the list above, the combined instruments are underlined.

Note ii: Given pro-democrats' substantial interest in participatory forms of democracy, including 'deliberative democracy' and 'participatory budgeting', instruments generating those outputs may be more specified in a forthcoming version of the list of instruments.

NOTES

1.   D. Beetham, S. Bracking, I. Kearton, and S. Weir *International IDEA Handbook and Democracy Assessment* (The Hague, London, New York: Kluwer Law International, 2002).

2.   See M. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

3.   See J. Migdal, A. Kohli and V. Shue, (eds), *State Power and Social Forces - Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

4.   See J. Sidel, 'Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia: Towards an Alternative Framework for the Study of "Local Strongmen"', in J. Harriss, K. Stokke and O.

Törnquist (eds), *Politicising Democracy: Local Politics and Democratization in Developing Countries* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004); R. Robison and V. Hadiz, *Reorganizing Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in the Age of Markets* (New York: Routledge/Curzon, 2004

5. The Dutch Institute for Multi Party Democracy, for instance, has initiated a new extensive programme in Indonesia and International IDEA has launched supportive research projects.

6. O. Törnquist, ' Repoliticisation of Democracy in Developing Countries: Reflections on an Emerging Trend', Paper to workshop on *Supporting Political Party Systems*, organized by Sida and the Collegium for Development Studies, University of Uppsala,13 October 13 2004, and forthcoming in an anthology from Sida and the Collegium.

7. For substantiation of this conclusion and elaborations upon it in the following paragraphs, see the contributions and references in Harriss, Stokke and Törnquist (note 4).

[8] An additional major assumption is that people may come to trust each other (or enjoy 'social capital'), put an end to struggles over their different interests, resist state interventionism and thus promote 'good governance' and economic development. Alternatively, in the view of radical students of 'post-industrial capitalism' and globalization as per M. Hardt and T. Negri, Empire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), power has been so localized that there is no decisive central unit left to fight, and the dominant producers are themselves regulating social relations so that strong parties and representative democracy are unnecessary.

9. On this see, for instance, J. Harriss, 'Political Participation, Representation and the Urban Poor. Findings from Research in Delhi', and N. Chandoke, 'Seeing the State in India', both in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 12 March 2005.

10. See G. Mohan and K. Stokke, 'Participatory Development and Empowerment: The Dangers of Localism', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.2, No.2 (2000), pp. 247-268; J. Harriss, *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital* (London: Anthem, 2002); and O. Törnquist, *Popular Development and Democracy: Case Studies with Rural Dimensions in the Philippines, Indonesia and Kerala* (Geneva and Oslo: UNRISD and SUM, 2002).

[11] See for example, E.O. Wright and A. Fung, *Experiments in Empowered Deliberative Democracy: Introduction* (University of Wisconsin, Department of Sociology, 1999).

[12] See at first hand, L. Avritzer, *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). With respect to Kerala, see T.M.T. Isaac with R.W. Franke, *Local Democracy and Development, People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning in Kerala* (Delhi: Leftward Books, 2000).

13. For critical analyses (from a sympathetic point of view) of those aspects of the often lauded case of Kerala see for example, P.K.M. Tharakan, 'Historical Hurdles in the Course of the People's Planning Campaign in Kerala, India' in Harriss, Stokke and Törnquist (note 4), O. Törnquist, 'The Political Deficit of Substantial Democratization' in ibid. and Törnquist (note 10).

14. The standard argument in Indonesia is made on the one hand by scholars like Professor Juwono Sudarsono, currently Indonesia's minister of defence and excellent radical structuralists like Dr. Vedi Hadiz on the other.

15. See for example, Törnquist (note 10) and S.A. Prasetyo, A.E. Priyono and O. Törnquist, *Indonesia's Post-Soeharto Democracy Movement* (Jakarta: Demos, 2003).

16. On these arguments see O. Törnquist, 'From New to Human Order in Indonesia?' NIAS nytt , No.3, (October 1996) and *Economic and Political Weekly*, (5 October 1996). For the opposite, 'business as usual' position see R. Cribb, 'Megawati and the PDI Affair: Implications for Indonesian Politics'. NIAS nytt , No. 3, (October 1996) and for the 'ample opportunities for more open-minded politicians' position see H. Antlöv, 'Revolution or Peaceful Evolution in Indonesia?', NIAS nytt , No.3, (October 1996). For analyses at hindsight, see. E. Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); S. Eklöf, *Power and Political Culture in Suharto's Indonesia. The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and Decline of the New Order (1986-98)* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2003); O. Törnquist, 'Dynamics of Indonesian Democratization', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.2, No.3 (2000).

17. Advocating separate religiously grounded codes on certain matters as against universally applicable citizen regulations. 'We stick to that principle of peaceful coexistence, but of upholding sharia among Muslims. 'New Party President Tifatul Sembiring', in *Jakarta Post*, 6 June 2005.

[18] S.A. Prasetyo, A.E. Priyono and O. Törnquist (note 15)

[19] For a good general analysis, see H. Schulte-Nordholt, 'Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?' in Harriss, Stokke and Törnquist (note 4).

[20] H. Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca: N.Y, 1962) and e.g. O.Törnquist, *Dilemmas of Third World Communism: The Destruction of the PKI in Indonesia* (London: Zed Books, 1984).

21. Beetham *et al.* (note 1).

22. Ibid.

23. Institutions are defined broadly as the rules of the game, thus including constitutional as well as informal arrangements. Conventions on democratic governance within civil society organizations for example, or that political parties should represent the opinions and interests of their constituents are also vital.

24. In addition to local experiences of the scholars and activists involved, these remaining parts of the framework draws primarily on N.P. Mouzelis, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1986); Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement. Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Törnquist (note 10).

[25] This space for various actors within the spheres and arenas is later on addressed in terms of the opportunity structure.

26.   Populism involves charismatic leaders who are able to express popular feelings and ideas; clientelism is associated with patrons with their own capacity to deliver some protection in return for services and votes.

27.   Tarrow (note 24) and previous adjustments and applications in Törnquist (note 10).

28.   The three sectors correspond with the previously identified major sectors of rights and institutions that are supposed to promote democracy. The 'Judiciary' is short for institutions in charge of controlling the application of rights and laws; 'Legislative and executive government' is short for institutions related to election, representation, legislation and implementation of laws and regulations. 'Civil society' is short for relatively autonomous citizen activities within media, culture, academia, associational life and various forms of direct democracy. The actors may be individual or collective, such as NGOs, interest organizations and political parties.

29.   'Social democracy' is not employed as a synonym for social and economic equality since the latter may be achieved by other means than through political democracy – which is the basic trust of the social democratic ideology of how to promote social and economic equality.

30.   In the case of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts, the framework draws extensively on K. Stokke, 'Habitus, Capital and Fields: Conceptualising the Capacity of Actors in Local Politics', unpublished paper given at the seminar on *Local Politics and Democratization in Developing Countries* University of Oslo, 12 March 2002, and Harriss, Stokke, and Törnquist (note 4).

31.   In our case this was done based on S.A. Prasetyo, A.E. Priyono and O. Törnquist (note 15).

32.   We have enabled separate analyses of all the issue areas and five clusters of provinces: Sumatra, Kalimantan, Java-Bali, Sulawesi, and Eastern Indonesia, in addition to the disturbed provinces of Aceh and Papua.

33.   In our case of Indonesia the interviews were carried out in three of the issue areas that after the first round of the survey stood out as strategically important: alternative local representation, party building, and attempts to broaden interest-based mass organizations. Thirty-five extensive interviews were carried out by the central team with nine informants in Sumatra, fourteen in Java, including Jakarta, three in Kalimantan, four in Sulawesi, two in East Nusa Tenggara, and one in Bali, Papua and Maluku respectively.

34.   Detailed data is at present only available from the 2nd round of the survey but largely confirm the trends in the first round.

35.   Part of the background to Demos' work is that academically critical scholars were displaced from the academic world under Soeharto. Thus we are eager to contribute to the restoring of such critical milieus rather than to the 'privatization' of universities through NGO and think tank driven research that is not always essential.

THE 13 BASIC QUESTIONS FOR ASSESSING MEANINGFUL HUMAN RIGHTS – BASED DEMOCRACY

Intrinsic factors

● Political identity/*demos*　　1.　　How do people identify themselves in public matters (in our case as Indonesians or as members of districts, or as members of a local or religious or ethnic community)?

● Performance of instruments 2.　　What is the performance of the 40 major instruments of democracy, and has performance improved or deteriorated, in our case since the 1999 elections?

● Scope of instruments　　3.　　What is the geographical and issue related scope of the 40 instruments of democracy, and has it improved or deteriorated, in our case since the 1999 elections?

● Actors' relation to instruments

4.　　How do vital actors relate to the 40 instruments of democracy (promote and use, use only, sometimes use, bypass/abuse), and in relation to what instruments are they strong or weak?

5.　　What do pro-democracy actors deem to be the pros and cons of working with the 40 instruments of democracy?

● Actors' capacity to promote and use or abuse instruments

6.　　In what spheres of the widely defined political landscape are the actors present?

7.　　In what ways do the actors politicize issues, interests and ideas?

8.　　In what ways do the actors mobilize popular support/involve people in politics?

9.　　What strategies do the actors apply in making their way through or avoiding the political system?

Link to non-intrinsic conditions

● Actors' capacity to read, adjust to and make use of structural and other conditions

10.　　What do the actors deem to be their structural political opportunities?

11.　　What sources of power do the actors rely on?

12.　　How do the actors attempt to transform those powers into authority, legitimacy and thus political influence?

13.　　What kind of values, ideas and experiences are the actors consciously or unconsciously guided by in their public activities?

THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY

Aside from basic correspondence between citizenship and how people identify themselves in public matters, it is intrinsic to democracy that contextual rights and institutions generate the following output:

I : Citizenship, Law and Rights
1. Equal citizenship
2. The rights of minorities, migrants and refugees
3. Reconciliation of horizontal conflicts

4. Government support and respect for international law and UN human rights treaties
5. Subordination of the government and public officials to the rule of law
6. Equal and secure access to justice
7. The integrity and independence of the judiciary

8. Freedom from physical violence and the fear of it
9. Freedom of speech, assembly and organization
10. Freedom to carry out trade union activity
11. Freedom of religion and belief
12. Freedom of language and culture
13. Gender equality and emancipation
14. The rights of children
15. The right to employment, social security and other basic needs
16. The right to basic education, including citizen's rights and duties
17. Good corporate governance and business regulations in the public interest

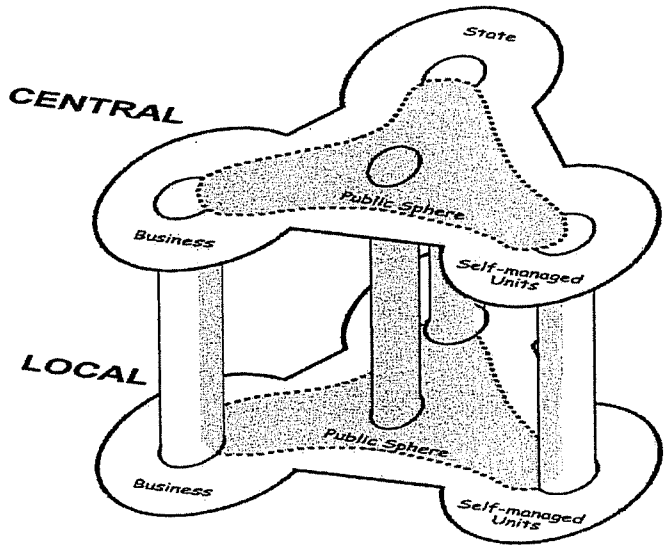**II: Representative and accountable government**
18. Free and fair general elections at central, regional, and local levels
19. Free and fair separate elections of e.g. governors, mayors and village heads
20. Freedom to form parties, recruit members, and campaign for office
21. Parties' reflection of vital issues and interests among people
22. Parties' abstention from abusing religious or ethnic sentiments, symbols & doctrines
23. Independence of money politics and powerful vested interests by political parties
24. Membership-based control of parties, and responsiveness and accountability of parties to their constituencies
25. Parties' ability to form and run government

26. The transparency and accountability of elected government, at all levels
27. The transparency and accountability of the executive/public civil servants, at all levels
28. Democratic decentralization of government on the basis of the subsidiarity principle
29. The transparency & accountability of the military & police to elected government & the public
30. The capacity of the government to combat paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organized crime
31. The independence of the government from foreign intervention (except UN conventions and applicable international law)
32. Government's independence from strong interest groups and capacity to eliminate corruption and abuse of power

**III Democratically oriented civil society and direct participation**
33. Freedom of the press, art and academic world
34. Public access to and the reflection of different views within media, art and the academic world
35. Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations
36. Transparency, accountability and democracy within civic organizations
37. All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life

38. People's direct contact with the public services and servants
39. People's direct contact with their political representatives
40. Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions. (ii)

Note i: The output of the 40 instruments was measured in the 2nd round of the Indonesian survey. In the 1st round, however, only 35 were applied. The consolidated data to which we refer to in the report relates, therefore, to those 35 instruments only. In the list above, the combined instruments are underlined.

Note ii: Given pro-democrats' substantial interest in participatory forms of democracy, including 'deliberative democracy' and 'participatory budgeting', instruments generating those outputs may be more specified in a forthcoming version of the list of instruments.

THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE
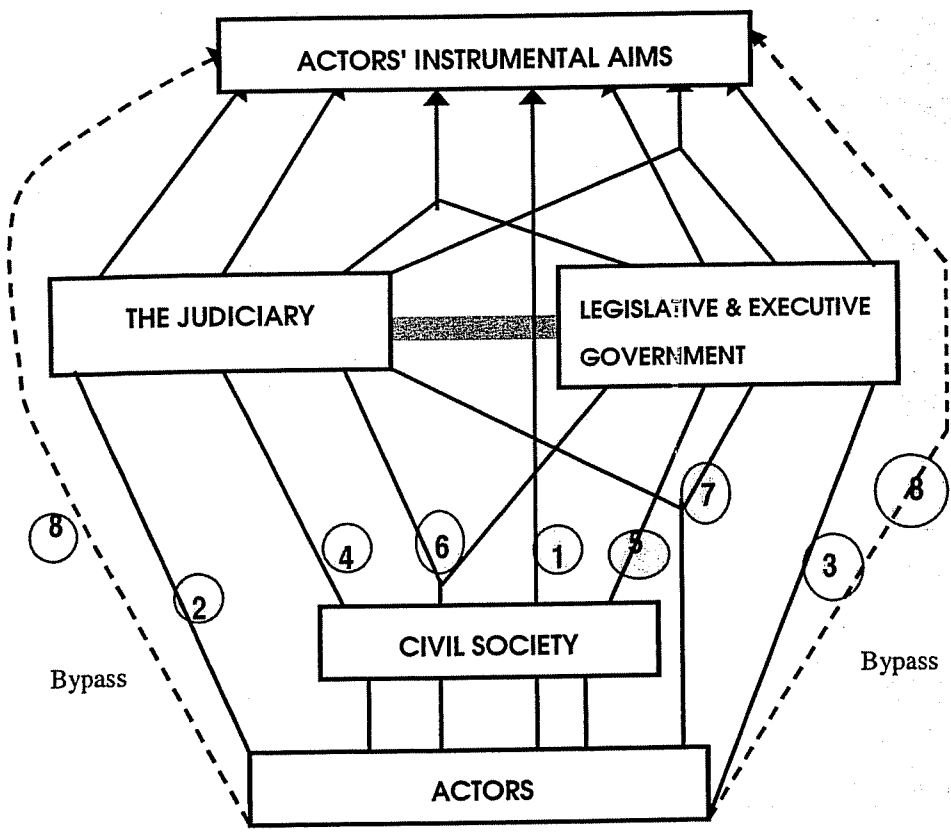
STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO INSTRUMENTS OF DEMOCRACY

There are 6 major conclusions:

These are the first two:

(1) there are vital freedoms but a huge deficit with regard to the tools of democracy;

(2) there are elections but little representation of basic popular views and interests;

1. RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 50 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS HAVE REASONABLY GOOD PERFORMANCE AND SCOPE

	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Good Performance	Good Scope
1.	Freedom of speech, assembly and organization	81%	67%
2.	Freedom of religion, belief, language and culture	81%	67%
3.	Freedom to form political parties, recruit members, and campaign for office	74%	68%
4.	Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations	67%	58%
5.	Freedom to carry out trade union activity	66%	(47%)
6.	Freedom of the press, art and academic world	64%	58%
7.	Public access to and the reflection of different views within media, art and the academic world	61%	52%
8.	Gender equality and emancipation	54%	(39%)
9.	All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life	51%	(41%)
10.	Free and fair general elections	(48%)	55%

2. RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT PRO-DEMOCRATS, ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 50 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS, BOTH PROMOTE AND USE, THUS INDICATING THAT THEY MAKE SENSE

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Per cent of informants
1.	Freedom of speech, assembly and organization	70%
2.	Citizens' participation in extensive independent civic associations	63%
3.	Freedom of the press, art and academic world	57%
4.	Gender equality and emancipation	57%
5.	All social groups' – including women's – extensive access to and participation in public life	56%
6.	Equal citizenship	53%
7.	Transparency, accountability and democracy within civic organizations	52%
8.	Free and fair general elections	52%
9.	Freedom of religion, belief, language and culture	50%

3. RIGHTS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 70 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS HAVE POOR PERORMANCE AND THAT ACCORDING TO AT LEAST 58 PER CENT OF INFORMANTS HAVE POOR SCOPE

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Poor Performance	Poor Scope
1.	*Subordination of the government and public officials to the rule of law*	93%	75%
2.	*Political parties' independence from money politics and powerful vested interests*	91%	69%
3.	*Government's independence of strong interest groups and capacity to eliminate corruption and abuse of power*	90%	74%
4.	*Equal and secure access to justice and the integrity and independence of the judiciary*	87%	76%
5.	The transparency and accountability of the executive/public civil servants, on all levels	87%	73%
6.	*The capacity of the government to combat paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organized crime*	86%	73%
7.	Membership control of political parties, and parties responsiveness and accountability to their constituencies	84%	71%
8.	People's direct contact with political representatives and the public services and servants	82%	71%
9.	Good corporate governance and business regulations in the public interest	83%	77%
10.	The right to employment, social security and other basic needs	82%	73%
11.	*The independence of the government from foreign intervention (except UN conventions and applicable international law)*	83%	69%
12.	Political parties' reflection of vital issues and interests among people	81%	70%
13.	The transparency and accountability of the military and police to elected government and the public	81%	73%
14.	Political parties' ability to form and run government	80%	70%
15.	The transparency and accountability of elected government, on all levels	78%	71%
16.	The rights of children	75%	71%
17.	Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions.	75%	73%
18.	Freedom from physical violence and the fear of it	74%	69%
19.	Government support and respect for international law and UN human rights treaties	72%	74%
20.	Equal citizenship	70%	67%

Note: Outputs of rights and institutions in italics are those which 30 per cent or more of the informants say have deteriorated.

4. PERCENTAGE OF INFORMANTS POINTING TO THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION AND DIRECT PARTICIPATION

No.	Rights and Institutions to Promote:	Poor Performance	Poor Scope
1.	*Political parties' independence of money politics and powerful vested interests*	91%	70%
2.	*Membership control of political parties, and parties responsiveness and accountability to their constituencies*	84%	71%
3.	*People's direct contact with political representatives and the public services and servants*	82%	71%
4.	*Political parties' reflection of critical issues and interests among people*	81%	70%
5.	Political parties' ability to form and run government	80%	70%
6.	Government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policymaking and the execution of public decisions.	75%	73%
7.	*Political parties abstention from abusing religious or ethnic sentiments, symbols and doctrines*	66%	58%

Note: Outputs of rights and institutions in bold are those which 30 per cent or more of the informants say have deteriorated; italics indicate those which less than 40 per cent say makes sense to both use and promote.)

The third conclusion is:

(3) the dominant elite do not avoid but monopolise the instruments that are supposed to promote democracy, thus building an oligarchic democracy;

5. SELECTED INDICATORS RELATING TO DOMINANT ACTORS

● Selected indications of dominant actors' relation to the supposedly democratic rights and institutions.

→ 16% of the informants say that the dominant actors actually use and promote the supposedly democratic rights and institutions
→ 33% at least use them
→ 36% both use and abuse the rights and institutions
→ 15% only simply abuse or entirely bypass the formally democratic framework

● Selected indications of dominant actors' strategy within the political system

→ 63% of the dominant actors' strategies are related to the legislatures on various levels
→ 13% are primarily via the judicial sector
→ 8% combine activity in civil society by 'going to court'
→ 13% are confined to direct practices in civil society
→ 9% are simply to bypass the system (in this case figures are only available from the 2nd round)

● Dominant actors' major transformation of power (2nd round only; similar trend in 1st round)

→ 15% of the informants say that the dominant actors make use legislative, judicial and executive public institutions to legitimize and authorise their powers
→ 10% say that they employ the public budget and various regulations
→ 15% say that they rely on outright authoritarian measures
→ 13% only say that they simply try to buy themselves legitimacy and authority
→ 8% only say that they make use of ethnicity and religion to legitimize and authorise their power

6. THE DOMINANT ACTORS

●Major types of primary dominant actors, according to the informants:
Per cent of identified dominant actors
→40% local or national level public executives or related.
→16% police, military, militias and hoodlums.
→17% related to parliament (local/central) and political parties
→12% related to business and NGOs founded by dominant actors.

●2nd round on dominant actors' major sources of power (The figures are verified by consolidated data from the 1st and 2nd round results, which also add the importance of combining different sources of power.)
Per cent of the informants on the dominant actors' sources of power

→19% outright access to public resources.
→28 % non-economic sources of power (force, coercion).
→25 % social capital in terms of close networks and 'good connections'.
→13% 'real business'

The fourth conclusion is

(4) the pro-democratic groups remain the major agents of change but are politically marginalised and socially floating without a firm organised base;

7. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF 'FLOATING DEMOCRATS'

→Their presence in relation to state, business and workplaces is marginal.

→Their inclusion of women's perspectives (which might swiftly broaden the base and capacity of the democracy movement) is poor.

→ According to 55% of the informants they prioritise direct democracy in civil society and according to only 7% of the informants do they engage in civil society-based constitutional, representative democracy.

→According to 50% of the informants they prefer single issues and specific issues and according to 44% they focus on general ideas while only 6% of the informants say that they focus on comprehensive issues, interests and governance agendas.

→ According to more than 50% of the informants they rely on traditional forms of including people into politics through, for instance, popular leaders and dependency relations.

→ According to 42% of the informants they try at first hand to transform their sources of power into legitimacy, authority and political influence by way of providing correct information and analysis, generate public awareness and so forth while only 2 % of the informants say that they give priority to the seeking of the mandate of the people, getting elected or appointed to official positions and none of the informants say that the pro-democrats favour work by way of political and administrative representatives.*

* Detailed data is at present only available from the 2nd round of the survey but largely confirm the trends in the first round.

Hence, the cornerstone of the movements' agenda to de-monopolize and resurrect democracy must include the following:

- widening the social base of local civic capacities;
- transforming concrete issues and interests among emerging movements into minimum-platforms for struggle and alternative agendas for governance;
- federating the associated political formations;
- fostering combined forms of direct democracy in civil society and representative democracy through political institutions.

The firth conclusion is:

(5) identification with the officially delineated 'people' in the country as a whole, the provinces or districts is weak and there are centrifugal tendencies, but a nationally unifying democratic system is evolving that allows for improvements from below;

Expand on Aceh!

The final conclusion is

(6) the democracy groups remain scattered and fragmented, but they share many potentially unifying perspectives on the problems and options of democracy.

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Implications for arguments

Why are the good freedoms not generating better tools?

Decentralisation makes sense with strong state and representative democracy

Market and state are no solutions – there is a need for a social pact

Linking elitist crafting of institutions and actions in civil society

Dilemmas of politicisation

Conclusions from conference in democracy movement:

REPRESENTATION!!

1. Building a democratic political platform
2. Making the link between (formal) political action and social movement closer
3. Implementing reforms on various legal instruments and democratic institutions to ensure the fulfilment of civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights.

Research:

Representation:

1. Pilkada (experiences from local direct elections)
2. Link project
3. Social Base (women into politics & social pact)
4. Aceh (strengthen civic politics from below)
5. Reform the rules of the game (elections & parties)
6. Local Democracy Watch
7. Full re-survey