Strengthening the Management of the Parliamentary Party Groups in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia

Improving the Performance of the Parliamentary Party Groups in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the Indonesian Parliamentary Party Groups Performance Baseline Indicators





Secretariat General of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia In collaboration with PROPER PROJECT - United Nations Development Programme Indonesia



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Strengthening the Management of the Parliamentary Party Groups

Foreword

The Indonesian House of Representatives has undergone many changes in its functions and roles. In 1998, the House of Representatives underwent dramatic transformation from what it had been under the Soeharto regime, also known as the "New Order" regime. Members of Parliament gained unprecedented powers in passing legislation and carrying out over-sight of the Executive. As a generator of legislation the House of Representatives had gained equal authority with the President in its law making capacity. Meanwhile, in its function of evaluating budgets, the House is a superior body. Even though budget formulation originates at the Executive level, the House of Representatives plays an important role in directing and prioritizing budget allocations. In carrying out over-sight of government, the House keeps a check on government policies.

Since 2004, policies relating to the political system have changed with emphasize the House of Representatives performs a representative role being put on improving the capacity of Parliamentary members. Members of the Houses of Representatives are now directly elected by people or constituents. Statutes have strengthened the role of the Parliament as a representative institution.

In facing the new demands and expectations on the members of Parliament, the Secretariat-General of the House of Representatives also has an important role in supporting each representative member. To meet the demands of the general public that the Parliament delivers on its promises in passing legislation, budgeting, and performing oversight, the Secretariat-General needs to work harder to support the members with technical and administrative support. In order to provide maximum support to the House, the Secretariat-General has collaborated with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The collaboration with UNDP has resulted in the publication of several handbooks and books of compilation: handbook on Representation; handbook on Reporting System on Parliament; handbook on Gender Mainstreaming on Legislative Function; handbook on Guidelines of Ethical Parliament, compilation book on Faction and Representation Principles, compilation book on Representation Principles in DPR Standing Order and Faction Codes, compilation book on Gender Mainstreaming, and book on Parliamentary Party Groups Staff: Working Areas and Best Practices. Through these handbooks, it is expected that the members of the House of Representatives can support to improve their capacity to carry out their parliamentary duties.

Dra. Nining Indra Shaleh, MSi Secretary-General The Indonesian House of Representatives

Preface

Democracy means power for people. Government is a manifestation of power in which supreme power is vested in people. Power can be exercised by the people directly or through their elected representatives. Abraham Lincoln described democracy as government "of the people, by the people, and for the people". Democracy is not the same as freedom, but it is a manifestation of freedom which has been institutionalized through practices or procedures molded over a long time.

Indonesia has witnessed a dynamic evolution of its government systems. The year 1998 was a turning point in Indonesian history, particularly for the role of the House of Representatives. The election of 1999 was remarkable because of the public trust and acknowledgement shown towards the government and its institutions. The Indonesian House of Representatives (*DPR*) was no longer a rubber stamp as it had been under the New Order regime, but had become a key institution in developing legislation budgets and oversight. However as a reformed institution with new roles, the *DPR* has still struggled to cope with its new functions. Many parliamentarians lack experience in carrying out their duties and roles as people's representatives.

Since 2000, Secretariat-General of the House of Representatives in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has supported the House through providing technical assistance for parliamentarians, ancillary bodies, and the Secretariat-General itself. This assistance is directed at maximizing the legislative, budgetary and oversight functions. Through this assistance, enormous activities and many books have been produced in order to support parliamentarians and their staff at the House. The books aim to improve the capacity of the House

of Representatives as an institution. One of the books is a compilation book on, "Strengthening the Management of the Parliamentary Groups". Increasing and enhancing the roles, functions, responsibilities of the parliamentary groups is one of the strategic objectives aimed to contribute for effective implementation the member of the parliamentary group functions, where such implementation of these functions becomes a true reflection of people's aspiration and interest. This compilation book hopefully can become enrichment of knowledge and important reference sources to further increase and enhance the performance and roles of the parliamentary groups to better serves the people. The publication and distribution of this handbook on representation is ways of showing the concrete prove in effort to support and strengthen the process of democracy in Indonesia.

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A. Background

Even though, the existing standing order of the House of Representatives has given the political party groups position and roles in the structure and composition, nevertheless this standing order has not stipulate clearly through what mechanism or SOP on how to regulate the parliamentary groups or factions. The purpose of this publication on this book it is aimed to able to provide guidelines that based on working performance from each parliamentary group/faction in developing their own working mechanism, absorb, channel, voice their constitutents aspiration and interest, supporting system for increasing and enhancing the capacity of the parliamentary groups members as well to be able to evaluate their overall working performance in implementing their roles and functions by using indicator baseline that can be uses to measure how effective the working performance of the parliamentary groups, or other relevant duties within the scope of working areas of the parliamentary groups.

The parliamentary groups have strategic roles in supporting effective implementation of their functions in the parliament. Supports on roles and performance toward the parliamentary groups that are being done effectively can ensure the optimization of the functions of the parliamentary groups in forming legislation, budget allocation, oversight as well representation. The existence of the parliamentary groups has provide important contribution in the process of planning the strategy and decision making to better prioritize people's aspiration and needs comprehensively in the DPR.

To optimize the roles of the parliamentary groups/factions in efforts to support working performance of members of the parliament, the parliamentary groups consistently need to develop working plan that not only focus to strengthen the effective implementation of the functions of members of the parliament. In addition, the parliamentary groups also need to be proactive in facing the dynamic development from various aspects of people's demand toward the enhancement of the capacity, roles, functions and responsibilities from members of the parliament by developing working plan that is innovative and responsive such as establishing and maintaining good relationship with their constituents, mass media, CSOs.

The parliamentary groups can also play crucial role in changing negative public perception toward the parliament as an institution by creating positive image through development of work plan in accordance with the demand of the people's interest that based on ideal practices by the parliamentary groups in other democratic countries.

Research on Strengthening Parliamentary Party Groups Management

"Hope for changes" might be represent many expectation exist in Indonesian community toward the performance of the House of Representative of the Republic of Indonesia. The House of Representative is one of government institution that have direct mandate from public both substantially and structurally as its member have been directly elected by people. Historically, since the existence of the republic of Indonesia, Indonesia has adopted and acknowledged people sovereignty and democracy as the highest power is vested at the hand of people.

Therefore, it should be a honor for the house of representative and also its members to absorb public aspiration in order to give contribution in the interest of people. Aside from that the parliamentary members are also members of political parties. Absorbing and giving solution for public aspiration should be an obligation for members of parliament who are also members of political parties in performing their duties and functions.

The research is directed to give an overview on political party group by observing standing orders at political party groups and their performances. This research will give recommendations on representation function in relation with the standing orders and also ethical code of political party groups. The compilation book will evaluate how far political party group at parliament perform their role and function through giving baseline indicators. The indicators could be used as a tool to gauge the performances of political party groups at their roles and functions particularly in absorbing and solving public aspirations.

This compilation book also try to give projection on the needs of personal development, policy development and performance development, which could be done by providing training, plan formulation and implementation in accordance with the needs of the members (including how to communicate with mass media, to prepare press release or to give press conference, to give speech in public, to use internet, to improve english comunication, etc).

This book publication is expected as a performance record from each political party groups at working mechanism at the process of political party group formulation, in handling public aspiration, at supporting system for the members or other issues that related with political party group works. This book is expected to give lesson learned and also to disseminated what had been done at the political party groups.

CHAPTER II

IMPROVING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PARTY GROUPS IN THE HOUSEOF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Observations and Recommendations about the Parliamentary Groups/Parliamentary Party Groups in the Indonesian Parliamentary System

1.1 Parliamentary Party Groups - An Overview

Parliamentary party groups or what is called *fraksi* within the Indonesian parliamentary system are recognised under Articles 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the DPR Standing Orders which effectively requires all MPs to be a member of a *fraksi* and for a *fraksi* to comprise a minimum of 13 MPs (thus parties with less than 13 MPs are required to form a coalition constituting a *fraksi*). In addition other articles of the DPR Standing Orders attribute special roles and responsibilities to *fraksi*, such as nominating members of commissions and committees.

For the single parties' composite *fraksi* the requirement to comply with DPR Standing Orders means that the "alliance" is somewhat of a "marriage of convenience" required by the Articles 15 and 16 of the DPR Standing Orders. This requirement for "minor" parties below the critical mass of 13 to coalesce into a *fraksi* occurs without any formal coalition agreement and apparently without ongoing policy or strategic dialogue about the roles of the *fraksi*. Notwithstanding this, it is apparent that consensus emerges with the fraksi on a case by case basis. The arrangements also pose special problems for such a grouping which must function as a *fraksi* even though the sum of its parts may have nothing in common except that they all failed to win enough seats in their own right to be deemed a fraksi. The "artificiality" of such a fraksi neither contributes to the efficiency and effectiveness of it, nor adds to the representation roles within the legislature. Nonetheless it is noted that the requirements are necessary because of other provisions regarding representation on commissions and committees, and are therefore unlikely to be replaced or reviewed.

Given that there is nothing "magical" about the minimum number of MPs required to establish a *fraksi*, except that the number mirrors the number of standing committees, there is an argument that such a nexus should be severed. That is *fraksi* might be able to be established in their own right with some other minimum number and would then have to determine the allocation of resources to relevant commissions and dommittees.

Similarly the opportunity to create formalised coalitions of political parties needs to be considered- the circumstances in which they might be created, the "agreement" which might govern it and other relevant factors.

Parliamentary Party Groups are important to the effective and efficient decision making of the legislature as well as to the political parties for many reasons including:

- They provide the unity of common purpose for their MPs, including nurturing future leaders and mentoring new MPs;
- They are the formal interface with the political party and members;
- They can provide a forum for MPs to canvas issues before plenary and commission sessions and develop cohesive and unified approaches to issues;
- They can be the body within which strategic political planning and priority setting occurs;
- They can facilitate the representative functions of an MP and support and sustain MPs with quality research and media advice whilst ensuring high standards of personal ethics, accountability and good governance.

Parliamentary Party Groups are (and can be) more than a "collective of likeminded MPs" and significant opportunities exist for *fraksi* to become more focussed strategically and politically. This Report addresses structural and administrative issues which *fraksi* might consider to promote more consistent and better decision making.

Such opportunities may also include mentoring, policy development and capacity building through structured design and delivery of capacity building for MPs (media, speech writing, public speaking, internet, English etc). Furthermore there are a range of staff and related human resource related issues that need to be addressed.

1.2 Parliamentary Party Groups and the Representative Function of MPs

The current view of the roles and functions of elected members of the DPR is that there are three elements (legislating, budget and oversight): this overlooks "representation" as perhaps the most fundamental element (the limited view is unfortunately supported by the current legal framework).

It is in relation to the "forgotten" main element of parliament - representation - that *fraksi* can and should play a much more active role. The representation function of MPs in Indonesia is not well conceptualised, planned or implemented and is further exacerbated by the proportional representation system of election which emphasises the party over the candidate. It is noted that the 2009 general elections will "relax" the closed list system of proportional representation with electors having the option to select individual candidates (a system known in some countries as above or below the line). It will be interesting to see what proportion of voters choose to follow each option. Even with these choices it can be argued that electoral success as an MP rests with securing a winnable position on the party list and thereafter relying on the party's platform, record and history to do the rest. In Indonesia, often the only time a personal profile is sought is when the candidate is a celebrity and whilst neither of these careers should disqualify from office other factors such as policies should be more significant.

Parliamentary Party Groups are encouraged to take a more strategic approach to encouraging MPs to engage better with their constituencies and improving engagement with Provincial and local governments. It is still surprising to hear that some MPs do not regularly meet with their local governor, regent/mayor or senior provincial officials (Police, Education, Housing etc), and claim that such liaison occurs through the local party structure or rely on Provincial/District and local government structures to address such issues. It is vital that MPs engage with such officials on a regular scheduled basis, partly to improve their abilities to represent the district but also to be better informed about local issues. Such liaison will also better serve the development of improved intergovernmental relations and coordination between all levels of government.

Citizens expect that MPs need to better understand the need to build a relationship with their electors through active engagement via constituency houses, outreach campaigns, appointments with electors (personally, not using constituency staff) and communication strategies (e-mails, websites, blogs etc). The use of information technology should be embraced, wherever it is appropriate to be applied- remote areas of Indonesia where residents have neither internet access nor skills to do so gain nothing from dedicated e-mail addresses and websites and need to be targeted in more traditional ways. On the other hand it is clear that some MPs have embraced such technology, utilising Facebook and a method of proving updated content and information for residents who have the appropriate skills and computer access.

To this end it is understood that the DPR has allocated a dedicated parliamentary email address to all MPs (name@dpr.go.id): this ensures uniformity of approach for those who need to communicate regularly with MPs and ensure that private email addresses are not utilised for public purposes, thus blurring such distinctions. However not all MPs have adopted and promoted the dedicated email address and the advantages of doing so need to be further promoted and emphasised to MPs. If this occurs it will help to ensure consistency of approach and facilitate contact by constituents, media and civil society who will just need to know the protocol rather than whether an MP has a "hotmail" or "gmail" address.

The importance of effective and efficient constituency outreach programmes and activities also need to be emphasised. Not all MPs have constituency offices, some contending that the liaison function with constituents is undertaken by the local party officials. The notion of "accountability" extending beyond party political loyalties to actually embrace constituents needs to be better understood and emphasised. Unfortunately no, or insufficient funds are made available to support MPs in establishing constituency outreach houses. This needs to be reviewed and redressed. For most *fraksi*, multi member representation in a district means MPs can be "allocated and spread" to maximise impact for *fraksi* and also to facilitate representative opportunities. Thus *fraksi* should ensure that constituency outreach houses are widely spread across a district (not all in the same city/town) and that MPs coordinate visits and meetings to maximise input. A roster of visits (Provincial and local government officials, schools, hospitals/clinics, community centres etc) by MPs could be prepared and regular reports made about the extent of contact with the community. The *fraksi* can then advise that on a given date that an MP will be at a village or place and over the course of a year a comprehensive list of visits and consultations can be published.

It is in the interest of *Parliamentary Party Groups* to develop "performance indicators" for MPs, not only to guide and reinforce the representation role but to provide objective and subjective information which can be provided to the party and also summarised for constituents, the media and civil society. To this end there are many indicators that have been developed for various aspects of legislatures, including work undertaken by UNDP.

Such indicators also exist for the work of the legislature itself, the Office of the Chairperson of the DPR (Speaker) and committees. These may be adapted and adopted to suit the Indonesian political landscape and might a way to address some of the discontent by MPs with the effectiveness of the legislature, particularly in budget and executive oversight, as well as in the conduct and outputs of the committees.

The matrix below of indicators may be adapted and adopted by DPR, fraksi and individual MPs to measure and assess performance as well as setting goals. There may be opportunities for technical assistance providers to work with DPR and *fraksi* (collectively on a voluntary basis) to design appropriative indicators, outputs and outcomes.

Legislative Development Outputs and Indicators for the Representation Function include:

OUTCOMES	OMES	ITUO	OUTPUTS
Intended outcomes	Sample indicators	Intended outcomes	Sample indicators
 Expanded regular access to legislators by citizen constituents and civil society organizations. 	 a) Increased opportunities for civic involvement and influence on legislative decision-making. 	1.1 Increased citizen input into legislative issues and actions.	1.1.1 Number of contacts between citizens and legislators increased by X over previous legislative session.
			1.1.2 Increase of X percent from previous session of laws passed that involved citizen input.
			1.1.3 Number of petitions from constituents to elected representatives increased by X over previous session.
		1.2 Strengthened capacity of CSOs to influence legislative actions.	1.2.1 Number of CSOs that lobby legislature increased from X to Y in past year.
			1.2.2 Number of petitions from CSOs to legislators increased from X to Y in past year.

OUTCOMES	OMES	OUTI	OUTPUTS
Intended outcomes	Sample indicators	Intended outcomes	Sample indicators
			 1.2.3 Annual increase in number of CSOs that monitor and observe plenary and committee sessions.
		 Expanded opportunities for women to voice concerns and promote gender equality. 	 Active women's caucus exists, or increase in activity of caucus that supports legislation for advancement of women.
			1.3.2 Gender analysis carried out on budget and Public Review of Expenditures process.
			 3.3 Number of legislative bills passed with gender analysis increased from X to Y over previous session.
 Strengthened legislative outreach, information dissemination and responsiveness to citizen constituents. 	 a) Legislative proceedings and voting records are available to all citizens, CSOs and the media. 	2.1 Increased communication to constituents from legislators regarding legislative actions.	2.1.1 Increase in number of legislators that have functioning local or district legislative offices.

OUTCOME	OME	DU	OUTPUT
Intended outcomes	Sample indicators	Intended outcomes	Sample indicators
			2.1.2 Increase in number of town/village meetings of legislator and constituents in past year.
			2.1.3 Percent annual increase in use of media by legislators to convey positions and views.
		2.2 Expanded public knowledge about legislative processes and actions.	2.2.1 Media, CSOs and citizens have open access to legislative records and proceedings.
			2.2.2 Civic education programme that includes information about the legislature and its processes is part of public schools curricula.

Members of Parliament are full time representatives with high level decision making responsibilities but in many ways they are also traditional employees whose skills can be further nurtured and improved with regular capacity building and personal development. Too often the focus is upon training and development for staff but not for their "political masters". MPs should be offered regular capacity building to enhance their skills in representation (media, internet, civic engagement, transparency, ethics etc).

It is also clear that more support should be available to members to carry out their roles and responsibilities - through either additional expert or support staff (attached to their *fraksi* or personal offices or within DPR itself). This could also include additional purpose-bound financial support for MPs outside Jakarta to travel more regularly to their home constituency. Currently MPs only receive an entitlement of one return airfare every three months to their constituency and additional visits must be funded by the MP or *fraksi*.

Not all *fraksi* have a Code of Ethics for MPs to cover their work within the *fraksi* and their constituency, in addition to applying the DPR Code of Ethics to their parliamentary work. There is no reason why fraksi cannot apply standards of behaviour of MPs that exceed those imposed by the DPR Standing Orders. Like in parliaments elsewhere, it should become the excepted standard that MPs disclose any actual or perceived conflicts of interest before he/she participate in fraksi matters.

At a minimum such fraksi-internal Code of Ethics should include:

- An outline of the application of the Code, making it clear that it applies to all fraksi members;
- A commitment by the fraksi Chairperson or Secretary to deal with all staff fairly and consistently in accordance with the Code;
- A component dealing with justice meaning being impartial and using power fairly and for the common good and not abusing, discriminating against or exploiting people;

- A component dealing with respect for people meaning being honest, treating people courteously and not harassing, intimidating or abusing people;
- A component dealing with responsible care meaning protecting and managing the human, natural and financial resources of the nation;
- Provisions setting how complaints under the Code will be made and investigated;
- Provisions setting out the range of sanctions that might be applied in cases of breaches of the Code.

The public, media and civil society, and most importantly fellow MPs in the *fraksi* need to be confident that any colleague in raising an issue is doing so for proper reasons. As such any MP with an interest, pecuniary or otherwise should be required to acknowledge same and either leave the room and not participate in the debate and decision, or only remain if their colleagues determine that such an interest is trivial, remote or an interest in common with a significant number of constituents.

Ethics is a complex area and there is a need for regular and ongoing capacity building for MPs and all staff - not all interests that might affect decisions are pecuniary/financial and therefore the Code should also refer to conflicts of interest, indirect interests or partiality matters. In some way fraksi need to determine how far to apply such matters to the spouse/ partner and children of the MP, other relatives etc. It may be unrealistic to expect an all encompassing Code of Ethics which addresses all such matters to emerge but acknowledging the complexities of modern public office requires that this occur, if there is to be confidence in the system and its outcomes.

All *fraksi* require significant financial contributions from all MPs, in some cases up to 60% of after tax salaries. On the one hand it is recognised that fraksi need income to cover expenses but on the other hand MPs are left with relatively small salaries (plus allowances) to live on and undertake their duties. This issue supports views about the need to consider issues in relation to public funding of political parties.

DPR orientation processes for MPs after the 2009 elections should focus on representation issues and fraksi which conduct their own internal orientation should also do so.

1.3 Parliamentary Party Groups Relationships with Party Offices and Central Committees

The political representative roles of MPs not only include relationships with each other and with constituents but also with the formal party structures and should include reporting frameworks (in both directions), policy development and active engagement with party members and networks.

The proportional representation system in Indonesia effectively reinforces the supremacy of the party machine and on that basis it seems that most MPs readily acknowledge their reliance/dependence on the party for continuing support and most importantly of all, endorsement.

This report does not focus on extra parliamentary political parties' activities and processes, except as they relate to the fraksi. However in the context of the effective functioning of the *fraksi* (except the multi-party *fraksi*) and appropriate representative functions of MPs sound reporting frameworks and feedback are essential. Party branches and central committees should liaise with *fraksi* to agree upon reporting frameworks, processes for dispute resolution and more importantly an understanding of the process for ongoing policy and decision making. By way of an example if an issue is emerging at a committee, what is the mechanism for the *fraksi* MPs on the committee to receive guidance from the party about the appropriate position to take (unless the understanding is that the fraksi has absolute discretion to determine such positions).

Clearly there are a number of methods by which *fraksi* and MPs might maintain contact with their political party base, and vice versa, each link in the *fraksi*, MP, central party board and district/local branch is critical and needs to be involved, and feel involved, in an active and appropriate way in determining party policy and seeing it pursued.

The table below indicates some of the options for contact and feedback from MPs and *fraksi* to their central Party offices as well as district and local branches.

Options for Contact and Feedback	Political Party Central office a	District and Party Branches
Parliamentary Party Groups and MPs	Parliamentary Party Groups executive should ensure regular meetings with party executive to discuss strategy and actions to be taken/taken	MPs might draw up a roster for each from each district to attend local party branch meetings, ensuring that over the course of a year, all branches meet with most if not all MPs from the district.
	MPs might be required to attend party executive meetings on a roster basis so that every MP attends at least (say) 2 meetings a year.	MPs might provide written reports to their local branches outlining their activities, with specific reference to initiatives in the district.
	Parliamentary Party Groups might ensure that its website has a link to the Party website.	Local and district branches with websites might have links to the central office website.
	Regular written reports from fraksi provided to party for distribution.	Where time permits on a forthcoming proposal the MPs could convene village and town meetings to get formal feedback
	Parliamentary Party Groups should ensure all MPs are well aware of party policy and if there is a reason why that policy is to be ignored or interpreted in a way that may create problems, every effort should be made to brief the party central office and explain the reasons why such an accommodation is necessary.	Local and district branches might be encouraged to identify future opportunities for MPs, such as major events (sporting or cultural events, school graduations etc) and provide notice to the MPs so that they can attend.

Options for Contact and Feedback	Political Party Central office a	District and Party Branches
	MPs might be required to undertake promote of the political party and assist in seeking and signing up new members, outside their electoral district and a regular report provided on those activities and their success.	All district and local party members who have mobile phones could receive regular updates from the MPs on a group text basis.
		All district and local party members who have computer access/ email address and skills might receive regular updates using distribution lists
		Media statements might be released targeting local stories and issues with comment by the MPs.
		District and local branch members should be invited to visit Jakarta and be a guest of the MPs during plenary or other sessions. This helps build relationships and also gives local members a better a understanding of how the parliament works.

Currently women constitute about 10% of the MPs in the DPR and although political parties state their commitment to improving this, in practise women are often placed in unwinnable positions on the party lists for elections. All political parties need to broaden their appeal and representation by ensuring that more women are placed in winnable positions on party lists and similarly that more women are given senior executive roles within *fraksi* and the executive. It is acknowledged that an effective 30 % quota of women representatives on election lists will be introduced at the 2009 general elections. The previously mentioned issue of public funding of political parties is also relevant at this point.

Summarised Recommendations

- 1. Parliamentary Party Groups should affirm the predominance of the representation role of MPs and encourage MPs to engage in a strategic and meaningful way with their electoral district. This should include the development of engagement plans and strategies for all MPs and a requirement that regular reports be lodged assessing progress against such strategies. Parliamentary Party Groups should develop simple "kits" for MPs (especially new MPs as part of internal orientation programmes).
- 2. Given the statutory roles of *fraksi* within the DPR are unlikely to be diminished over time there is a need for consideration to be given to the need for the development of formalised consultative and decision making processes, especially when formal responses are required, such as in the case of a nomination.
- 3. *Parliamentary Party Groups* might consider opportunities to develop appropriate indicators as a collective body and also encourage individual MPs to do likewise.
- 4. Parliamentary Party Groups might ensure that all MPs have a webpage which is regularly updated and which contains feedback options in addition to a publicly available email address.
- 5. All *fraksi* and the DPR might undertake a skills audit of MPs (ideally after the 2009 general elections) and also identify areas of capacity building needs by way of questionnaires. Skill deficits which might be identified include media engagement, speech writing and making, ethics scenarios, computer, internet

and English (or another language) skills capacity development. Funds should be available to all functions either collectively or individually to MPs to access such skills capacity building and development.

- 6. Parliamentary Party Groups might prepare (or require MPs to prepare) a plan for each district of visits and consultations by MPs and a regular report prepared to demonstrate the extent of such contacts, feedback received and the value of such a programme.
- Parliamentary Party Groups might plan to develop and deliver a tailored orientation programme for all new MPs after the 2009 general elections. This programme should complement whatever orientation programmes are designed and delivered by the DPR.
- 8. All *Parliamentary Party Groups* should unite to propose a more realistic budget from the parliament to support and sustain MPs serving electoral districts outside Jakarta, including funding more airfare and travel entitlements.
- 9. Parliamentary Party Groups and party central committees and branches might develop protocols and policies setting out the reporting frameworks (in both directions) as well as those that might apply where guidance is required by the fraksi from the party.
- 10. Parliamentary Party Groups and MPs might develop regular meetings with the governor of their province, regents and mayors in their district and senior government officials to improve understanding about local issues, to facilitate efficient and effective representation and to improve intergovernmental relations.
- 11. Parliamentary Party Groups and political parties might determine policies and procedures to ensure women (and other underrepresented groups) are allocated winnable positions on party lists for elections and also senior positions within executive government (where such opportunities arise by way of invitation to submit names or nominations) and *fraksi*.
- 12. Parliamentary Party Groups might adopt a Code of Ethics for MPs to ensure highest standards of personal probity; such a Code can be adapted and adopted from the DPR House Rules of Procedure or starting anew.

- 13. *Parliamentary Party Groups* might post the Code of Ethics for MPs on its webpage to indicate its commitment to high standards of ethics and disclosure.
- 14. Parliamentary Party Groups might ensure that orientation programmes for newly elected MPs after the 2009 general elections include capacity building on the fraksi Code of Ethics.
- 15. All *fraksi* might consider the advantages and disadvantages of public funding of political parties, on a direct basis or via election funding, to reduce corruption and to encourage a broader range of representation in the DPR.
- 16. Political party central offices might develop a "compact" with *fraksi* and MPs regarding expectations for contact and feedback. Such a "compact" could also outline the circumstances in which the *fraksi* can vary or depart from party policy (if at all).

Observations and Recommendationsabout Parliamentary Party Groups Standing Orders

The existence and effective application of internal standing orders is a key internal mechanism for discipline, order and administrative matters within a *fraksi*. Although some *fraksi* claim to have internal standing orders, adapted and adopted from DPR Standing Orders, others do not appear to have any formalised written rules. The absence of such rules makes *fraksi* vulnerable to internal disputes about processes and procedures, prevents precedents being recognised and formalised and does not provide the certainty needed to guide any organisation forward. Although there seems to be some satisfaction with *Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders, most do not address a full range of issues and scenarios.

Those *fraksi* with no, or very incomplete standing orders might consider adopting a more comprehensive set.

As a minimum *Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders should address issues such as:

- 1. Constitutional issues
 - Origin of name and date of establishment
 - Basis of the *fraksi*, fundamental beliefs/commitments
- 2. Parliamentary Party Groups membership
 - How it is obtained, kept and lost/suspended
 - Subscriptions/tithes that must be paid, when, how and to whom
- 3. Selection process of fraksi leadership
- 4. Decision making and rules of debate
 - How meetings are called, when. by whom and with what notice and documentation
 - How meetings are conducted, by whom and how
 - How decisions/votes are taken at the meetings and recorded
 - What records/minutes are kept of proceedings and distributed to whom and how
- 5. Communications and dealing with media
 - Who is able to speak on behalf of the *fraksi* to the media (issuing media statements and responding to media inquiries), when, how and on what issues, what consultation with other MPs is required?
 - When are MPs able to respond to issues raised by the media, speaking on their own behalf or that of their constituents (and what if they have a different view to the official *fraksi* position?)
- 6. Staff
 - Who is the designated "employer" of all staff (Chief Executive Officer), who decides upon the terms and conditions of employment?
 - Who assigns tasks to staff, how and what is the procedure for MP accessing staff?
- 7. Finance and budget issues
 - Who manages the *fraksi* finances, how and under what authority?
 - What reports are provided to the *fraksi*?
 - Who decides upon expenditure, is there an annual budget?

A more comprehensive check list is attached as a matrix and dealt with in Section 6 of this report.

One of the options for *fraksi* is to consider adapting and adopting DPR Standing Orders notwithstanding the possibility of conflicting processes and procedures which might emerge. Thus it could be argued that if the process for defining decision making in the House is different to that in a *Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders (for example public vote or confidential vote) that it will be confusing for MPs or that a *fraksi* should not impose a "standard" of behaviour on MP which exceeds that imposed by the DPR. This contention is not supported, just as there is no reason why a fraksi in its own Code of Ethics cannot impose standards of disclosure on MPs beyond those required by the DPR.

In many countries there is a current debate about the consequences of the application of public funds to political parties via direct funding, staff and facilities and whether such should lead to a call for greater transparency and accountability by fraksi. Among the issues that have been raised are whether political parties should continue to be treated as "private clubs" able to make their own rules and procedures (which may or may not comply with community standards and norms). In some countries this has extended to proposals that the relevant electoral commission should undertake preselection ballots to ensure their integrity and also that secret ballots should not be used for internal political party matters, to ensure openness and transparency. This debate has not extended to Indonesia, but if and when it does there will be significant implications for all *fraksi*. The wider issue of public funding of political parties (canvassed in earlier section of this report) is pertinent.

It is also important that during orientation seminars for newly elected MPs (invitation to attend should also be extended to re-elected MPs) in 2009 that DPR Standing Orders form a substantial part. *Parliamentary Party Groups* which undertake internal orientation seminars for newly elected MPs might also ensure that there is capacity building on *Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders.

Summarised Recommendations

- 17. Parliamentary Party Groups might consider either adapting/adopting the DPR Standing Orders as their own or developing "personalised" *fraksi* standing orders.
- 18. Parliamentary Party Groups might ensure that all newly elected MPs after the 2009 general elections receive capacity building on internal Parliamentary Party Groups Standing Orders.

Observations and Recommendations about Parliamentary Party Groups Staff and Internal Procedures

In any democracy (and particularly so in emerging or post conflict environments) the roles of MPs are complex and multi layered with relationships with constituents, each other, media, civil society and other levels of government adding to the complexity of information needed to be assessed to make quality decisions. It is obvious that no MP can undertake all this on their own, or in a vacuum and therefore the support of qualified staff is vital.

Staff support can come to MPs through government funded personal and expert staff, parliamentary (non partisan) research and expert staff, MP funded staff, political party staff and interns or volunteers.

In Indonesia all these combinations are evident and it creates a potentially bewildering and inefficient and ineffective support structure to MPs. The absence of formalised staff structures, clear roles and responsibilities, policies and guidelines adds to the potential for confusion, misapplication of resources and overlap and duplication. In addition there is a need for a Code of Ethics for staff, design and delivery of training plans for staff and a more strategic recruitment and application of staff resources.

Most *fraksi* have support staff constituting expert staff, *fraksi* staff, MP staff and interns. Each group is "employed" by a different person/

group (public purse, MP personal funds or volunteer) and this means confused relationships and roles/responsibilities. The absence of formal HR Manuals, policies and procedures means that there are often no processes or procedures for addressing issues or conflicts (in larger *fraksi* where the Secretary, who is also a senior MP is the "CEO" of staff this means considerable administrative demands - consideration may need to be given to someone else adopting that position, freeing the Secretary to assume more traditional roles). In some *fraksi* the Chairperson (who is also a senior MP) is the CEO of all staff.

Accessing the staff, especially expert staff by MPs is potentially a complex arrangement; some MPs indicated that they access expert staff by approaching the Secretary/Chairperson to allocate someone, whilst others indicated that they were senior enough to approach expert staff directly. Priority needs to be given by all *fraksi* to addressing these issues.

The recruitment of staff by MPs and *fraksi* needs to be more strategic and coordinated. Most *fraksi* appear to have expert staff recruited to service committees and whilst this is important, other skills may be more important. Most MPs do not have formal media knowledge or expertise nor skills in speech writing and those fraksi which are publicly active on a wide range of policy fronts might be well served considering the need for an expert staff member to deal with such matters.

It is clear that some staff within *fraksi* is recruited predominantly for their political allegiance and whilst this may be valuable, it is not as important as sound research and administrative/financial skills. The engagement of staff on purely political grounds diminishes the expertise available to MPs.

Such a scenario highlights the need for *fraksi* to have a human resource management plan which identifies existing skills within the organisation and details how gaps should be filled. The development of such a plan should ensure that if a staff member leaves the employ of the *fraksi* that consideration is given to how they are replaced and with what skills. Similarly it will facilitate the deployment of staff to areas where they have clear expertise and skills.

This in turn raises the issue of whether it is better to fund *fraksi* to employ more staff, to improve the non partisan research capacity of the DPR secretariat support services (specialist library and staff etc) or a combination of both. Some comment was made preferring the development of a strong non partisan parliamentary library and research service for all MPs, rather than additional staff within *fraksi* who may or may not carry out such tasks. Such a debate is worth having, but ultimately it will be a question of financial resources (and to a lesser extent control of the staff so engaged). Just as it is acknowledged that democracy is expensive so it is equally important to acknowledge that any alternative to democracy is likely to be at least equally more expensive (not just in simple financial terms)

All staff, however engaged, should have a clear letter of offer making it clear who their employer is (government, *fraksi*, MP), what their terms of appointment are (salary, basis of review, to whom they are responsible, length of contract and if extendable etc) and attaching clear roles and responsibilities. These documents should be available in template form so as new staff is recruited only the blank spaces need to be completed.

The engagement of constituency outreach staff is at the discretion of MPs and no public funding is available to support this function. As such some MPs have well resourced constituency offices whilst others have no office and no staff in their district, depending on the MPs personal financial circumstances.

Summarised Recommendations

- 19. All staff "employed or utilised" by the *fraksi* should have a detailed job description, outlining their roles and responsibilities, to whom they report and are responsible and how, by whom and when performance appraisals are undertaken.
- 20. Parliamentary Party Groups might prepare a human resource management plan which identifies the skills of staff and the gaps, and propose how such gaps will be filled.
- 21. Parliamentary Party Groups might consider options for recruitment of specialist staff such as IT and media and make a judgement whether consultants or full time employees are best.

4 Observations and Recommendations about the need For manuals and processes such as Code Ethics for staff, records and information management, financial management

Just as it is argued that it important that MPs establish and maintain high personal ethical standards, so it is equally important for all staff advising and assisting MPs.

The nature of advice provided to MPs in contemporary political environments is often complex and the MP is heavily reliant on sound, well researched and argued propositions, free from any taint of personal interest or conflict of interest from the staff member providing same. Accordingly all staff working with MPs should be required to subscribe to a Code of Ethics as part of their recruitment and engagement and their acceptance of a position must be accompanied by certification that they have read and will abide by the Code of Ethics.

At a minimum such a Code of Ethics should include:

- An outline of the application of the Code, making it clear that iapplies to all employers (without regard to who pays them), interns and contractors/consultants.
- A commitment by the *fraksi* Chairperson or Secretary to deal with all staff fairly and consistently in accordance with the Code.
- A component dealing with justice meaning being impartial and using power fairly and for the common good and not abusing, discriminating against or exploiting people.
- A component dealing with respect for people- meaning being honest, treating people courteously and not harassing, intimidating or abusing people.

- A component dealing with responsible care- meaning protecting and managing the human, natural and financial resources of the nation.
- Provisions setting how complaints under the Code will be made and investigated.
- Provisions setting out the range of sanctions that might be applied in cases of breaches of the Code.

Summarised Recommendations

- 22. That *fraksi* consider either adapting or adopting a Code of Ethics to be applied to all staff, including interns (regardless of who pays them) as well as contractors and consultants.
- 23. That *fraksi* post the Code of Ethics for staff on its webpage to indicate its commitment to high standards of ethicsand disclosure.

A "Template" which may be used by Parliamentary Party Groups as a form of Self-assessment

It is clear that the capacity of some *fraksi* to respond to the pressures of contemporary political decision making is limited by resources (financial, human, technological etc) and with the 2009 general elections looming, the demands cannot be expected to diminish as parties jostle for position and prominence. It makes it even more important that *fraksi* focus on efficient and effective mobilisation of their resources.

In many ways *fraksi* are no different to contemporary organisations that require internal procedures and policies to provide certainty, openness and accountability and a strategic framework within which to operate, both internally and externally.

All *fraksi* share issues of concern about their capacity to assist MPs with quality research and policy advice and at the same time need to ensure that all staff are managed efficiently and effectively.

In addressing the Terms of Reference it became clear that although *fraksi* have much in common there are also significant variations in scale and capacity. Accordingly a matrix of issues for *fraksi* to consider was prepared and is attached as a template for self assessment.

The issues identified are ones that fraksi should consider and determine their relevance, and if so where such matters should be addressed -*Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders, Party Code, Code of Ethics, policy manual etc.

In the first instance an "audit' is required of the existing *fraksi* documentation, rules and policy manuals etc. This exercise may be one that could be undertaken by an intern with research and administrative skills and the appropriate authority. Once this has occurred then assessments and decisions can be made about what elements of the matrix should be addressed by the *fraksi*.

The checklist facilitates a comprehensive approach to decision making and procedural issues within *fraksi* by posing rhetorical questions. Thus if notice of a *fraksi* meeting is to be given in advance to all MPs - is it to be in writing (letter/fax/email) or can it be by text message or by phone? By anticipating such issues and clarifying them, problems can be avoided. Similarly even something as simple as a requirement that a vote be taken in certain circumstances on an issue needs to be clear about such issues as- is the vote a secret or open one (and if open are the names and votes to be recorded), is the decision to be taken on a simple/absolute or special majority (in some countries some matters are deemed so important that a special majority, often two thirds or three quarters is required), are absent MPs entitled to vote by proxy or other means etc?

Anticipating such issues will ensure that disputes should not arise and if they do, that they will be easily resolved by referring to *Parliamentary*

Party Groups Standing Orders.

Similarly if an event arises that is new and not anticipated by the *Parliamentary Party Groups* Standing Orders it should be treated as a precedent and included in the standing orders for future reference and application.

Other elements of the matrix checklist invite *fraksi* to make decisions about processes and formalise them in manuals of procedure. For example if someone has authority to spend *fraksi* funds - how do they get that authority, how is it revoked (for example at the bank, when they leave the *fraksi* employ), is there a limit to the expenditure authority, what are the financial reports that must be provided (receipts etc)?

Summarised Recommendations

24. That *fraksi* undertake an "audit" of their current administrative, financial and other procedures and policies and that following such an audit that the *fraksi* make a self assessment of the matrix to determine what elements it needs to introduce and how and when to do so.

CHAPTER III

THE INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT'S PARLIAMENTARY PARTY GROUPS PERFORMANCE BASELINE INDICATORS



The Amendment to the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution (referred to as Negara Repubik Indonesia or NRI's Constitution of 1945) brought certain changes to the Indonesian system of governance, especially with regards towards Indonesia's Parliament (referred to in Indonesian as DPR - RI or The House of Representatives of The Republic of Indonesia). The NRI's Constitution of 1945, gave Parliament the power to create a new constitution,¹, Article 20A, Paragraph (1) in the NRI's Constitution of 1945 also states that Parliament, in addition to its legislative function, is empowered to write the state budget and serves as the branch of government which oversees the activities of the executive branch. Although the constitution granted such powers and functions to Parliament, the legislative branch has proved to be significantly inefficient, meaning that its efficacy in conducting its purpose is significantly low. Reports made by the Indonesian Parliament's Performances Enhancement Study Team,² stated that they have identified several problems that are suspected to be possible reasons for this low level of efficacy in Parliament's performance, specifically with regards to Parliament conducting its three primary purposes:

- Legislative Function: the sometimes poor quality of the laws passed, the low number of laws passed (in reference to the National Legislation Program's target) and lack of transparency when discussing the issues involved.³
- 2. Supervisory Function: ineffective meetings where the people's aspirations are not effectively promoted and its purpose to serve

¹ The Republic of Indonesia's, *UUD Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*, Article 20, Paragraph 1: After the amendment, Parliament will not only possess the power to create a new constitution, but the following Paragraphs also state that "[e]very bill should be deliberated and approved by Parliament and the President of the Republic of Indonesia". Before the amendment, the Constitution only stated that "[e]very bill requires the approval of the Indonesian Parliament" and its following Paragraphs only stated that "[i a bill has been approved by Parliament but not by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, it cannot be proposed for a second time in the meeting during the same Parliament's term."

² The Indonesian Parliament's Performance Enhancement Study Team is a team of political party group members in Parliament. The team's duties are to review Parliament's performance in order to improve Parliament's efficacy.

³ The Indonesian Parliament's Performance Enhancement Study Team, *Reformasi Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Secretariat General of The Indonesian Parliament, 2006) p. viii.

as part of a system of checks and balances is not conducted optimally.4

3. Budgeting Function: the national budget is not allocated efficiently in order to accommodate the needs of segments of the population that are most in need and the National Finance Auditors Agency's (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan) inspections are not followed-up effectively.⁵

The public and especially the NGOs, holds the view that Parliament does not function effectively as stated in the following report:

- 1. According to three research projects conducted by the Law and Policy Study Center on Parliament's legislative performance in 2005, 2006 and 2007. The number of laws passed by Parliament was not sufficient enough to fulfill the National Legislation Program's target and the guality of those laws were below expectations and instead became targets of public criticisms.6
- 2. Parliament will have to increase the number of regular meetings between constituents and the Members of Parliament in order to optimize the role of Parliamentarians and the supervisory function of Parliament for the purposes of national development. Such meetings would have to be held during recess periods as well as when parliament is in session. Constituents are worried that most Parliamentarians will not take advantage of their recess time to interact directly with the people who elected them into office. In fact, even if they do take advantage of their recess periods, only a small number of them actually provide the public with a statement report.7

Ibid, p. xii.

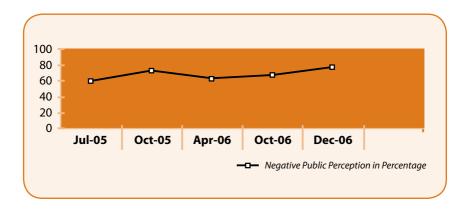
Ibid, p. xv.

PHK's studies on the public's negative reactions towards parliament was published in several books titled:
 "Kinerja Legislasi," "Bobot Kurang Janji Masih Terutang," etc., can be found on www.pshk.or.id
 M. Husain et. al., Menjaring Aspirasi Rakyat; Catatan dari Dialog Anggota DPR dengan Rakyat, (Jakarta: CESDA-LP3ES, 2003) pp. 2 - 4. CETRO (Centre for Electoral Reform) also stated similar opinions. CETRO is a non-profit

organization which maintains the ideas and institutions for the General Elections as well as promote a fair and just election program through Electoral Reforms. CETRO has been trying to educate people on politics through socialization activities which can be seen on its website www.cetro.or.id

 Parliament often holds meetings with its partners by working through existing mechanisms, such as the Commissions, but its meetings are often questioned because Parliament never seems to make a clear and thorough follow-up.⁸

There were various negative public reactions towards the Indonesian Parliament, as was recorded by a pole conducted by the daily newspaper, Kompas, in December of 2006. This increasing trend in the use of polling data showes the deterioration of Parliament's image in the eyes of the Indonesian public. In July of 2005, 58.6% of the respondents stated their sense of disappointment with the performance of Parliament and that number continued to increase until it reached a high of 76.4% in December of 2006.



Kompas conjectured that this poor and negative image of Parliament is mostly due to its disappointing performance as indicated by:

- Parliament's inability to draft and pass effective laws
- Parliament's inadequate control of certain government policies (which can be seen from various unsolved scandals such as the imported rice scandal, National Army's Panzer controversial purchases, the unsolved case regarding Lapindo and Aceh's

⁸ Stated by Sebastian Salang of Formappi (Forum Masyarakat Pemantau Parlemen Indonesia – Indonesian Parliament Supervisory Society Forum).

slow restoration process)

- The public's perception of Members of Parliament is a negative one and they are often associated with corruption, collusion and nepotism as a result of the public's disappointment with its performance and inability to live up to public expectations.
- Unclear mechanisms for budget allocation and the need for greater supervision over Parliament due to a perceived lack of transparency in the appropriation of funds (distribution of free educational fee coupons and other suspicious cases were highlighted by Parliament's Budget Committee)

All of the above opinions indicates that poor performance can be detrimental to Parliament's image. One of the most probable negative impacts would be the loss of the peoples trust and confidence in Parliament as the elected representatives of the people. Although matters of performance and image are not regulated by the existing provisions of law, it is possible that someday the constituents will turn to support the government's opposition or even conduct mass mobilization, so as to replace those Members of Parliament whose performance continues to fall short of nothing but dismal.⁹ It is, of course, the last thing that any of us would want to see but this decrease in the level of trust between the people and their representatives might be an initial symptom for the collapse of democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, with that in mind, the government will have to act swiftly in order to solve Parliament's crisis of confidence that partly resulted from its mediocre performance. According to various opinions and cases as stated by external (the general public, NGOs and the media) and internal stakeholders (Parliament Performance Enhancement Study Team), Parliament itself (and its supporting system: the Secretariat) is accountable for this lack of satisfactory performance. It has been suggested that, this poor performance might possibly have been caused by the ineffective work conducted by Parliament, its apparatuses and the political party groups that operate within Parliament.

Perhaps the most pressing question of all lies in the reason for why

⁹ Sebastian Salang (Formappi) in Kompas, October 4 2005.

those groups are associated with Parliament's mediocrity and negative image in the minds of the general public. To answer this guestion, we have to look at Parliament's Regulations regarding the position of groups that operate within the frameworks of Parliament. Article 17 Paragraph (1) and (2) of the Regulations states that the political party groups are responsible for coordinating the activities of its members so that they can perform their duties and fulfill their responsibilities as Members of Parliament. Political party groups are responsible for imposing discipline and increasing their level of efficacy when performing duties that are in relation to Parliament's activities. This generally means that, the political party groups inability to optimize its members work activities is a variable which directly correlates to the negative image of Parliament with regards to its members conducting their duties, exercise their authority, rights and attempts to fulfill its obligations. The flaws of the political party groups is also considered as a possible cause for the conflicts of interest which often occurs between the delivery of the peoples aspirations and forwarding the interests of the political parties. The existence of political party groups in Parliament is also seen as a red tape of bureaucracy. These groups are considered to be an obstacle which stifles the creativity of Members of Parliament, as seen from the discussions held during Plenary Meetings which seems to have always pushed aside the peoples aspirations.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the presence of political party groups is crucial in order to simplify the process of decision making, so dismantling political party groups is not an option. The solution is to create political party groups that will be able to perform its functions effectively when supporting the duties and legally prescribed functions of Parliament.

Research Requirements

One factor that has contributed to Parliament's poor performance record are attributed to the political party groups within Parliament. These groups function as respresentatives of the political parties in Parliament and advocate the interests of the people in positions of power while they also

¹⁰ "Kinerja Dinilai Buruk, Parliamentary Party Groups Diusulkan Dihapus," (http://www.mediaindo.co.id/ POLKAM), Tuesday, October 4 2005.

play an important role in the decision making process within Parliament. These groups were granted very important positions but it seems that they have failed to serve the public in a manner in which they should. Parliament's Regulations concerning the duties of political party groups, on an empirical level, does not have a properly defined and detailed operational guide on how those groups should perform their duties. In reality, the groups functioning mechanisms are made internally within each group, these mechanisms are meant to be operational guidelines to ensure that the aspirations of constitutents will remain as the primary basis for decision making within each political party group.

Each political party group has a different method for following their operational guidelines. Some groups, such as the Golongan Karya (Golkar) group (used to be called Karya Pembangunan group) and Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) group have existed for a significant period of time so that they now already possess the specific mechanisms necessary in order for them to perform their proper functions. However, there are also several "younger" groups who are new to Parliament, such as Partai Demokrat (PD) group and Partai Damai Sejahtera (PDS) group, although they are newcomers they are quickly learning the rules of the game. While other groups that have formed coalitions and consist of several smaller political parties, such as the Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (BPD) group, they do not have the appropriate experience needed to create effective working mechanisms. Such groups do not possess clear standards for how they should perform their functions within Parliament compared to the "older" groups who have more experience and functioning mechanisms. This does not mean that the "younger" groups will not be able to learn from them. As a matter of fact, there have been very few or no research works that have been conducted on this matter, which suggest that the "older" groups have executed their functions well enough so as to set a fine example for the younger ones to follow. This report attempts to explain the definition of political party groups and set baseline indicators which can be used to assess the performance of Parliament's political party groups in order to determine if the groups have performed their representative functions effectively.



The representative democracy system of government requires people to elect their representatives so as to make decisions in Parliament on their behalf. Therefore, the system requires accountability from the groups as well as the constituents sovereignty.¹¹ Accountability refers to the responsibilities that the representatives have towards the people who elected them and should they fail to live up to those responsibilities they will face the risk of losing all hope for future reelections. The peoples representatives of a democratic system of government must always consider and fight for the peoples aspirations and interests during their tenure as an elected decision maker. It is according the above statement, that we should question the current peoples representatives, on whether they have properly represented the aspirations and interests of the people above their own personal interests.

O'Donnel (2004: 61-62) stated specifically that the representative democratic system is always accompanied by vertical accountability.¹² Such accountability to the public are evident within the Indonesian government's apparatuses such as government officials, courts of justice, the police, the military and the politicians who claim to be the voice of the people. The politicians or the peoples representatives in Parliament are accountable to the electorate/constituents because it is the voters that have the power to put them into office. This vertical accountability exists in all democratic countries that have proper general election mechanisms and where all voters have the opportunity to directly elect their representatives. Another characteristic that is common to all representative democratic systems is the opportunity for public participation in its government's activities by influencing decisions through holding regular elections.¹³

Public's participation in governing through Parliament in a

^{11 &}quot;Representative Democracy," http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/CURRIC/POLIT/represent.htm

¹² Michael Bratton and Carolyn Logan, "Voters But Not Yet Citizens: the Weak Demand for Vertical Accountability in Africa's Uncalimed Democarcies," Working Paper No. 63, September 2006, Afrobaromoter: 5.

¹³ *Ibid*: 2.

representative democratic system may have been encouraged by groups at both the local and national levels. This public participation through Parliament basically has the strongest legal basis for legitimacy. However, this basis is often ineffective because the political parties or groups, fail to incorporate the peoples aspirations when making their decisions.¹⁴ As is common in democratic countries, Indonesia's Parliament acts as a representative body, which is obligated to act according to the interests and wishes of its people. This mandatory representative function is emphasized and enshrined in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which explicitly states that Parliament exists as the peoples representative body and consists of members of political parties that participated in the general elections and were appointed to their offices according to the results of those elections. The word "parliament" itself is derived from the Latin world *parle*, which means *speak*, therefore the members of parliament are obligated to voice the aspirations of the people who elected them. It is for this reason that, Daniel Dhakidae, named Parliament's purpose as the peoples "power of speech."15

The functions, duties and authority of Parliament are an inseparable part of its characteristic and position within the Indonesian system of government, which emphasizes Parliament as the representative body of the people, whose members are elected directly by the people. Therefore entirely trusted by the people. It is such characteristics and position within the system of government that entitles Parliament to pass legislations on behalf of the people as well as act in accordance to their aspirations and to remain open in order to maintain civilian control over its functions, duties and authority over the people.

In reality, the representation of the people of Indonesia, is conducted by groups within Parliament. These groups are considered to be an extension of the political parties within Parliament because the Members of Parliament are elected by these, groups.¹⁶ According to Parliament Regulation, Article 1 Paragraph 6, a political party group is the subdivision

¹⁵ Daniel Dhakidae, "Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat dan Kemampuan Mengolah Kuasa Wicara," in F. Harianto Santoro (ed.), Wajah Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia Pemilihan Umum 1999, Uartara: Kompas, 2000), p. xxv. ¹⁶ "Kinerja DPR, DPR Saat Ini Mengingatkan Zaman Orba", Kompas, October 10 2005.

¹⁴ L. Willmore, "Civil Society Organizations, Participation and Budgeting," dalam UNDESA (Ed.) Citizen Participation and Pro-Poor Budgeting, UN: New York, 2005.

of Parliament's members and in accordance to the political parties configuration as a result of the general elections. Paragraph 16 and Paragraph 1 of Parliament's Regulations, also states that the political party groups consist of political party members who are elected by the people during the general elections, thus emphasizing the crucial position of the political party groups as the direct representatives of the people. However, political party groups can also be formed by the merging of two or more political parties who have at least thirteen members elected by the people or by the merging of a variety of different groups. Consequently, Parliament is required to directly submit to the elected members of those groups.

The roles of the political party groups can be seen in the routine daily activities of Parliament. Political party groups are formed before the first day of Parliament's meeting which is then followed by the creation of Parliament's institutions and the appointment of its Speaker. Political party groups have important roles and are very influential in Parliament to the point that they may hinder Parliament's performance at will. The conflict between *Koalisi Kebangsaan* (National Coalition) and *Koalisi Kerakyatan* (People's Coalition) during the creation of Parliament's institutions in 2004 is direct evidence of the groups critical roles within Parliament.¹⁷ The political party groups domination over how Parliament functions suggests that the groups performance will affect Parliament's performance as a whole.

The duties of the political party groups are stated in Parliament Regulations, where coordinating the activities of its members when executing the duties and authorities of Parliament, as well as to improve the capabilities, discipline, efficacy and efficiency of its members when carrying out duties that are part of the activities of Parliament. However, Parliament's Regulations do not give specific instructions on how those groups should conduct their functions. The real purpose of those groups is to improve Parliament's working performance.

¹⁷ According to Smita Notosusanto, the conflict is caused by the strong tendency towards the principles of the majority in the Indonesian Parliament instead of the principles of proportionality which should be the basis for Parliament's creation of institutions. Smita Notosusanto, "Anatomi dan Solusi Konflik di DPR", Kompas, November 3 2004.

According to Scribner-Bantam English, the word "performance" itself is derived from "to perform," which has several definitions:

- 1. To do or carry out, execute
- 2. To discharge of fulfill; as vow
- 3. To execute or complete an understaking
- 4. To do what is expected of a person or machine

Other definitions of performance:

- 1. Performance is a set of results and refers to an act of achievement and the execution of a required task (Stolovitc and Keeps: 1992).
- Performance is a function of motivation and capability. To complete a task or a job, one has to have a certain degree of will and capability, a person's will and capability would not be effective enough if not accompanied by a clear understanding of the tasks required and the means to complete them (Hersey and Blanchard: 1993).
- Performance refers to the level of achievements acquired through the execution of a task and the ability to achieve objectives. A performance is considered good/successful if all objectives are achieved in a good way (Donnelly, Gibson and Ivancevich: 1994).
- 4. Objective achievement is one of the indicators of an individual's performance. There are a total of three indicators required to assess an individual's performance:

 (a) the individual's tasks;
 (b) the individual's behavior; and
 (c) the individual's characteristics
 (Robbin: 1996).
- 5. Performance is the quality and quantity of tasks completed by an individual, a group, or a company (Schermerhorn, Hunt and Osborn: 1991).

According to Daniel Dhakidaer, there are three factors related to the enactment of Parliament's functions which act as indicators for the assessment of Parliament's performance, its political sensibility in acting as "representatives of the people," its technical skills for processing and managing the peoples aspirations and the limitations on behavior as stated in its Code of Ethics.⁸

J. Research Questions

There are several questions posed by this research:

- Are the baseline indicators of political party groups good enough to support their members in executing their representative functions with efficacy?
- 2. What baseline indicators can be used for the assessment of a groups success in executing their representative functions?

Purpose of Research

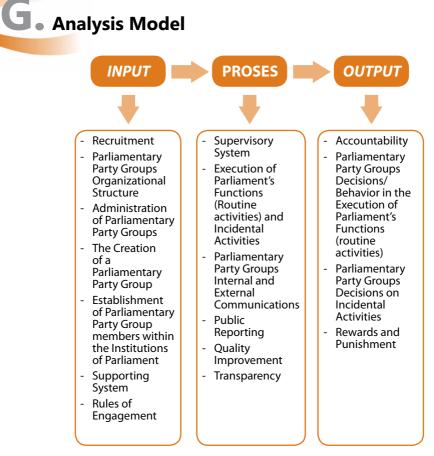
The purpose of this research paper is to determine the baseline indicators for a groups performance in the execution of their representative functions. The indicators determined will used to create an effective baseline indicator in order to assess the groups functional performance. With the existence of the performance baseline indicators, these groups might understand and make better attempts to coordinate and improve the quality, discipline, effectiveness and efficiency of the Members of Parliament. That way, the people will be able to assess the performance of groups that are in a position to represent the people's interests in Parliament.

¹⁸ Daniel Dhakidae suggested several indicators to be used to assess the performances of Parliament's members in processing and executing its power of speech: political sensibility ("...the ability to understand, to be involved and to show compassion about the problems, struggles and fate of a nation and its represented constituents.") To optimize this quality, Parliament Members need to be supported by a specific technical ability referred to as "...the knowledge and awareness of a Parliament Member concerning his/her responsibility, rights and obligations, ethos, ethics and etiquettes as a representative of the people. Both qualities should be facilitated by the ability of the people's representatives to screen, sort and process information during policy-making which is called "the method ability".



This research will result in:

- 1. The mapping of functional performance indicators made by political party groups in the 2004 2009 Parliamentary term.
- 2. The groups baseline indicators can be used to assess its performance in executing Parliament's legislative, budgeting and supervirsory functions.





Subject indicators are acquired from the three functions which form the basis of the obligations of Parliament members: legislative, budgeting and supervisory functions that are regulated by an Amendment in the 1945 Constitution. A law concerning the structure and position of the Members of Parliament and Parliament's Regulations. The baseline indicators are determined according to various factors (divided into categories) that relates to the activities and processes carried out by the political party groups within Parliament.

The Categories and Indicators Within:

a. INPUT

The Input category refers to the activities and processes which occur prior to the delivery of contributions by the groups when executing Parliament's functions. This category consists of several indicators:

1. Recruitment of political party group members:

- Requirements of candidates for Members of Parliament: academic skills, experiences, etc.
- The existence of political contracts between political parties and the candidates that they have chosen to run for seats in Parliament as Members of Parliament.
- 2. Organizational Structure of Parliamentary Party Groups: The ratio between the number of group leaders and its members
- 3. Administration of Parliamentary Party Groups: The existence of Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations concerning its administration

4. The Creation of a Parliamentary Party Groups:

- Requirements for the creation of a Parliamentary Party Groups, ie., constitutional requirements and requirements for the group's vision and mission
- The existence of contracts between parties and the members of Parliamentary Party Groupsin Parliament

5. The Establishment of Parliamentary Party GroupsMembers into teams that operate in various Parliamentary Institutions:

Members background requirements: experiences, education level, motivation and the member's contiguity with the Group or the leadership of the Political Parties.

6. Supporting System:

- The availability of expert staffs, reference materials, etc.
- The availability of information (from the media, meeting materials, issue briefs, info briefs, in-depth analysis on certain issues, raw and processed materials, time for the acquisition and update of information
- The availability of a proper library and database in printed and online form

b. PROCESS

The Process category consists of several baseline indicators that explain the manner in which a group executes its functions and duties. The indicators in this category are:

1. Parliamentary Party Groups Supervisory Sistem:

- · Daily attendance supervision
- Permission grants supervision (meeting absences, field trips, etc.)
- The responsibility to collect and identify the results of meetings is the responsibility of all who attended the meetings.
- Follow-ups on meetings shall be done by the Groups on behalf of its members

- Deliverance of a selection of issues that will be brought to the attention of Parliament.
- 2. The execution of Parliament's functions (routine activities) and incidental activities:
 - Are there any formal mechanisms within groups regarding activities carried out to execute its functions?
 - · Is the public involved?
 - · Is society involved?
- 3. Parliamentary Party GroupsInternal and External Communication:
 - Communication between members of the same group within Parliament's institutions or in different institutions (coordination of groups)
 - Communication between Members of Parliament and different groups (form of communication and purpose of communication)
 - Communication between groups and the Secretariat (time of communication and manner of communication)
 - Communication between groups and its expert staffs (the existence of regular meetings and the topics being discussed)
 - Communication between groups and its Personal Secretaries (the existence of regular meetings and the topics being discussed)
 - Does the group require its Members in Parliament to conduct regular meetings, such as coffee mornings, before they attend a Parliamentary meeting?
 - Does the group require its Members in Parliament to provide explanations after they attended a meeting or after having made a decision?
 - The group's manner of communication with its constituents (work visits, public hearings and socialization); a group's obligation to accept the peoples aspirations; easy access for the people in order to convey their aspirations and efforts by Members

of Parliament and the group to inform their constituents of their achievement[s[] through E-mails, text messages, fax, mail, etc.; and their obligation to build a "house of aspirations" within a groups constituent areas

4. Public Reporting:

- The existence of a public reporting mechanism
- The groups responses towards public reporting

5. Parliamentary Party Groups Members Quality Improvements:

- Trainings for Group Members (in any field: drafting of bills, national budget analysis, whether coordinated through the group or not)
- Seminars, workshops and field trips (whether obligated by the group or not, how many times have the activities been conducted in one term, whether the group members in Parliament are required to attend, the information sources and selection mechanism)
- The obligation to make a public statement to the mass media (in writing, interviews, etc.)

6. Transparency:

- The availability of reports on activities by group members in Parliament
- · The availability of documents on group activities
- The availability of documents on the achievement/results of the groups work and performance
- The groups transparency of public documents
- · The groups transparency of its members tracks
- The groups transparency concerning reports of its members wealth

c. OUTPUT

The output category consists of the following baseline indicators that explain a group's work results:

1. Work Accountability

- Routine reports received by the group and constituents from members in Parliament (including reports on the results of work visits conducted by group members, individually or collectively through its institutions, meeting attendance reports, reports on field trip results, etc.)
- Routine reports made by the group for its constituents (for every activity conducted by the group and its members in Parliament)
- Responsible Reports on activity results made by the group (victories or losses in voicing the peoples aspirations, its obstacles, innovations, etc.) which are available for access to the public
- 2. The Parliamentary Party Groups Decisions / Behavior Concerning the Execution of Parliament's Functions (Routine Activities):
 - Does the group give any direction?
- 3. The Parliamentary Party GroupsDecisions on Incidental Activities:
 - · Does the group give any direction?
- 4. Rewards and Punishment:
 - Rewards/Punishment for group members who committed administrative errors (according to the administrative violation criteria)
 - Rewards/Punishment for group members who are suspected of violating the law (based on the law, violation criteria and the protection/punishment procedures)
 - Rewards/Punishment for group members who are considered to have performed well in a certain period of time (per office term, per year of office term or per membership term)
 - Are there any forms of punishment for group members who voice different opinions or make different decisions from those of the group itself?

Methodology

The data required for this research were collected through interviewing group leaders, the interviews were carried out individually and during those interviews, researchers inquired the leaders of the established indicators. These interviews were conducted in the form of in-depth interviews to acquire as much information as possible. Several of the interviewed group leaders were those who have been elected as Vice Chairman or Secretary of political party groups in the 2004 - 2009 Parliamentary term. Cross-checks were also conducted on all information related to the supporting system with the cooperation of the groups expert staffs and the Secretariat. There have been studies on research reports, surveys and pollings related to the attempts to assess Parliament's performance prior to this research. There were also on-site examinations on group member activities during meetings. This analysis was conducted by combining various sources of information with examinations and studies.



Type of Research

This is an analytically descriptive research with qualitative methods. Qualitative research refers to a type of research which results in an achievable innovation by using statistical procedures or other manners of measurement. This qualitative research may show various aspects of a society's life, history, behavior, as well as an organization's functionalization, social movements or affinity relations.¹⁹ However, Bogdan and Taylor, stated that qualitative research is a research procedure which results in descriptive written or oral data acquired from observations on people and behaviors.²⁰

¹⁹ Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, Dasar-Dasar Penelitian Kualitatif Prosedur, Teknik, dan Teori Grounded, translated by H.M. Djuanidi Ghony, Surabaya: PT Bina Ilmu, 1997, p. 11.
²⁰ Ibid.

K. Activity Schedule

	April		Мау				June-july			
Activity	Week II	Week III	Week I	Week II	Week III	Week IV	Week I	Week II	Week III	Week IV
Proposal - indicators' drafting	\checkmark	\checkmark								
Presentations				\checkmark						
Research - Interviews - Indicator Drafts Test					\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Presentations									\checkmark	
Research Results' Improvement										\checkmark
Final Baseline Indicators										\checkmark

PARLIAMENTARY PARTY GROUPS

A. History of Parliamentary Party Groups

The term Parliamentary Party Groups (Parliamentary Party Groups in Indonesian) was born during the Temporary Parliament period of 1950. Initially, the groups were also known as *aliran* (political stream), the term political party group was mentioned officially in Article 28, Paragraph (3) and (5) of the Temporary Parliament's regulations. Then it was also mentioned in the 1959 Parliament regulations, which added a specific additional chapter on the definition of a political party group. However, during the period of the Gotong Royong (Mutual Assistance) Parliament in 1960, the term disappeared and was replaced by the term Golongan (Faction). The utilization of this new term continued and it even gained an additional nickname of *Kelompok* (another terminology for the word 'group' in Indonesian) during the period between the Parliaments of 1964 and 1966. However, from 1967 to this day, the government uses the term Parliamentary Party Groups in Parliament regulations. The groups also gained more power as they were required to be involved in various activities within Parliament (the groups guorum in bill discussions, its involvement in the Deliberation Body as well as consultation meetings and other activities).

Definitions of Parliamentary Party Groups

In the 1959 Parliament regulations, a political party group was defined as a group which consists of a number of Parliament members that came from the same political party/stream/principles/purposes. The 1967 Parliament regulations stated that a political party group is an alliance between *Gotong Royong* Parliament members from the same political party/stream with the same political programs/purposes/principles. However, this definition was altered in 1971, Paragraph 33 and Paragraph (1) of the 1971 Parliament regulations stated that a political party group is an alliance between Parliament Members which reflects the two political subdivisions within society: the *Golongan Politik* and the *Golongan Karya*.

However, groups are more clearly divided these days, as noted below:

- 1. National Army Group
- Demokrasi Pembangunan (Development Democracy) Group, which is a political alliance between Partai Nasional Indonesia/ PNI (Indonesian National Party), Partai Kristen Indonesia/Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party) and Partai Katholik (Catholic Party);
- 3. Karya Pembangunan (Development Work) Group
- Persatuan Pembangunan (Development Unity) Group, which is a political alliance between Partai Nahdlatul Ulama/NU (NU Party), Partai Muslimin Indonesia (Indonesian Moslem Party), Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia/PSII (Indonesian Islamic Union Party) and Partai Islam/PERTI (Islamic Party)

During the term of the 1977 Parliament, a political party group was defined as an alliance between Parliament members from various social and political powers which reflects the existence of the different factions of society. Ironically, even if Law No. 16 Year 1969 and Law No. 55 Year 1975, concerning the structure and position of MPR (the Upper House of Representatives), DPR (the Lower House of Representatives but hereinafter known as Parliament) and DPRD (Regional House of Representatives) became the basis for the creation of four groups as stated in Parliament regulations. However, Law No. 16 Year 1969, did not mention political party groups at all. The following list contains the names of the groups in 1969:

- 1. The National Army Group
- 2. Karya Pembangunan (Development Work) Group
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia/PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party) Group
- 4. Persatuan Pembangunan/Persatuan/PPP (Development Unity/Unity) Group

Such conditions lasted until the reformations of 1998. In 1999, political party groups became more clearly defined with the passing of Law No. 4 Year 1999, concerning the structure and position of MPR, DPR and DPRD. Article 37 Paragraph (4) stated that "political party groups within DPR and DPRD reflect the political party configurations within DPR. Political party groups are created for the purpose of rendering effectiveness to the execution of Parliament's (DPR and DPRD) duties, authority and rights." This definition was also adopted by Parliament's Regulations by mentioning that certain parties within DPR (political parties and the National Army), therefore defining a political party group as "an alliance between Parliament members, based on the configuration of the political parties elected to the certain number of seats in Parliament. As a result of the General Elections, National Army officials were appointed and a certain number of seats were allocated in Parliament.

The following list contains the names of political party groups residing in DPR between 1999 - 2004:

- 1. Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)
- 3. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)
- 4. Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)
- 5. Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
- 6. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
- 7. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)
- 8. Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)
- 9. Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)
- 10. Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)

The passing of Law No. 22 Year 2003, regarding the structure and position of MPR, DPR, DPD and DPRD changed the existing regulations concerning the national legislative body as well as blurring the definition of political party groups. Article 98 Paragraph (6) of this law states that the members of DPR and DPRD on the provincial level and DPRD on District/ Town level are obligated to create political groups but those groups are

not a part of Parliament's institutions. The creation of political party groups within DPR are regulated by Parliament Regulations, which also states that the number of group members should be based by the number of DPR's institutions to insure the efficacy of those institutions. The 2005 Parliament Regulations defined groups as "the alliance of Parliament members based on the configuration of political parties seats in Parliament according to the results of the General Election" (Article 1 Paragraph 6). Article 14 of the 2005 Parliament regulations also stated that groups are self-supported and created specifically to improve the effectiveness of DPR's duties, authorizations, rights, obligations and its execution.

The following list contains the names of ten groups in Parliament based on the 2004 Election:

- 1. Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party) joined by PKPB
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party
- 3. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)
- 4. Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party) joined by PKPI Group
- 5. Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
- 6. Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
- 7. Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)
- 8. Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)
- 9. Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)
- 10. Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party) Group is an alliance between PBB, PDK, Pelopor, PPDI and PNI

NB. <u>After</u> 2007, Partai Pelopor, shifted its alliance from the BPD Group to the direction of PD Group.

C. Parliamentary Party Groups Duties and Functions

By looking at the history of the Indonesian political party groups, it shows that groups are becoming more powerful over time, as shown by the increase in duties and authority awarded to them. In 1950, the groups duties and authority were not clearly regulated (Parliament Regulations Article 28 Paragraph (3) only stated that "by the initiatives of DPR's leaders, each section member is appointed by DPR in accordance to the interests of political party groups." Paragraph (5) states that "the related political party groups may suggest a transfer or exchange of members who reside within each Section." In 1959, the roles of political party groups within Parliament began to increase. Article 153 Paragraph (1) of the 1959 Parliament Regulations states that political party groups should propose all issues that are considered to be important by the groups or by the Chairman of DPR to the Chairman of DPR. Groups are also involved in the formation of the Budget Committee (according to Article 26), the formation of Special Committees (according to Article 28) and to speak on behalf of Members of Parliament who was awarded with the opportunity to deliver a speech to Parliament but failed to attend the meeting (according to Article 108 Paragraph 3).

During the 1967 Parliamentary term, the groups duties were determined by Article 12 of Parliament Regulations which states that:

- The group is responsible for discussing proposed bills, bill initiatives, financial notes, the national budget and other government related issues.
- 2. The group is responsible for proposing all issues which are considered necessary by a group or by the Chairman of DPR to the Chairman of DPR.

The role of groups were obvious during the formation of Parliament's institutions (the Deliberation Committee, Budget Committee, Sections, Commissions, Special Committees and Household Committee). However,

groups were not required to be involved in certain types of Parliamentary rights/authorizations/duties or executions, such as posing questions, asking for explanations (interpelation rights), conducting investigations (enquette rights), proposing changes (amendment rights), delivering suggestions, opinions and recommendations. Article 33 Paragraph (2) of the 1971 Parliament Regulations states that political party groups are created for the purpose of improving the efficiency of its members in executing their duties as the representatives of the people. Therefore, at that time, the groups played an important role in Parliament, evidence can be found in its requirement to be involved in at least three parliamentary activities: information inquiry (interpelation rights), investigation (enquette rights) and changes of the Constitution (amendment rights).

Article 39 of the 1977 Parliament Regulations gave a clear statement on the duties of political party groups. Paragraph (2) of the Article states that groups were responsible for improving the capability, effectiveness and efficiency of the Members of Parliament in executing their duties in all Parliament activities. At this point, the role of political party groups were obvious during the formation of Parliament's institutions, in addition, this was also true in the execution of a variety of Parliament's rights such as inquiring information (interpelation rights), conducting investigations (enquette rights), proposing statements of opinion and discussing bills. Furthermore, there was also a minimum guorum for political party groups in Parliament's decision making process. The groups duties, as determined by the 1977 Parliament Regulations remained unchanged during the 1982, 1987, 1992 and 1997 Parliament's terms of office. The groups became an inseparable part of Parliament and each day it became increasingly easier to create new groups. All political parties and the National Army had the right to form a group. In 1997, PDI formed a political party group with only 11 seats in Parliament. However, there were certain steps that needed to be taken in order to optimize the functions of the short-membered PDI group in Parliament, one of them was by reducing the number of Parliamentary Commissions from eleven to eight.

Since 1999, there have been changes in the position and structure of groups in the Indonesian Parliament, this was caused by the growing number of political parties in Indonesia (twenty-one additional political parties

arrived in Parliament by 1999 and sixteen more joined in 2004). The groups previous duties of improving the capability, effectiveness and efficiency of its members in executing their tasks in all of Parliament's activities were slightly altered to coordinating its members in executing their duties and obligations as well as improving the capability, discipline, effectiveness and efficiency of its members when executing their tasks involving Parliament activities. This alteration was regulated by Law No. 44 Year 1999, Article 37 Paragraph (4) concerning the structure and position of MPR, DPR and DPRD which states that groups are created to render effectiveness to the execution of DPR and DPRD's duties, authority and rights. Political party groups, through a slight addition to their duties apart from alterations of its definition, was also given the additional responsibility for coordinating and disciplining its members. This made a huge impact upon its function and role in Parliament. The coordination function was carried out to ensure that political party members in Parliament act according to their political party's visions during party or group meetings. The Disciplinary function is carried out to ensure that political party members attend meetings regularly, according to the Parliament's Ethics Code, concerning the duty to attend Parliamentary meetings. Three consecutive absences from Parliamentary meetings without the Party Leader's consent is considered a violation of the Ethics Code. This is why the groups have a great deal of influence in Parliament. A Member of Parliament even has to obtain permission from the group leader to leave in the middle of a meeting. Furthermore, the groups acquired more prestige as they were given the right to enact "recalling" punishments to members who acted or spoke in a way that is not in-line with group policies. The importance of groups were quite obvious during the early meetings of Parliament. Their creation was one of the top priorities of Parliament, aside from Official Oath Declarations and the election of a temporary leader, during Parliamentary Meetings, legalization and the establishment of Parliamentary Regulations.

One of the most appalling phenomenon related to political party groups since 1999 was the alliance of political parties in a single group. This has actually been occuring since 1971, but since Parliament was not entirely dependant on political party groups at that time (there were only three Parliamentary duties which required the assistance of groups), there were no significant problems. At that moment, almost all of Parliament's activities required the assistance of political party groups, thus political party alliances may have created problems. For example, at the beginning of the 2004 Parliamentary term, Pelopor Party joined BPDI group, but then changed its alliance by joining PD group. Experts predicted that this kind of shifting will occur more frequently in the future, it is possible that someday a group would be deserted by its political parties, which of course would endanger Parliament. It is for this reason that Parliament created a law in 2004 through Parliamentary Regulations, which states that a political party group should consist of at least thirteen members (Article 15 of 2005 Parliament Regulations), if a group's membership was reduced to less than thirteen members it is required to join existing group. However, a question remains: what if the reduced group does not want to join another one? Unfortunately, until this day, Parliament Regulations have not given any alternative solutions to this minimum membership quota issue.

A Comparison of Parliamentary Party Groups Duties					
and Functions 1950 Parliamentary Term of Office					
to the 2004 Parliamentary Term					

Period	Definition	Duties and Functions	Number of Parliamentary Party Groups		
1950	None	 Electing Section Members Recommending transfers or exhange of Section Members (Article 28 of Parliament's Regulations) 	Unknown		
1959	A political party group is an alliance of Parliament members from the same political party/ stream with the same principles/purposes	 Proposing issues, which are deemed important by the group or by Parliament's speaker which will be discussed with Parliament's Leadership (Article 153 of Parliament's Regulations); 	Unknown		

Period	Definition	Duties and Functions	Number of Parliamentary Party Groups
		 The creation of a Budget Committee (Article 26); The creation of a Special Committee (Article 28); Speaking on behalf of a Parliament member who was given the opportunity to deliver a speech in front of Parliament but could not attend the meeting (Article 108 Paragraph 3) 	
1967	A political party group is an alliance between Gotong Royong Parliament members from the same political party/ stream with the same political programs and the same purposes/ principles	 Discussing bills, recommending initiatives on bills, financial notes, the national budget and other governmental issues Give recommendations to the Gotong Royong Parliament Leader on all issues deemed necessary by the political party or by the GR Parliament Leader (Article 12 of Parliament's Regulations) Creating institutions (Deliberations Committee, Budgeting Committee, Sections, Commissions, Special Committee and Household Committee). 	Unknown

Period	Definition	Duties and Functions	Number of Parliamentary Party Groups
1971	A political party group is an alliance between Parliament Members which reflects the two political subdivisions within society, which are, the Golongan Politik and the Golongan Karya	The groups play an important role in Parliament, as evidenced is its obligation to be involved in at least three Parliamentary activities: information inquiry (interpelation rights), investigation (enquette rights) and changing of the Constitution (amendment rights)	 National Army Group Demokrasi Pembangunan (Development Democracy) Group was a political alliance between PNI, Parkindo and the Catholic Party Karya Pembangunan Group Persatuan Pembangunan Group was a political alliance between NU, Partai Muslimin Indonesia, PSII and PERTI
1977-1997	A political party group was defined as an alliance between Parliament members from various social and political powers which reflected the existence of different factions in society	According to Article 39 of the 1977 Parliamentary Regulations, the groups were responsible for improving the capability, effectiveness and efficiency of Parliament's members in executing their duties in all Parliament activities. At this point, the groups roles were not only obvious during the formation of Parliamentary institutions, but also in the execution of various Parliamentary rights such as the inquiry of information (interpelation rights), conducting investigations (enquette rights), proposing statements of opinion as well as discussing the bills.	

Period	Definition	Duties and Functions	Number of Parliamentary Party Groups
		There was also a minimum quorum of group members in Parliament's decision making process	
1999	A political party group is "an alliance between Parliament's members based on the configuration of political parties elected to a certain number of seats in Parliament as a result of the General Election and National Army officials were appointed to a certain number of seats in Parliament	The group is responsible for coordinating its members when executing their duties and authorizations as well as improving the capability, discipline, effectiveness and efficiency of its members in conducting all of Parliament's activities	 Golkar Group PDI-P Group PPP Group Reformasi Group was an alliance between PAN and Partai Keadilan PKB Group PBB Group Daulatul Ummah Group (an alliance between PNU, PKU, PDR, Masyumi and PSII) National Army/ Police Group Kesatuan Kebangsaan Indonesia (Indonesian Nationality Unity) Group was an alliance between PKP, PNI Massa Marhaenis, PDI, PBI, PKD and PNI Front Marhaenis 10. PDKB Group
2004	Political party groups as "the alliance of Parliament members based on the	 Article 17 of Parliament's Regulations: Coordinating and disciplining its members in 	 Golkar Group (joined by PKPB) PDI-P Group PPP Group PD (joined by PKPI) Group

Period	Definition	Duties and Functions	Number of Parliamentary Party Groups
	configuration of the political parties seats in Parliament according to the results of the General Election	 executing the duties and functions of Parliament A political party group is created specifically to improve the effectiveness of conducting DPR's duties, authorizations, rights, obligations and execution in all of Parliament's activities 	 PAN Group PKB Group PKS Group PBR Group PDS Group BPD Group (an alliance between PBB, PDK, Pelopor, PPDI and PNI)

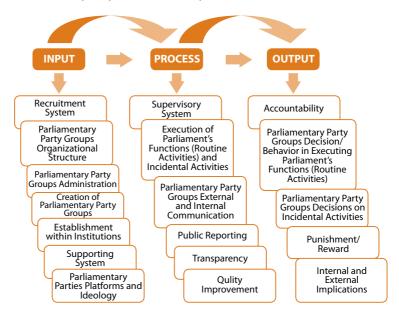
The Bundestag (Germany's Parliament) is a good example of the position of political party groups within a Parliament. In The Bundestag, each group membership is limited to a minimum number of thirty-four persons, according to German laws on General Elections, a group must consist of 5% of the total Members of Parliament which sums up to thirtyfour persons. Groups which do not have thirty-four members (such as the PSD group which only has thirty members) are given the option to remain in Parliament in exchange for limited rights. While the full rights of a political party group consists of the right to propose a bill, a motion, an amendment on third level discussions, to postpone a discussion on a certain issue in a Parliamentary meeting, to question whether the meeting has reached its quorum, to ask for recorded votes, to demand a discussion on a certain highlighted issues, to create Study Commissions and Enquette Commissions. Unlike "normal" political party groups, those who have less than thirty-four members are not entitled to call Federal Cabinet members to Parliament, to ask the Federal President to attend a Parliamentary meeting or to ask for recorded votes. As for Parliament members who do not belong to a certain group, they are entitled to a special status empowered by the Decree of the Federal Constitution Court, which states that such members have the right to work in a parliament commission to ensure that they also have equal opportunities to participate in Parliament. Their assinged commission is determined by the Bundestag President in a consultation session. Their membership in those commissions entitles them to the rights to speak and propose a motion but not the right to vote.²¹

²¹ http://forum-politisi.org/downloads/Rules_of_Procedure_of_German_Parliament.pdf

PARLIAMENTARY PARTY GROUPS PERFORMANCE BASELINE INDICATORS

A. What is a Parliamentary Party Groups Baseline Indicator?

A political party group baseline indicator is an indicator which can be used to assess a groups performance when executing the representative functions of Parliament. If the proposal and the research results are compared, there are indeed several additional indicators found, which are the political party's platform and ideology indicator within the input category and the internal and external implications indicator within the output category. These indicators are divided into three categories which consists of: inputs, processes and outputs:



NB. Each indicator has different value. Further measurement on each indicator's power is conducted in a separate research.

B. Why Are They So Important?

A group's performance baseline indicator is important because they can be used as a parameter to assess the achievements of group members in executing their functions as the direct representatives of the people. So far, there has not been any research on a manner for assessing a groups performance, although it is essential for groups to assess their members performance as well as for the constituents so that it can be used as a form of reference for the upcoming General Election in 2009. A group can also improve its image by learning from the results of its performance by using indicators that facilitate the group in determining which aspects require improvements.

C.

What Baseline Indicators Have Been Acquired From the Research on All Groups in Parmiament?

A groups performance baseline indicators are as follows:

I. INPUT

1. Recruitment System

The recruitment system highly influences the performace of members of parliament. A good recruitment system results in high quality recruitment; the quality being the education level, office term duration, organizational ability, diplomatic ability, relationship with constituents (public support), etc. However, recruitment results are also determined by subjective factors such as the nature of the relationship between the recruit and his/her employer, for example it can also be influenced when based upon family relations or friendship, financial considerations such as private contributions to a political party, etc.

The board members of PPP group recruited new group members, usually referred to as "legislative candidates," for a legislative general election. In the 2004 General Election the groups were passive in recruiting legislative candidates but for this 2009 legislative general election they are far more active by utilizing a specific recruitment institution called Legislative General Election Victory Committee/LP2L in order to actively and directly contact legislative recruits. The LP2L would contact prominent figures in society to run for legislative offices in Parliament for the PPP group. The recruitment of PPP legislative candidates were conducted primarily in the DPP and LP2L offices by using an open-recruitment method. There are several requirements that needs to be fulfilled such as loyalty, acceptability and the capability of the legislative candidates.²² The PPP group does not only recruit their own party members, but also recruits outsiders from all classes and professions such as Moslem religious leaders, businessmen, society leaders/figures, NGO and civil society organization activists, intellectuals, journalists, advocates, artists; albeit with the same requirements as to loyalty, acceptability and capability in addition to an adequate level of education. The PPP group gives priority to younger legislative candidates who have never served in Parliament. Other requirements include an anticorruption agreement which has to be signed by all legislative candidates of the PPP group. This agreement states that the selected members are required to resign from their offices or be expelled from the PPP group should they commit some form of corruption during their term in office.²³ Unlike other political parties, PPP group does not impose a recruitment fee but states that every legislative candidate would have to procure funding for the party's programs that are related to the General Election, especially for needs related to the campaigns. The amount of contribution is not fixed by PPP but it will be included in the legislative candidate's assessment process.24

The selection process consists of several phases which are: registration, administrative selection according to the requirements stated by the Laws concerning General Elections and the political party's structure and position, special selection, political party assignment, evaluation, final assessment

 [&]quot;PPP Rombak Sistem Rekrut Caleg", Seputar Indonesia, June 16 2008: 2.
 "PPP Jaring Caleg Nonkader", Republika, June 16 2008: 3.

Ihid

and recommendations. The DPP board members and the PPP group members from the previous term will not be re-selected automatically for the next term and they have to participate in the selection process once again. This new recruitment process was introduced in order to replace the majority (around 75%) of PPP group members from the 2004 - 2009 Parliamentary term who are considered to be no longer productive. Therefore, the non-member legislative candidates (candidates who are not a member of the political party) will have increased their chances of being elected as a legislative member. This recruitment/selection process will be conducted as fair as possible with the assistance of independent consultants. In addition, PPP also states that it will no longer nominate group members who have legal issues in DPR and DPRD, even members who are suspected of having commited a crime will not be nominated for another term in office. PPP hopes that by enforcing these policies, those new group members would steer clear of legal problems in the future. As for group members who did not actively participate in Parliament, did not visit their constituents in their regions and did not contribute meaningful ideas or financial aids to the party will not be nominated by PPP in the next General Election for another parliamentary term.²⁵

The registration of PPP legislative candidates was conducted on June 20 - 30 of 2008. The announcements of the registration period was carried out from June 16 of 2008. With that in mind, PPP is considered as one of the few parties who have recruited new members to run for legislative offices in the upcoming Parliamentary elections. The recruitment of method of PPP's legislative candidates has been discussed widely within the last year and prior to the next General Elections in 2009. To produce high quality group members/legislative candidates, DPP conducts a fit and proper tests on their selected candidates, in this test the candidates are required to visit an election region so as to familiarize themselves with the constituents and their surroundings before and during the campaign. The group would then record the community's response towards their legislative candidates. Furthermore, the candidates are also given the task of creating a General Election Victory Success Team in every village. The candidates performance during their socialization activities in the election areas are

²⁵ "PPP Tak Akan Calonkan Kader DPR Bermasalah Hukum", Republika, 28 May 2008: 3.

²⁶ "75% Anggota Parliamentary Party Groups PPP Akan Digusur dari DPR", Séputar Indonesia, 16 May 2008: 2.

evaluated periodically by DPP board members.²⁶ Should the local response be considered a positive one and the candidate is judged as having the potential to win enough votes to gain a seat in Parliament for the party. The candidate will have a bigger chance of being selected by the party to run in the legislative elections.

Other parties, such as PKS, have a different method for recruiting candidates who will run in the next parliamentary elections of 2009. PKS sent their political party officials to several regions in order to spread their political influence to the local constituents whom they expect to elect their legislative candidates in the next general election.²⁷ Demographicallyt, ninety percent of its candidates come from a younger age group, while PKS also opened their candidature to all non-members and professionals who are willing to be recruited for membership and considered to be possible candidates for the next parliamentary elections. PKS's recruitment process was begun back in 2007, 2 years prior to the next General Election,²⁸ thus giving them ample time to craft an aggressive strategy which would make them a serious contender.

On the other hand, PDIP has decided to refresh 50% of its members for the next Parliamentary elections, while their selection process was conducted strictly through undermining each candidate's quality. However, several PDIP members who have demonstrated a good track record will keep their seats for the next Parliamentary term. Whereas those who did not represent the peoples interests or give valuable contributions to their party will be removed from Parliament. Like PKS, PDIP gave increased opportunities to younger people to become members,²⁹ and possible candidates that may win a legislative seat in the elections of 2009. PDIP prepared their recruitment network and selection mechanism in the meetings among its Party Leaders and the mechanisms are expected to be in place by the 27th of May in 2008. PDIP had hoped that a temporary list of their legislative candidates for the provincial and district levels will be finished before the 8th of July in 2008.³⁰ However, unlike PPP, PDIP is quite strict in their recruitment of non-member candidates. Non-member candidates are only

²⁷ "PPP Buka Pendaftaran 672 Bakal Caleg DPR", Seputar Indonesia, 30 May 2008: 2.

²⁸ "Calon Partai Golkar 60 Persen dari Generasi Baru", *Kompas*, 16 May 2008: 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ "50% Caleg DPR Wajah Baru", Seputar Indonesia, 29 May 2008: 3.

given a small portion of parliamentary membership and will be selected only if they have shown a certain amount of adaptability to the group's interests and programs. Moreover, non-member candidates are required to join the political party as official members or at least encouraged to have possessed a membership card for a certain period of time. Through this policy, PDIP seems to want to demonstrate to the public that, it will not tolerate any form of "hitchhiker" candidates.

Golkar has already decided that young people or those who have never served in Parliament, to run for the majority (about 60%) of its group's membership, thus leaving only 40% of the possible candidacies to senior politicians of Partai Golkar (PG) whom are veteran members that have already served as legislators.³¹ There are no maximum age limits for any Golkar candidate, but those who have served in Parliament for three consecutive or four cumulative Parliamentary terms, would have lower chances of being selected as a candidate (except if the member is still needed by the group). The majority of the 60% of the new recruits belong to Indonesia's professional class. The Vice Chairman of PG, which happens to be the Chairman of PG's General Election Victory Team, stated that the enlistment of legislative candidates was a crucial step in the recruitment process for it will determine the political party's standing during the General Election. Therefore, the political party needs to be consistent in enlisting their candidates and in expanding the party. In PG's view, the enlistment of legislative candidates is the ticket to winning the peoples support so that they might vote for the party in the next General Election,³² therefore all candidates are carefully screened and selected.

Meanwhile, PBB as part of the BPD PBB group, is planning to recruit candidates who are willing to promote PBB's identity as an Islamic Party who wishes to implement Islamic Syariah in Indonesia. In other words, PBB's legislative candidates are required to socialize Syariah Islam to the lower levels of society. They are also required to conduct soft campaigns by gaining sympathy and refain from slandering Islam, spreading rumors and false accusations. In these campaigns, the candidates must be able to convince society to take advantage of state-owned natural resources

³¹ "Calon Partai Golkar 60 Persen dari Generasi Baru", Kompas, 16 May 2008: 2, loc. cit.

³² Ibid.

in order to reduce social and economic inequalities and to improve the peoples welfare. In addition, they also have to participate in continuous internal consolidations and communicate with the party's constituents on an intensive basis.33

PKB group has decided to give 50% of its legislative candidature to members of PKB and another 30% to members of Nahdatul Ulama (NU). The rest will go to non-member professional candidates. The registration process was begun on July the 1st of 2008 with target applicants of 700 persons. Through its leaders, PKB has established the candidates general and specific requirements, according to the parameters set out by the national provisions of law and the group's internal regulations. Member candidates (from PKB and NU) are required to have two years of experience as a political party's board member. PKB member candidates must gain support from at least 30% of Regional Leadership Council or Branch Leadership Council. NU member candidates must be supported by at least 30% of the Nadhlatul Ulama Branch Board Members or Nadhlatul Ulama Regional Board Members. Whereas non-member professional candidates must be supported by at least 30% of the Branch Leadership Council or PKB Regional Leadership Council and the Nadhlatul Ulama Branch Board Members in their respective regions. Candidates who do not belong to the three categories are required to sign a written statement as a registration procedure and to offer their Parliament group member's income to the political party.³⁴ However, all candidates are subject to the same general requirements: high integrity, loyalty, dedication and professionalism.³⁵

The PBR group has given specific instructions to its member candidates to conduct permanent campaigns. This means that candidates who are still serving as Parliament members for the current term are required to advocate the peoples (constituents) aspirations in Parliament. As legislative members who will assist the government in the next term after the General Election (2009) they are responsible for supporting and campaigning for government programs. Therefore, candidates are expected to have their own reliable marketing strategies, which allow them to promote their images to society in order to gain wide support all over the country.³⁶

³⁴ "PKB Muhaimin Buka Pendaftaran Bakal Caleg," Republika, 19 June 2008: 3.

 ³⁵ "Ali Masykur Tak Jadi Caleg", Seputar Indonesia, 12 July 2008: 4.
 ³⁶ "Andalkan Kampanye Permanen Melalui Parlemen", Seputar Indonesia, 14 July 2008: 4.

For the next legislative General Election, PD group has prepared the proper political party group/Legislative candidates in their respective regions by selecting those who have the most capability and access to the society of the region. Each candidate must conduct a positive campaign and refrain themselves from making false accusations about other political parties. They also have to promote the political party's ideology, platform and visions/missions in a fair campaign, as well as conduct political education for the people, dialogues and internal campaigns. It is for such reasons that the PD group has decided to nominate its board members, together with its legislative members in Parliament and non-member prominent figures, as their legislative candidates for the next legislative General Election in 2009.³⁷

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Recruitment System
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 60% of its group members in Parliament are young people or people who have never served in Parliament There are no maximum age limits for all Golkar legislative candidates but those who have been Parliament members for 3 consecutive or 4 cumulative Parliamentary terms will have lower chances for recruitment except if the member is still highly needed by the group The enlistment of legislative candidates was the most crucial step in the recruitment process for it will determine the party's standing during the General Election
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 The selection process was conducted strictly by undermining each candidate's qualities The selection process was conducted after the filtering mechanisms have been decided on May 27 of 2008 PDIP is very strict in recruiting non-member candidates There is no registration fee for the candidates but they are required to procure funds for campaigns

Legislative Candidate Recruitment by Parliamentary Parties

³⁷ "Tempatkan Caleg Pas di Dapil yang Tepat," Seputar Indonesia, July 14 2008: 4.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Recruitment System
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 The 2009 legislative general election will be far more active, utilizing a specific recruitment institution called LP2L, to actively and directly contact legislative recruits. The LP2L will contact prominent figures of society to run for legislative offices in Parliament for the PPP group. This new recruitment process was introduced in order to replace the majority (around 75%) of the group members from the 2004 - 2009 office term who are no longer productive. PPP also stated that it will no longer nominate group members who have legal issues in DPR and DPRD. Even members who are suspected of a crime will not be nominated for the next office term. PPP hopes that by enforcing these regulations the new PPP members would steer clear from legal problems. Members who did not participate actively in Parliament, did not visit constituents and did not contribute ideas or financial aids to the party will not be nominated by PPP in the next General Election or Parliamentary term Group/legislative members are required to resign from their offices or suffer expulsion from PPP group if they were guilty of corruption during their term in office. They are also required to attend meetings in DPR such as the Special Committee meetings and the Budget Committee meetings and the Budget Committee meetings and care about their people, their nation and their political party General requirements for group members are loyalty, acceptability and capability Legislative candidate recruitment was discussed intensively from 1 year prior to the next election in 2009 To obtain high quality candidates, DPP conducts fit and proper tests on their selected candidates, in this test the candidates are required to visit an election region to familiarize themselves with the constituents and their surroundings before and during the campaigns. They will also be given the task of creating a General Election Victory Success Team in every village. The candidates performance during the is soc

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Recruitment System	
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 For the next legislative General Election, PD group has prepared candidates from their respective regions, by selecting those who have the most capability and access to the communities of that region Each candidate must conduct a positive campaign and refrain themselves from making false accusations about other political parties Candidates also have to promote the party's ideology, platform and visions/mission in a fair campaign as well as conduct political education for the people through dialogues and internal campaigns PD group has decided to nominate its board members, together with its legislative members in Parliament and non-member prominent figures, as candidates for the next General Election in 2009 	
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 Since PAN is not a religious political party its members are required to be nationalists instead of religious fundamentalist Other political party members who wish to join PAN are required to support PAN's political platform and sign a written statement of such support 	
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 70% of its legislative candidates will be members of PKB and NU whereas 30% will be non-member professional legislative candidates The registration process begun on July 1st of 2008 with a targeted number of applicants of 700 persons Through its leaders, PKB has established the candidates general and specific requirements, according to the parameters set out by the national provisions of law and the group's internal regulations. Member candidates (from PKB and NU) are required to have two years of experience as a political party's board member. PKB member candidates must gain support from at least 30% of the Regional Leadership Council or Branch Leadership Council. NU candidates must be supported by at least 30% of the Nadhlatul Ulama Branch Board Members or Nadhlatul Ulama Regional Board Members, whereas non-member professional candidates must be supported by at least 30% of the Branch Leadership Council or PKB Regional Leadership Council and the Nadhlatul Ulama Branch Board Members in their respective regions Candidates who do not belong to the three categories are only required to sign a written 	

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Recruitment System
		statement as a registration procedure and to offer their Parliament member or group member's income to the party - Candidates are subject to the same general requirements: high integrity, loyalty, dedication and professionalism
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 PKS sends its party officials to several election regions in order to spread its political influence to local constituents whom are expected to elect their legislative candidates in the next General Election 90% of its candidates belong to a younger age group, PKS also opened their candidature to all non-member professionals, willing to be recruited for membership in Parliament PKS' legislative candidate recruitment process begun in 2007 which was two years prior to the General Election of 2009 PKS gave bigger opportunities to candidates whom were between 35 - 45 years of age Out of all PKS candidates, 36% are women candidates, while 30% are non-member candidates
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 PBR group has given specific instructions to its member candidates to conduct permanent campaigns. This means that candidates who are still serving as Parliament members for the current term are required to advocate the peoples (constituents) aspirations in Parliament Since the legislative members will assist the government in the next term after the General Election (2009), they are responsible for supporting and campaigning, in favor of the government's programs Candidates are expected to possess reliable marketing strategies that will enable them to promote their image to society in order to gain wide support from all over the country
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 All candidates must procure Rp. 1 billion to fund the party's campaign in all election areas PDS is willing to accommodate all Moslem, Buddhist or Hindu legislative candidates A candidates age is of no importance to PDS

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Recruitment System
		 Every person who has the required capacity shall be given the opportunity to run for legislative office
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	PBB is part of the BPD PBB group and plans to recruit candidates who are willing to promote PBB's identity as an Islamic Party with of the intent to implement Islamic Syariah in Indonesia. PBB's candidates are required to socialize Syariah Islam to the lower levels of society. They are also required to conduct soft campaigns by gaining sympathy and refain from slandering Islam, spreading rumors and false accusations. In these campaigns, the candidates must be able to convince society to take advantage of state-owned natural resources in order to reduce social and economic inequalities and to improve the peoples welfare. They also have to participate in continuous internal consolidation and communicate with the party's constituents on an intensive basis

2. A Parliamentary Party Groups's Organizational Structure

A political party groups capability can also be assessed from its organizational structure. All groups have similar organizational structures with only a slight difference in the number of leaders and political terms. The number of group leaders vary from thirteen to thirty-six people, depending on the number of its members, the most common political structural terms are Councilor, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and Member.

 Golkar has 129 legislators in Parliament, out of which thirty-six were appointed as group leaders, composed of 1 Council Coordinator, 2 Councilors; 1 Chairman; 5 Vice Chairmen for Politics and Defense; General Affairs; Economics and Finance; Industry and Development; Public Welfare; 1 Secretary; 5 Vice Secretaries; 1 Treasurer; 4 Vice Treasurers; 8 Chairmen for Regional Relationship and 8 Secretaries for Regional Relationships.

- PDIP has 109 legislators in Parliament and 26 were appointed as group leaders composing of 4 Directors, 2 Chairmen,
 2 Secretaries, 1 Treasurer, 2 Vice Treasurers, 1 Chairman of the Legislative Section, 1 Vice Chairman of the Legislative Section,
 3 Members of the Legislative Section, 1 Chairman of the Budget Section, 1 Vice Chairman of the Budget Section,
 3 Members of the Budget Section, 1 Chairman of Supervision Section, 1 Vice Chairman of the Supervision Section and 3 Vice Chairmen of the Supervision Section.
- According to Decree No. 0097/KPTS/DPP/IV/2007 on April 2nd in 2007, Persatuan Pembangunan group has appointed 21 group leaders out of its 58 members in Parliament. The composition consists of 5 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 6 Vice Chairmen (Each pair serving in Politics-Law-Security-Defense, Economics-Finance-Industry-Commerce or the Public Welfare Section), 1 Secretary, 6 Vice Secretaries (Each pair serving in Politics-Law-Security-Defense, Economics-Finance-Industry-Commerce or Public Welfare Section), 1 Treasurer and 1 Vice Treasurer.
- The PD group has 70 legislators in Parliament, out of which 15 were appointed as group leaders, with the composition of 2 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 4 Vice Chairmen (Each serving in Politics-Law-Security, General Affairs, Public Welfare or Economics and Finance Section), 1 Secretary, 4 Vice Secretaries (Each serving in Politics-Law-Security, General Affairs, Public Welfare or Economics and Finance Section), 1 Secretary and 2 Vice Treasures. It is interesting to know that 1 member of Partai Pelopor group, Anton A. Mashur, was appointed as one of the group leaders for Partai Demokrat.³⁸
- According to a Decree by PAN Board Members, No. PAN/A/Kpts/ KU-WSJ/001/I/2008 concerning PAN's Parliamentary Party Groups Structure within the Indonesian Parliament of 2009 - 2009, PAN has decided to appoint 16 leaders out of its 53 members

³⁸ According to an interview with the FPD staffs on July 15 2008 in Jakarta.

in Parliament. They are composed of 3 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 5 Vice Chairmen, 1 Secretary, 4 Vice Secretaries, 1 Treasurer and 1 Vice Treasurer.

- PKB has 52 legislators in Parliament, out of which 26 were appointed as group leaders, composed of 4 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 4 Vice Chairmen, 1 Secretary, 2 Vice Secretaries, 1 Treasurer, 2 Vice Treasurer and 11 Chiefs of Political Party Group Divisions. One interesting fact about PKB's organizational structure is that not only Parliament members, but also non-Parliament PKB board members, have the opportunity to be selected as councilors.
- Out of 45 legislators who are members of PKS, 29 were appointed as group leaders, with the composition of 3 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 6 Vice Chairmen, 15 Section Leaders (Section I – XI, Legislative Section, Interparliamentary Cooperation Section, Domestic Affairs Section and Budget Section), 1 Secretary, 1 Vice Secretary, 1 Treasurer and 1 Vice Treasurer. PKS non-legislative political party board members may also be selected as Councilors of the group.
- PBR has 14 legislators in Parliament, out of which 11 were appointed as group leaders, with the composition of 1 Councilor, 1 Chairman, 4 Vice Chairmen, 1 Secretary, 1 Vice Secretary, 1 Treasurer and 2 Vice Treasurers.
- All 13 members of PDS were appointed as leaders which comprised of 5 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 2 Vice Chairmen, 1 Secretary, 2 Vice Secretaries, 1 Treasurer and 1 Vice Treasurer.
- Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi also appointed all of its
 17 Parliament members as group leaders which consisted of
 7 Councilors, 1 Chairman, 3 Vice Chairmen, 1 Secretary,
 3 Vice Secretaries, 1 Treasurer and 1 Vice Treasurer.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Number of Group Leaders
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	36 leaders out of 129 group members
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	26 leaders out of 109 group members
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	21 leaders out of 58 group members
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	15 leaders out of 60 group members
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	16 leaders out of 53 group members
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	26 leaders out of 52 group members
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	29 leaders out of 45 group members
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	14 leaders out of 14 group members
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	13 leaders out of 13 group members
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	17 leaders out of 17 group members

Number of Parliamentary Party Groups Leaders in Parliament

The above data shows that the ratio of group leaders and members is guite varied. The ratio highly depends on the number of related group members. However, there is an interesting phenomenon within the PDS group and the BPD group, all members were selected as group leaders. According to information from our sources, a contributing factor to this phenomenon, are the advantages and prestige involved with the title of a Group Leader. Indeed, there are no specific regulations concerning the limits of the number of leaders in a group. Another interesting phenomenon is the tendency of each group to hand over the initiative of designing its organization structure to the party's board members. This is the reason for why several groups such as PKB and PKS, allow non-Parliament members to be placed in the group's structure. This proves that the group is indeed an extension of a political party. Groups whose members belong to several different political parties select their members and leaders through consensus made by its member parties' leaders, as is shown in the case of BPD group. Under such conditions, a group is required to consider all of the political parties interests, including the minor political parties and make fair decisions. This is the reason for why groups that are composed of several political parties would place the minor political party members inside its group's organizational structure. In the case of BPD group, all members were selected as leaders, to avoid inequality or jealousy between its member political parties. The most common job titles within a group's organizational structure are usually Councilor, Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Vice Secretary, Treasurer and Vice Treasurer. However, PDIP adopted the term Director, instead of Councilor.

3. A Parliamentary Party Groups's Administration

In order for political parties to be able to carry out their roles effectively; political party groups needs to develop internal work regulations which binds all of its members to achieve a common goal and to promote the interests of the political parties constituents who has elected and entrusted their mandates to the legislative members. This internal work regulation is also known as "The Administration" which is commonly found in the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. However, it is imperative to remember that these work regulations do not reduce the existence and rights of the Legislative members as being direct representatives of the people. On the contrary, work regulations improve the members work performances.

Work regulations can exist in the form of an internal regulation or ethic codes which differs from the Parliament Regulations and Ethics Code. The internal regulation in general regulates the work ethics of all group members in accomplishing their duties in Parliament such as: the relationship between the group members and the political party, the relationship between the expert staffs/ group Secretariat with the group members, etc. Research shows that almost all groups within Parliament have their own internal regulations concerning administration. For example, Golkar's internal regulation is stated in the Golkar Central Leadership Council's Decree no. KEP-77/DPP/GOLKAR/XI/2005 concerning the Administration of Golkar Group. While PDIP does not have a specific rule that regulates its administration.

PPP group has its own Regulation. Partai Persatuan Pembangunan Parliamentary Party Groups of the Parliament of Republic of Indonesia stated in a Decree of Persatuan Pembangunan Political Party's Central Leadership Council no. 261/KPTS/DPP/X/1998 dated 8 October 1998. PD group has its own administration in Article 55 of Partai Demokrat's Basic/ Domestic Budget according to the Decree of the First Congress of Partai Demokrat no. 05/KONGRES KE-I/PARTAI DEMOKRAT/2005. Although Paragraph (1) of Article 55 states that "The political party group is granted to create a work regulation of its own, as long as it abides to the existing provisions of law", PD group has not yet created its own work regulation.

PAN group has decided that Parliament Regulations are adequate to regulate its administration³⁹ thus the group finds no need to create another specific work regulation. PKB group has published a book on Indonesian Parliament's Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa Group's Work System and Procedures. The book mentions the definition of a political party group leader along with their duties, the groups divisions and tasks, the rights and obligations of a group member, group meetings, accommodation of the people's aspirations, the group members administration and reports. Meanwhile, PKS group published a pocket book which contains the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations (according to the Decree No. 01/ FRAKSI/PKS DPR RI/II/2007) on the Ethics Code of PKS group members of Parliament, Legal Ethics Procedures of PKS group members, Supervisions (which consist of frequently asked questions for the budget supervision and planning of a ministry/government body), Budget and Legislations.

The BPD group does not have specific work regulations or other types of regulations dedicated to the party's administration. The party operates by using the existing Parliamentary Regulations mechanisms. However, to maintain its internal quality, the group conducts some kind of convention⁴⁰ related to its internal meetings. In Parliament, group meetings are usually held on Friday, but there might be additional meetings for certain issues held on any other day of the week. It is essential to point out that BPD has initially intended to create its own Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations, but such attempts failed due to the fact that each party attempted to put its own interests above others. Differences of interest within the BPD group has hindered the groups attempt to formulate policies without giving

³⁹ According to an interview with PAN Parliamentary Party GroupsSecretary Mr. Mohammad Yasin Kara, SE on 23 June 2008.

⁴⁰ According to an interview with Nizar Dahlan on 17 July 2008 in Jakarta.

advantages to a particular member party. This is the reason why the political parties regulations are in the form of an unwritten convention.

The PBR group has its own Regulations of PBR Group of the Indonesian Parliament. However, the regulations has not yet been ratified and is still under consideration. However, according to our interviews,⁴¹ the regulations are already implemented by the group members. While PDS group does not have specific regulations concerning its administration. According to an interview with the groups secretariat, PDS group does not have any regulations regarding the procedures of conducting daily activities or on correspondence activities. The group members try to work as it is without any binding regulations. This decision might have been affected by the fact that all members of this group are also appointed as leaders.

Field examinations resulted in the conclusion that there are quite a lot of Groups which created their own work regulations. There's even a group which uses its Basic/Domestic Budget as the basis of its administration. Thus, groups which consist of more than one political party will have difficulties in creating a common administration. This is the reason for which such groups tend to refrain from making their own Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations (PD group which consists of Partai Demokrat, PKPI, and Pelopor or the BPD group which consists of BPD, PBB, PPDK, PPDI, and PNI Marhaenisme). However, there is a special exception for Golkar group. Although it is an alliance of two political parties: Golkar and PKPB, PKPB only have 2 members in the Parliament and doesn't have any significant influence within the group. Therefore, PKPB is willing to adapt to the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations created by the Golkar's Central Board Members.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Group's Administration
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	Regulated in the group's regulations
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	No regulated

A Parliamentary Party Groups's Administration

⁴¹ According to an interview with PBR Parliamentary Party Groupssecretary, Ir. Bahran Andang, M.Sc on 4 June 2008.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Group's Administration
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	Regulated in the group's regulations
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	Regulated in the Basic/ Domestic Budget
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	Not regulated
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	Regulated in the group's regulations
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	Regulated in the group's regulations
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	Regulated in the group's regulations
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	Not regulated
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	Not regulated

4. Creation of Parliamentary Party Groups

Parliamentary Party Groupsare created on the first day of the Parliament's initial meeting. After the declaration of oath by the new Parliament members, the Temporary Leaders of the Parliament conducts an open-to-public plenary meeting which has three specific objectives: validation of the Indonesian Parliament's meeting schedule from 1 – 3 October, establishment of the Parliament Regulations and the creation of political party groups.

The creation of groups is preceded by the Consultation Meeting, where each spokesperson from every political party mentions the number of its group members as well as its group leaders. The creation of political party groups are approved by the Parliament leaders and validated through the Decree of Parliament. Before the year 1999, turns of speaking of each spokesperson (to give their suggestions on the Leadership of the Parliament and other suggestions related to the group) are determined alphabetically (beginning with the National Army group, Karya Pembangunan group, PDI group, and PPP group). From 1999 until this day the turns for speaking are determined by the number of seats that a political party has in Parliament. Research on the formation of political party groups discovered that during the two initial Parliamentary terms after the 1998 reformation, groups were not created in a strict manner according to the ideological interests and the platform of its political party. The newly established General Election system, especially has allowed the formation of political parties with very little support and unqualified to create its own group in Parliament. Consequently, the small political parties who have won a small number of seats in Parliament formed coalitions with other political parties in which they are required to sacrifice their political party's ideology and characteristics. In return, the "coalitions" groups are required to be flexible in responding towards Parliament's policies.

The Creation of Parliamentary Party Groups 2004-2009 Parliamentary Office Term

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Creation Processes
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 A combination of 127 Golkar members with 2 PKPB members Requirement: follows Golkar's political stream
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (IndonesianDemocratic Struggle Party)	 109 PDI-P members Does not accept members from other political parties
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	- 58 PPP members
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 A combination of 56 PD members, 1 PKPI member and 3 Pelopor members
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 53 PAN members Requirements: members have to belong to the same platform (nationalist, not religious) and make a written statement out of it
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	- 52 PKB members

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Creation Processes
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	- 42 PKS members
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	- 14 members of Partai Bintang Reformasi
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- 13 members of Partai Damai Sejahtera
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 A combination of 11 PBB members, 1 PPDI member and 1 PNI Marhaenisme member

BPD is an interesting example of a political party group because its original composition consists of PBB, PPDK, PPDI, Pelopor and PNI Marhaenisme. However, there were significant political differences in platforms between PBB and Pelopor.⁴² Those differences was considered as an obstacle to the groups attempts to arrive at common decisions so as to be able to unite in order to promote the interests of their constituents. The group went through a hard time in terms of fostering a stronger sense of integrity, unity, compatibility and solidarity among its members when responding to Parliament's policies as well as when conducting relationships with other groups. The group was on the brink of breaking apart and reached a point where Pelopor members started to shift their alliances and moved closer in the direction of other groups (e.g., Anton Mashyur moved to PD group). Even in the previous Parliamentary term, there were members of Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa group, such as Astrid Susanto, who moved to the National Army and Police group. There was also a case where Zaenal Ma'arif, who had wanted to move to the PDIP group from the Bintang Reformasi group, which recalled him to his original position. However, he was rejected by PDIP group leaders for reasons of differences in political ideologies and interests. This is a good example

⁴² According to an interview with the Secretary of BPD political party group, Nizar Dahlan, who is a member of PBB, on 17 July 2008 in Jakarta.

of how a group should consider the political motivations of a candidate before rejecting or accepting the candidate into its group. Groups that easily recruit new candidates without specific requirements or form an alliance between groups from different platforms is considered a lame political party group.

5. Establishment of Parliamentary Party Groups Members in Parliament's Institutions

Scheduling Parliament meetings is the duty of the Deliberation Body. But since it is not formed until the second day of the Parliaments initial meeting, this duty may be performed by the Parliament's Temporary Leaders. The scheduled meetings are usually the groups internal meetings. These meeting are conducted to prepare the formation of Parliaments Commissions and other institutions. The group's internal meetings are usually exclusive. However, the final decisions on the formation of the Parliament's Commissions and other institutions are made in an open Plenary Meeting by the Parliament. After the institutions are formed, the meetings schedule will be performed by the Deliberation Body.

All groups have their own internal policies in assigning its members to certain positions within the Parliament's institutions. Several groups have strict rules, but others are more flexible. For example, Golkar group has stated in the Administration of Golkar Group of the Indonesian Parliament that the assignment of Golkar group members to certain positions within Parliament's institutions is conducted according to the assessment on its members' capability, skill, experience and by putting the regional equality program into consideration. The assignments are discussed by the group and Golkar Central Board Members and the final decision is made by the group leaders. However, according to an interview with Darul Siska,⁴³ Golkar's group members takes into consideration the workloads of its members. If a member is already greatly burdened, he/she will not be assigned to anymore positions in Parliament's institutions. However, if a member has the required capability and possesses talents that can benefit the group, an assignment to a more important position in a Parliamentary

⁴³ The interview was conducted on 8 July 2008 in Jakarta.

institution will occur regardless of his/her current workload and to avoid boredom, Golkar's group conducts task rotations at least once every two years. Similar to Golkar's group, PDIP's group pays special attention to their academic backgrounds and the individual abilities of members who are nominated for certain positions in a Parliamentary institution and especially with regards to positions with one of the Commissions. However, according to an interview with one member of PDIP's group, good relations with the party's leadership also influences the possibility of one serving in one or more of Parliament's institutions.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, smaller political party groups such as PD, PKS and PAN groups tends to be more flexible, because they only have such small roster that it becomes almost impossible to establish the same principles, criteria, rules and benchmark used by other larger groups. The smaller groups depend on the principle of Fairness in assigning its members to certain positions within the Parliament's institutions. For example, PAN group rotates its members more frequently, regardless of their academic background and skills, to be able to place the members in proper positions within the Parliament's institutions.

For the BPD group, assignment of group members within the Parliament's institutions should be based more by the preferences of each individual, then by the needs of the group, the profession of the members, and the skill of the members. So far, BPD has never encountered any difficulty in assigning its members to positions within the Parliament's institutions. Also, BPD chose fixed structure over regular work rotation, so its newer member political parties, such as PBB, have never experienced a work rotation. There have been intentions of leaving the BPD group for other groups more suited to PBB's needs, but such problem may be proposed during the group leaders meeting and is open for adjustments to meet the political party's needs.⁴⁵

According to an interview conducted on June 9 2008 in Bogor.

⁴⁵ According to an interview with the BPD Political party group's secretary, Nizar Dahlan, on July 17 2008 in Jakarta.

Establishment of Parliamentary Party Groups Members in Parliament's Institutions and Teams

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Requirements
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 For the positions of Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretary in the Parliament's Institutions, the group takes its member's career ladder, new job experiences, regional equality, and regional reprentation into consideration. Leadership and membership in the Special Committee is decided through the Decision of the Groups Leaders after consulting with Golkar Central Board Members. Membership within the Parliament's institutions is determined by discussing the group members' skill, capability, and experiences with Golkar Central Board Members and by taking the regional inequality into consideration. The final decision is made by the group leaders. Workloads of each group member are taken into consideration. Work rotation is conducted regularly, at the longest in 2 years.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Positions within the Parliament's institutions are given according to each group member's level of education, capability as well as the needs and the interests of the group. Decisions of the political party's Central Board Members are also taken into consideration.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 Positions within the Parliament's institutions are given according to each group member's skill and experiences.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 Positions within the Parliament's institutions are given according to each group member's skill and the interests of the group itself.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 Political party group member's preferences are put before his/her academic background and experiences. Assignment is decided in the group's meeting. There's a work rotation for at least every 3 years.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 Positions within the Parliament's institutions are given according to each member's academic background, skill and the interests of the group.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Requirements
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 Positions within Parliament's institutions are given in accordance to each member's academic background, skills and the interests of the group There are regular task rotations
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 Positions within Parliament's institutions are given according to each member's academic background, skill and the interests of the group
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 Positions within the Parliament's institutions are given according to each political member's academic background, skill and the interests of the group
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 The preferences of each member are placed ahead of the group's interests BPD chooses fixed structure over regular work rotations

Research shows that there are other political patterns regulating the assignment of group members within Parliament's institutions. For example, when a group member opposes the Minister who is his/her partner within a Parliament's institution (for example, a Commission) and the Minister is a member of a certain political party, the member may be removed from his/her position by the group in order to create a condusive environment needed by the group to conduct a meeting with its partner, regardless of the preferences or experiences of the member related to his/ her position in the institution.⁴⁶

6. Supporting System

This section of Supporting System indicator discusses the administrative work force (state-employees and honorary employees), expert staffs of each political party group (their work administration, selection criteria), libraries, data and information sources, data and information availability, scientific study on a group's decision towards a certain policy and the parties who

⁴⁶ According to an interview with one of the members of PAN political party group on 24 June 2008 in Bogor.

might make an advantage out of such policy. From studies conducted by collecting data through interviews, references in writing and results of direct observation of the groups and its members' offices, PKS is a political party group which has a complete and adequate supporting system. Upon entering its office, researcher found that everyone coordinated well enough and the staffs were very serious in supporting the group members duties. Support staffs and expert staffs work wholeheartedly and with great results. They can perform a rapid data collecting of each group member's work results, study trip photos and opinions and footages on the group members in the media. The information is constantly updated and is posted on the wall to the entrance of the member's office with a nice and interesting layout, so that each member, society member, and especially constituents, may inform themselves of the activities conducted by the members in Parliament and their responses to the aspiration and interests of the people upon entering the office.

Meeting rooms are also maintained and equipped with supporting facilities, so that they are ready to be used anytime, especially in emergency situations which require the group to make an important decision. Each member's desk is full of references, especially books, magazines and newspapers. In several group member's offices, such as Mutammimul U'la's office, there are statistical tables posted on the walls, which are of course quite helpful in supporting the political party member's duties, whereas other political party member offices are full of family photos.

In the offices of PAN group members, such as Djoko Susilo's office, there are book cabinets containing various books and up-to-date references. Such references may also be found in the office of Yuddy Chrisnandy, a member of Golkar group and Nizar Dahlan from BPD group, who have their own private library in their offices. Meanwhile, in other groups offices, references are barely maintained and are not placed on their proper places. Even worse, the members offices are not equipped with adequate nor up-to-date references. The group's meeting rooms are also inadequately equipped, even though the Secretariat General of the Parliament has made great efforts to fulfill the needs of every Parliament member. There are no useful references to aid the duties of the group members in preparing meetings and discussing issues proposed by the group through bills, discussing the National Budget, executing the supervisory function as well as the Parliament's rights.

Supporting System

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Supporting System
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 The number of its staff experts is quite large and includes staffs from professional and academic society groups. It has 14 expert staffs, out of which 11 are positioned within the Parliament Commissions and 3 are positioned within the group. There is a specific regulation on the administration of the expert staffs. There is no library. There are clippings and posting boards.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 The number of its staff experts is quite large and includes staffs from the academic society group. There is a special, condusive staff room. Expert staffs never wander away from their work. Expert staffs work everyday in their offices and meeting rooms. There is no library. There are references in the expert staffs' room, clippings and posting boards.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are 6 expert staffs available. There is a room specifically designed for the expert staffs, but unfortunately it isn't well-maintained. There is no library, but there are a number of references. There are clippings and posting boards.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There are only a limited number of expert staffs. There is an expert staff room. The expert staffs don't always work in offices. They are quite mobile. There are no libraries or references. There are clippings and posting boards.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There are only a limited number of expert staffs. There is an expert staff room. There is no library. There are clippings and posting boards.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Supporting System
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are only a limited number of expert staffs (6 persons). There is an expert staff room. There is a library with condusive spaces in it. There are clippings and posting boards.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are only a limited number of expert staffs. There is an expert staff room. There is no political party group library. There are interesting and well-maintained clippings and posting boards on all group members with very specific information.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There is only a very limited amount of expert staffs, depending on the group members. There is an expert staff room. There is no library. There are clippings.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There is only a very limited amount of expert staffs and specific knowledge, depending on the group members. There is an expert staff room. There is no library. There are clippings.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There is only a limited amount of expert staffs, depending on the group members, (PBB has 2 expert staffs, PPDK has 1, and PNI Marhaenisme has another 1). There is an expert staff room. There is no library. There are no clippings or posting boards.

Each political party group has its own way of handling their supporting staffs and expert staffs. Generally, the staffs have to stand by all the time in order to support the duties of the political party members, but there are many staffs who are not working effectively even if they receive full and quite high salary for their job. Political party group expert staffs are usually provided with a special room. Indeed, each group treats their expert staffs differently. In Golkar group, expert staffs are also positioned within every available Commission, whereas other groups might be very careful in assigning additional tasks to their expert staffs. It is quite acceptable since Golkar group receives more expert staffs than any other group in the Parliament. According to research, PDIP also has staff rooms with good supporting system. Unfortunately, their expert staffs's headquarter is quite far from the group's headquarter. The expert staffs' headquarter is in Nusantara II Building, the same building in which the Data and Information Processing and Learning Centre and one of Parliament's Institutionalities, Legislative Body are located.



The Front Door of PD and PDI-P's Staff Expert's Room on the 3rd Floor of Nusantara II Building

If compared to PD group's and the Legislative Body's expert staff room, the PDIP poli group's expert staff room is more adequately equipped with basic references and lively filled by working staffs. But, if compared with the Data and Information Processing and Learning Centre's expert staff room, the PDIP group's expert staff room is barely maintained. One of the reasons to it is that PDIP group has existed for only several years (since 2004), where as the Data and Information Processing and Learning Centre has existed and has been supporting the Parliament since 1990. Therefore, the group leaders' policies and control have an important role in the preparation of the supporting system in order to aid its member's duties and obtain the expected work results. Unfortunately, PDIP group does not have its own library, except for the private ones in its members' offices. The group's meeting rooms barely have basic references and softwares, apart from the Air Conditioning system and lightings and equipments. The group's supporting hardwares such as computers (including laptops) which are procured continuosly by the Secretariat General of the Parliament were not in sight, except for a large LCD panel in front of the group's entrance, which is barely functioning effectively since it contains no information on the current meetings or the latest information in realtime.



The Parliamentary Party Group of PKB faction library

PKB group gives an interesting example on supporting systems. It has its own library on the 18th floor of Nusantara I Building which contains books on references and provisions of law. This is interesting because the other groups seem to think that such information is important since

Parliament already has its own library and each group has its own expert staffs who are responsible for providing such information to support the Parliament members's duties.⁴⁷ While almost every political party group, except for BPD group, has its own posting boards on every floor in their headquarter/workplace. The PKS group even uses the entire wall of its office to post newspaper/magazine cut-outs on its member's activities.

7. Parliamentary Party Groups Platforms and Ideology

Every political party group has its own political platform and ideology which characterizes it from all other groupes.⁴⁸ For example, the PPP, PKS and PBR groups hold an Islamic platform, whereas Golkar, PDIP and PD groups hold a nationalist or religious nationalist platform and PDS holds a Christian nationalist platform. Indeed, the platform and ideology of a political party affects its behavior towards certain issues of the society. The Parliamentary Party Groupsplatform and ideology can be seen from its choice of programs, issues to be discussed, and focuses. Not all existing issues are discussed by a group, and that is the reason why the opinions of the political party often differ from the opinions of its members in the Parliament. However, all issues outside the group's agenda is generally open for discussion and may be used in any possible way by the group members. In conclusion, the influence of the platform and ideology indicator to the performance of the group greatly depends on the group's behavior towards certain issues discussed in the Parliament.

II. PROCESS

1. Supervisory System

The attendance of political party group members in the Parliament building, especially in its meetings, can be used as the basic and indisputable indicator for the effectiveness of their representative function. It is difficult to say that the group members have enacted their roles effectively as the representatives of the people when they can barely be found in

⁴⁷ According to an interview with Golkar political party group and PAN political party group.

⁴⁸ Bahan presentasi Syaifullah Ma'shum, Anggota DPR dari Parliamentary Party Groups PKB dalam FGD UNDP tanggal 27 Agustus 2008 di Hotel Gran Mahakam, Jakarta.

the Parliament building or attend the Parliament's activities. It is truly unfortunate since as the direct representatives of the people, political party group members should always stand by and be ready to discuss pressing issues, receive complaints from the people and advocate the complaints in Parliament meetings.

For some group members, attendance might not be considered as an important factor. They think that their presence in the Parliament Building is only required during a voting or a decision making. Tjahyo Kumolo, Chairman of PDIP group, has this kind of opinion on attendance factor. In his opinion, Parliament members are not government (political) employees. Therefore, regular attendance is not of great importance. It is only during a decision making of a certain policy that the Parliament members are required to be present.⁴⁹ Apparently Parliament members such as Kumolo is not aware that all meetings held in the Parliament Building has its quorum (requirements consisting a minimum number of Parliament members attending the meeting). If the quorum is not fulfilled, the meetings cannot be conducted on time, and even if it does start on time, there will be a lot of guessings on the opinions of the unpresent members of the Parliament about the discussed issues.

Yasin Kara, Chairman of PAN group also made a similar statement that his group is quite flexible in imposing rules of attendance/presence of its members in the Parliament Building and Parliament meetings. He argued that sometimes the Parliament members activities cannot be scheduled properly. There is always a moment when the members are communicating with the people at the same time during a Parliament meeting. Therefore, he cannot agree if all Parliament members should attend every meeting held by the Parliament. Just like Tjahyo Kumolo, Yasin Kara stated that Parliament members should not be compared with common employees who have their proper activities schedule.

However, there are some political party groups which emphasize the necessity to supervise all Parliament members' attendance. PKS group

⁴⁹ Tjahyo Kumolo's statement was made on 15 May 2008 in Ibis Hotel, Jakarta, during the Focus Group Discussion held by the Secretariat General of the Indonesian Parliament-PROPER UNDP.

provides a daily attendance list for its members, while other parties use an attendance list only for important group meetings (group's plenary meetings, leaders' meetings, or division's meetings).⁵⁰ However, attendance lists for Parliament's institutions meetings are only used if deemed necessary (for example, in the case of PBR group, the attendance list was used as a reliable data on the group members attendance rate to respond a public suspicion/distrust towards certain group members who are considered to have neglected their duties as the representatives of the people in the Parliament).51

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Supervisory System
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members, but there are attendance lists for every meeting. There are attendance lists for group meetings.

Parliamentary Party Groups Internal Supervision

According to an interview with the political party group secretariat's staffs. According to an interview with Bahran Andang, Secretary to FPBR, on 4 June 2008 in Jakarta. 51

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Supervisory System
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There are no daily attendance lists for the group members. There are only attendance lists for group meetings.

The political party group members should be held accountable to the public since they are paid by the State using the money procured from the taxes of the represented people. Their duties are not limited to speaking on behalf of the people, but they also have far more important role: creating policies, which technically needs their attendance to fulfill the meetings' quorum. Therefore, even if they are responsible to speak in the name of the people, they are also obligated to fulfill its people's needs by committing wholeheartedly to their duties as the representatives of the people. This is the reason for which the attendance factor is of great importance, because it is the simplest way of showing that the members are indeed committed to advocate the interests of the people for whom they represent.

2. The Execution of Parliament's Functions (Routine Activities) and Incidental Activities

Executing the legislative, supervisory, and budgeting functions is the routine obligation of the Parliament since they enact the three functions almost at a daily basis. Political party groups have important roles in executing the Parliament functions because all Parliament activities require the involvement of the groups. The Parliament activities meant being discussing bills, conducting supervisory meetings and discussing the National Budget.

2.1. Parliamentary Party Groups Member's Involvement in the Discussion of Bills

Discussing Bills refers to the whole process of creating a Bill until its deliberation as a valid Law. The process of creating Bills requires the involvement of at least 13 Parliament members who will convert the Bill into a Parliament's Initiatives Bill. The involvement of a political party group member in the process of creating and discussing a Bill may be used to assess his/her effectiveness in executing representative function. Such involvement in Bills Creation and Discussion may perhaps be even more important than their initial duty as the direct representatives of the people since a Parliament member's main duty/function is to create Laws that will accommodate the people. Several groups give flexibility to its members in signing a Parliament's Initiatives Bill.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

Bills Discussions

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

There are some groups which give flexibility to its member in executing their legislative function as long as they adhere to the political party's ideology. If not, the members must account for their actions in the group meeting. This method is known as "directions from the political party group."

However, it is of the utmost important to point out that the legislative effectiveness of a political party group member is not only measured by the member's level of involvement in the creation and discussion of Bills, but also the nature of Bills in which they are involved. A group member is not functioning effectively if he/she is involved in numerous creation and discussion of Bills which do not advocate the interests of the people. Also, we must remember that the field of legislation is never free from conflicts of interests. How can the people know if the group member remains consistent in advocating the interests of the people in every creation or discussion of Bills? To answer this question, we need to establish an indicator related to the roles of the public in the legislative activities. Are the group members who are involved in the creation or discussion of Bills also involved the public in the legislative process?

Most political party groups tend to actively involve the public in the Special Commission's activities instead of the group's activities. A political party group does not actively encourage the public to participate in its activities, and the public must proactively deliver their aspirations concerning certain Bills.

2.2. Involvement in Parliament's Meetings (Supervisory Function)

The involvement of political party group members in executing supervisory functions of Parliament is quite obvious during the Parliament's meetings: Work Meetings, Hearings, or Public Hearings. It is almost certain that the Commission's Secretariat for the meetings will take attendance lists for the Commission's members. That way, the group can supervise the attendance rate of its members who are supposed to attend the Commission meetings. Since members are required to report their inability to attend certain meetings beforehand, the group can check the attendance list to verify if all absent members have indeed reported to the political party leader.

Tjahyo Kumolo admitted that it has always been difficult to supervise group members attendance in Parliament's institution meetings. Oftenly the absent members could not attend the meeting for various personal reasons unknown to the group. He also believes that there are conspiracies going on between group members and the Secretariat's staffs which have the power to temper with the attendance lists. Therefore, such attendance lists are known to be unreliable in procuring data for a group member's attendance rate.⁵² However, regardless of how difficult the attempts to control the attendance rate are, the groups must retain their control on the performances of the members. Even if it is oftenly unreliable, the attendance list can at least provide the needed information to make

⁵² As stated by Tjahyo Kumolo on May 15 2008 in Jakarta.

policies in order to regulate the attendance rate of group members.

Often there are some Parliament Members who either talk outside the context or are short of data to support their arguments during the Parliament meetings, which would result in inefficient meeting results. This problem can be solved by simply involving the expert staffs of each group in procuring the required data and information so as to aid the groups in participating more efficiently in the discussions held during the Parliament meetings. The groups may also obtain valuable data to enact its function of supervising the execution of the government's policies from the public or any party who might have such information.

Parliamentary Party Groups Con	trol (Supervisory Function)
Towards its Members for Pa	arliamentary Meetings

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Roles
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Roles
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There is no direction from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

The roles of the expert staffs are varied in each political party group. Some groups require their expert staffs to be involved in a continuous basis. Expert staffs are involved through the entire process of creating, discussing and finalizing the group's public visions and final decision. The expert staffs are even involved in the Parliament's institutions' meetings (such as the Commission). On the other hand, expert staffs from several other groups are involved in the Parliament's meetings only when their skills are needed by the group in creating the group's public visions and final decisions.

Inputs of information from the public are not only obtained and processed by the group in its meetings. The political party itself also seeks such information, and would obtain it through seminars and other activities related to certain government issues. The acquired information would then be procured to its group in the Parliament for further usage.

2.3. Involvement in the Creation of the National Budget

Creating the National Budget is one of the important duties of the group members. They are required to be involved in the making of the National Budget in the form of Bills each year. This kind of involvement may

also be used as an indicator of the member's effectiveness in executing their function as the direct representatives of the people.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There are directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There are directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

Discussions on the National Budget

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are not involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

In this case, the effectiveness of a group member must be assessed by his/her willingness in creating a National Budget which represents the people's needs, especially a pro-poor budget, considering that the poverty rate in Indonesia remains quite high due to the recent economic crisis. Their siding towards the poor people must be assessed in turn by their involvement and seriousness in preventing, supervising and investigating manipulations related to the National Budget.

To be able to advocate the people's interests, political party groups need to obtain certain inputs related to the National Budget from the public. These inputs can be obtained by conducting public hearings during the process of discussing the National Budget as well as by presenting data related to the National Budget to the public in order to gain public inputs. So far, Indonesian political party groups have only adopted the public hearings or regional visits methods to gain public inputs. Public access to the National Budget-related data is still limited. Therefore, the groups can only obtain a limited amount of useful public inputs.

Most group members rarely involve their expert staffs in the discussions of the National Budget. It almost seems that the groups take extra caution to not involve the expert staffs too much in the process of creating the National Budget.

One of the interesting facts obtained from the research is that the group members who serve in the Budget Committee are considered people with "extra" prestige. It is so because they are entrusted by their groups to advocate the interests of their respective group's commissions of in creating the National Budget. Moreover, Budget Committees of several groups are considered as the front line of the political parties. Therefore, since the group members are entitled to create budget plans in their respective committees, groups would encourage the members to create a budget plan which reflects the political party's interest. For example, a political party group would ask its members serving in the Budget Committee to raise the national education expenditures to fulfill the political party's promises to the public in providing better education during its last election campaign.

2.4. The Utilization of the Parliament's Rights

The utilization of the Parliament's Rights, bestowed and guaranteed by the Constitution, may be used as an indicator to assess each Parliament member's existence as the representative of the people. The rights are quite varied, from the Rights of Inquiry, the Rights of Interpellation, Etiquette Rights, and the Rights to State Opinions. Based by pure logics, the more often the Rights are used, the more accountable the Parliament members are in conducting their function as the representatives of the people.

It is the PDI-P group, which has declared itself as the government's opposition, which has the most initiatives and is the most active user of Parliament Rights. On the other hand, political party groups which support the government, such as Golkar group and PD group, seldom use their Parliament Rights in executing their functions as an integral part of the Parliament and as the representatives of the people. However, smaller groups, such as the PKS group, show a more moderate political behavior even though they are quite supportive towards the government. PKB and PAN groups, on the other hand, have their own internal conflicts and both groups have stated that the government intervenes too much in their internal affairs.

Political party groups who have much smaller membership, or is an alliance of small political parties whose number of Parliament members cannot qualify them to create their own groups, such as BPD group, usually have militant or authoritarian members who are more strict and discipline in executing their functions.

In the field of executing the Parliament Rights, PDI-P group was the first group to use its Enguette Rights for the Increasing Price of Oil Fuel on 2 June 2008. They argued that the government's decision of increasing the price of oil fuel on 24 May 2008 will only worsen the poverty level in Indonesia.53 This utilization of the Enguette Rights was supported by PKB, PAN and BPD groups, whereas other groups such as PPP, PKS, Bintang Reformasi and PDS groups seemed halfhearted in supporting the Enguette, and the government's political party groups: PD and Golkar groups were of course unsupportive towards the Enguette except for Yuddy Chrisnandy who was the only Golkar group member who supported the Enguette. Yuddy was different from the other members of the Golkar and PD groups which were united in supporting the government's decision to raise the price of oil fuel and therefore are obligated to refuse the utilization of the Enguette Rights proposed by PDI-P group, PKB group, PPP group and PKS group which recently started to oppose the government. Even though he was sanctioned by his group leaders through a written exhortation, he never changed his opinion and stated that he acted in the name of the people, specifically his constituents in the election region of Cirebon. Besides, it was obvious that the government's policy of raising the price of oil fuel was opposed to the interests of the people who became the direct victims who suffer most from such policy.

In the past times, PDI-P group was also the first to use the Enquette Rights to oppose the BLBI/KLBI (Central Bank's Liquidity Aid) case which caused an enormous amount of losses to the State Budget and deprived the Budget of the all funds which were initially allocated for the common interests of the people. Golkar, PKS and PD groups had initially opposed the Enquette Rights for BLBI/KLBI case by PDI-P's initiatives, but after PDIP group resorted to using the Interpelation Rights instead, they turned to support PDI-P.⁵⁴ In its arguments, PDI-P group stated that it resorted to using the Interpelation Rights because the government wasn't able to give a clear explanation of the BLBI/KLBI case. On the other hand, PPP group insisted on using the initial Enquette Rights because the government' attempts of

⁵³ "Anggota 8 Parliamentary Party Groups Usung Hak Angket", Tempo, 3 June 2008: A4.

⁵⁴ Read: "Dibantah, Barter Ángket dengan Interpelasi", Suara Pembaruan, 12 June 2008: 2.

solving the case hadn't shown any significant progress. The lack of support, tactical calculations, lobbyings and compromises have contributed to the PDIP group's decision to use an alternative Parliament Rights.⁵⁵

Similar conditions also occurred for the oil fuel price case. The PDIP and PAN groups who were the pioneering opposers to the government's decision of raising the oil fuel price resorted to change the Enguette Rights with the Interpelation Rights. The Interpelation Rights attracted more supports from other groups such as Golkar, because it was more discreet than the Enquette Rights. Moreover, there was another reason for the Golkar's change of side. It was disappointed by the government's decision to pass the non-Golkar candidates as the new Governor and Vice Governor of Northern Maluku in the highly controversial Maluku Election.⁵⁶

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken consideration.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

Parliament's Rights Utilization

[&]quot;Empat Parliamentary Party Groups Gagalkan Angket BLBI", *Republika*, 11 June 2008: 3. "Diduga, Hak Angket Dibarter Interpelasi", *Suara Pembaruan*, 11 June 2008: 2.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Roles
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There are specific directions from the political party group. Expert staffs are involved. Inputs from the public are taken into consideration.

Other utilization of Enquette Rights was conducted singlehandedly by PAN group in the case of PT Adaro Indonesia which was suspected of conducting transfer pricing of coal sales, resulting in a large amount of losses to the State fund. Although the Enquette Rights was not supported by the other 9 political party groups for reasons of inappropriate accusations towards the government and its policies, PAN group had insisted that the case of PT Adaro Indonesia was related to the loss of the State Treasury and therefore needed to be investigated and acted upon through the Enquette Rights because there were hints of collusion and compromises between the Police, Tax officials and the Office of Attorney General in the case.⁵⁷

3. Parliamentary Party Groups's Internal and External Communication

Several political party groups such as PPP, PD and BPD adopted a "Parliamentary Party Groups Day" on Fridays where they conduct an internal meeting. However, even if the meetings are scheduled in such way, there is no guarantee that they will be conducted regularly. The meeting rate varies depending on the level of importance of the discussed issue. PDIP group does not have a regular meeting schedule based on the same reason. Other groups choose to conduct meetings outside the political party day: PPP group conducts plenary meetings on Monday noons and Tuesday mornings before the Parliament's Plenary Meeting, PKB group conducts plenary meetings on Tuesdays at 3 pm, PKS and PAN groups conduct early meetings (coffee mornings) on Tuesdays and Wednesday mornings before their members attend the Parliament's Plenary Meetings. These meetings are conducted outside the regular Friday "political party group day" in the hope that the members would be prepared adequately and align their visions with those of the group before participating in the Parliament's Plenary Meetings. PKS, PAN, PDIP and Golkar groups also conduct other meetings such as leadership meetings and group division meetings to discuss the group's responses to the utilization of Parliament Rights, such as the utilizations of Interpelation and Enquette Rights.

PDIP, PD and Golkar groups have posting boards on display on every floor in their office. These posting boards are useful in informing the group members of the latest updates and news concerning the public's opinions on the group's policies and behavior. Each floor has paper cutouts and zoomed articles accompanied with large images so as to facilitate everyone in reading the posted articles. Unfortunately, however, there are no such detailed posting boards in the group members' personal offices, despite the usefulness of the articles in providing data for the assessment of the member's performances for the visitors, especially for the people who come to express their disappointments and are eager to be informed of the progress of the case's discussion in Parliament.

⁵⁷ "DPR Tolak Usulan Hak Angket Adaro", *Republika*, 18 June 2008: 13.

The Forms of the Parliamentary Party Groups's Internal and External

	Parliamentary	Form of Communications		
No.	Party Groups	Internal Communication	Eksternal Communication	
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 Regular meetings every week. 	 Individual work visits Website is available but is not organized. 	
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Irregular meetings, only participates in important Parliament Plenary meetings. 	 Individual work visits Website is available but is not organized. 	
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	- Regular meetings every Monday noon, Tuesday morning or Friday morning	 Work visits Absence of newsletters or political party group's bulletins Website is in process 	
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 Regular meetings every Friday, but there can also be spontaneous meetings for urgent issues 	 Work visits Website is available but is not organized. 	
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	- Regular meetings every week	 Work visits Absence of newsletters - or political party group's bulletins Website is available but is not organized. 	
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 Regular meetings every Thursday at 3 pm. 	 Work visits Absence of newsletters or political party group's bulletins website: http://www. fkb-dpr.co.id 	
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 Regular meetings every week 	 Individual work visits. cellphones, e-mails Website: www.fpks.dpr.go.id 	
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	- Regular meetings every week	 Work visits Website is available but is not organized. 	

	Parliamentary	Form of Communications	
No.	Party Groups	Internal Communication	Eksternal Communication
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- Regular meetings every Friday	 Work visits Absence of newsletters or political party group's bulletins Website is available but is not organized.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 Meetings are usually scheduled for every Friday at 10 am, but if there are no pressing issues, there can be no meetings. On the other side, off-schedule meetings can be held if there's an urgent issue to be discussed. Sebaliknya, jika ada hal penting 	 Individual work visits. Political party group seminars/discussions Lack of bulletins or other forms of political party group publicities. Website is available but is difficult to organize.

4. Public Reporting

Generally, the political party groups receive complaints by the public at all times through various mechanisms. Some complaints are received by the group through its institutions, through the Secretariat General of the Parliament, or through the political party. The complaints are also delivered via different media: telephone, text messages, letters or direct (face-to-face) communication.

Some political party groups in the Parliament, such as PKS group, have specific mechanisms to respond the public's complaints. They provide a special counter for public reporting in their office. The counter is equipped with a special staff whose sole duty is to receive and process the public reportings. However, most other groups receive public reportings through the Reporting or Public Relations Section of the Secretariat General of the Parliament, through the Public Relations Office of the political party group which is run by honorary workforces, state-employee secretariat staffs or members of the political party who happen to be in the group's secretariat. Public reporting is indeed important ror the political groups who own their proper Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. For example, PPP group has its own Procedures of Receiving Public Aspirations and Reportings stated in Chapter VI of their regulations. Article 21 of Chapter VI stated that there is a specific procedure for receiving public aspirations and reportings. First, the group, through its Chairman/Secretary Coordinator of each section, receives and processes the public aspirations and reportings of certain issues covered by the group's duties/authorization within the Parliament. Then, the group leaders communicate and coordinate the issues to each group division which in turn discusses the aspirations and reportings in its proper Commission. Otherwise, the group may form a special team dedicated to discussing the aspirations and reportings. It is also allowed to coordinate with the related Parliament institution/body or conduct visits to the regions related to the aspirations/reportings.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Behavior in Responding Public Reportings
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 There are specific mechanisms for receiving public reportings in the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. There's a specific counter for receiving public reportings.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 There are specific mechanisms for receiving public reportings in the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. There is no specific counter for receiving public reportings.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.

Responding Public Reportings

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Behavior in Responding Public Reportings
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 There are specific mechanisms for receiving public reportings in the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. There's a specific counter for receiving public reportings.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 There is no specific mechanism for receiving public reportings.

5. Transparency

The Parliamentary Party Groupstransparency determines the contiguity of the group towards the public, apart from reflecting its democratic principles. However, the most common public complaints are related to the unwillingness of the Parliament to be open towards the public. This may be solved by making approaches to the political party groups, but the groups are also considered to be overly discreet towards the public. This is shown by the PSHK report on the Legislation Process Management Study which stated that it is quite difficult to obtain a complete document in the Parliament.

This research assesses the transparency indicator through the availability of information possessed by the groups and the public's access to it. The availability of the information can be seen by the documentations in the group's possession. Does the group document every activities conducted by the group or its members such as the group meetings, Parliament meeting attended by the group members, hearings inside or outside of the Parliament building, the group members recesses, etc. and does the political group count how many activities it has conducted? How many meetings has it conducted and what issues were being discussed in the meetings?

According to this research, there are several political party groups which respond efficiently to the public needs (researchers) and provides the necessary documents. However, there are several other groups which are quite reluctant in providing their documents which, in fact, should be made available to the public, such as the Parliamentary Party Groups Regulations. Others hide their members' telephone numbers for various reasons. However, there are groups such as PKS which gladly publishes the telephone numbers and e-mail addresses of its members in the posting boards displayed around its office.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Transparency Level
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 Several group documents cannot be accessed by the public.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Several group documents cannot be accessed by the public.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	- All documents can be accessed by the public.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	- D All documents can be accessed by the public, except for the group members' cellphone numbers.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	- All documents can be accessed by the public.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	- All documents can be accessed by the public.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 All documents can be accessed by the public, including the group members' cellphone numbers and e-mail addresses.

Parliamentary Party Groups Transparency Level

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Transparency Level
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	- All documents can be accessed by the public.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- All documents can be accessed by the public.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 The public may access all published documents Group members' cellphone numbers cannot be accessed by the public.



Informations at Wall Magazine of PKS political party groups

6. Quality Improvement

The quality of the Parliament members' performances highly affects the entire Parliament's work. Accusations of unqualified Parliament members, as stated by Mahfud MD (a former member of the Parliament from PKB group), are also directed to the political party itself, because the quality of a Parliament member should have been determined in the process of his/her recruitment. A high-quality recruit will certainly result in a high-quality Parliament member. However, this is not entirely correct. In the world of politics, intelligence is the only indicator of a high-quality Parliament member. Experiences and popularity are very significant in determining on whether or not a person is qualified for a position in the Parliament. As was stated by PAN arty group, a person's "taste" is also important for his role as a Parliament member and a representative of the people. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to improve the quality of the Parliament members in a continuous basis.

Some political party groups attempt to improve its members' quality by making them participate in professional trainings, such as training on drafting Bills (conducted once by the Law and Policy Study Center), parliamentary trainings (by sending its members to participate parliamentary workshops in several foreign countries), foreign language courses (English or French), or sending them as spokespersons for external workshops. According to Nizar Dahlan⁵⁸, improvement of the group members' quality can also be conducted within the Parliament's institutions, as the institutions, especially the Commissions often receive training invitations.

The Attempts to Improve the Parliamentary Party Groups Members' Quality

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Attempts to Improve the Political Party Group Quality
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members. Before 2004, some of its members have followed English and French language courses.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 Trainings are only for the political party group's expert staffs.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.

⁵⁸ According to an interview conducted on 17 July 2008 in Jakarta.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Attempts to Improve the Political Party Group Quality
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 Sending its members to participate in various specific trainings for Parliament members.

The Parliament members' quality improvement can also be achieved by improving the members' writing, debating and discussing skills. They can be trained to write opinions or views concerning a current issue or issues that require immediate responses. These kinds of activities have been conducted by Mr. Mutamim Mul'ula from the PKS group. Besides contributing articles to newspapers or magazines, the Parliament members must also be ready at all times to answer questions by the press.

The knowledge mastery of the political party member on the discussed issues can also be used as the basis of assessing the political party member's quality. An example of a Parliament member who masters the knowledge of current issues is Fery Murisdan Baldan, Chairman of the Special Committee who is currently working in the case of the Special Committee for the General Election Bills. The media and the national television channels often quote his opinions on the current issues.

It is indeed indisputable that a Parliament member's presence in the mass media, through writings or interviews, cannot be used as the sole indicator to assess his/her quality. As a matter of fact, in several previous cases, a Parliament member is quoted because he has good personal relationship with the press, obtained through either bribery or the procurement of certain facilities, and therefore is able to dictate the press to quote his/her statements on the media. However, even if this method of self-promotion may not be used as an indicator to assess the Parliament member's performances, we can always assess the quality of his opinions in the media. This is the crucial point of the member's quality assessment.

III. OUTPUT

1. The Political Party's Decision/Behavior in Executing the Parliament's Functions (Routine Activities)

The Parliament's decision to execute its functions as routine activities is the output of the Parliament's work. Such decision is taken according to the groups' final decision. The final decision itself was taken through a consensus. But if the groups could not reach an unanimous consensus result, they will resort to adopting the votes of the majority.

The political party group Decisions on routine activities (legislation, supervision and budgeting) can be achieved by two means: consensus/ deliberation and voting. In the consensus/deliberation method, the groups give directions in the form of a Parliamentary Party Groups's Final View. Usually, this method does not involve all group members. On the contrary, decision making through voting requires the entire group to conduct a meeting which is dedicated specifically to give directions to their members so they might speak or behave according to the political party's intentions.

Political party groups which are consisted of more than one political party, such as BPD group which is an alliance of 4 different political parties, might encounter difficulties during the process of decision making, especially if the member political parties came from different platforms (for example, PBB holds an Islamic Syariat platform, whereas Partai Pelopor holds a progressive platform⁵⁹). Such situations are prone to different opinions and even oppositions. However, the problem was solved instantly after Partai Pelopor chose to leave the BPD group and joined the PD group

⁵⁹ Wawancara dengan Nizar Dahlan pada tanggal 17 Juli 2008 di Jakarta.

The Voice of Parliamentary Party Groups Members Vs. the Voice of Parliamentary Party Groups

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	The Voice of the Members vs the Voice of the Group on Routine Activities
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 All members are required to adhere to the group's political streamline. Differences of opinions among the group members are accommodated/tolerated before the final decision by the group.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 All group members must envision the same political platform/vision, ideology and behavior.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 All group members must have the same Islamic ideology as the group itself and are willing to support the enforcement of Islamic Syariah.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 All group members must envision a religious nationalist political streamline.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 All group members are free to pose their own opinions as long as they abide to the political party's ideology.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are currently no problems concerning the cultural Islamic views of all group members. Conflicts of behavior appear when the political party's leadership is breaking apart.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 All group members must reflect the visions and ideology of the political party in their daily actions and behavior, as well as accomplish the political party's missions. All group members must have the same political views and behaviors.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 All group members must possess Islamic knowledge and religious missions. All group members must have the same political views and behaviors. Those who do not share the same political views will be sanctioned (recalled, as in the case of Zaenal Ma'arif).
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- All group members must have Christian views.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 All group members must have the same political views and behaviors regardless of their political party origin.

2. The Parliamentary Groups Decision on Ethical Violation.

The Parliamentary Party Groupsbehaviors towards incidental activities are quite similar to those towards routine activities, which is to create a single behavior guideline through voting. Since the activities are incidental (Utilization of Enquette Rights, Interpelation Rights, Statements of Opinions, and Public Official Assignments), they require more attention by the group. Therefore, before making any decision on incidental activities, the group must always conduct an internal meeting to remind its members to behave according to the group's directions.

In such conditions, the political party group members are allowed to voice their opinions in the internal meeting. Differences of opinions are allowed, but they must be resolved internally. When it comes to the Parliament meeting, all members must behave and act in a similar manner. This is the main factor which contributes the Parliament's loss of identity as the representatives of the people. Violation of the group's behavior guidelines will result in sanctions, which vary according to each group's internal policies.

The Voice of Parliamentary Party Groups Members Vs. the Voice of Parliamentary Party Groups

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	The Voice of the Members vs the Voice of the Group on Incidental Activities
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 All group members are required to adhere to the group's political streamline. Differences of opinions among the group members are tolerated before the final decision by the group.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 All group members must envision the same political platform/vision, ideology and behavior.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 All group members must have the same Islamic ideology as the group itself and are willing to support the enforcement of Islamic Syariah.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	The Voice of the Members vs the Voice of the Group on Incidental Activities
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 All group members must envision a religious nationalist political streamline.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 All group members are free to pose their own opinions as long as they abide to the political party's ideology.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 There are currently no problems concerning the cultural Islamic views of all group members. Conflicts of behavior appear when the political party's leadership is breaking apart.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 All group members must reflect the visions and ideology of the poitical party in their daily actions and behavior, as well as accomplish the political party's missions. All group members must have the same political views and behaviors.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 All group members must possess Islamic knowledge and religious missions. All group members must have the same political views and behaviors. Those who do not share the same political views will be sanctioned (recalled, as in the case of Zaenal Ma'arif).
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- All group members must have Christian views.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 All group members must have the same political views and behaviors regardless of their political party origin.

Conflicts of views are not always caused by the existence of multiple political parties within a political party group. Initially, PKB group never had any problems concerning the cultural Islamic views of its members. However, the group leaders started to voice different views over time and it started conflicts within the group itself. The elements within the group started to separate with each other and resulted in a conflict of interests, which is particularly obvious during the case of possible bribery on one of its members, Yusuf Emir Faishal.

3. Accountability

Each political party group has a different method in proving its accountability. Some groups made written reports, some made oral reports which are presented in meetings with the constituents, and some others think that their accountability is already obvious if they have made significant impacts to the public and therefore they are not obligated to present certain proofs to the public.

For example, PKS group obligates its members to make written reports on their activities at the end of their office terms and to communicate every progress on the discussions held within each Parliament's institution, as well as presenting the results of work meetings, hearings, work visits and field trips. This particular group even has its own work visit report format.

Meanwhile, PDI-P group seems to be one step ahead of its counterparts. It resorts to making responsibility reports to the public and publishes them on advertising spaces in main newspapers, the method which is also adopted by PD group. PDI-P group's reports appeared to be a compilation of work reports of every political party group member who served in the Commissions and other Parliament's institutions such as the Special Committee and the Budget Committee on every discussion of Bills and utilization of the Parliament's Rights.



According to the explanations made by Darul Siska,⁶⁰ every member of the Golkar group is required to make routine reports at the end of each recess. Specifically, they have to make individual work visit reports and commisional work visit reports which will be presented at the beginning of a new meeting period. Moreover, Golkar group members are required to make reports on every visit they made to the election regions, which will be presented to the group leaders.

PD group is even more active in presenting its accountability. Its members' reports on every work visit and activity are assessed by the group leaders. Members whose performances are deemed unsatisfying will be given feedbacks with which they have to improve their quality.

PKB group has specific format for its members' work visit reports. In some groups, there is indeed a specific instruction to make reports on every work visit conducted by its members, but the research shows that the order has not been carried out by Several group members.⁶¹ BPD group even present their reports orally, which makes it difficult to track each member's work visit report.

Bintang Reformasi group has interesting method. It obligates its members to make monthly reports on their activities. Every 6 months, the reports are summed into a report which will be delivered to the political party. Each year, Bintang Reformasi group conducts a friendly forum attended by the Parliament members. This forum is an effective way to acquire new informations on regional problems. The acquired information will then be processed into a report by the group members. From these kinds of reports, the political party group and the public may inform themselves of which member who never socializes with his/her constituents. At one time, a political party group member who was found out to have never communicated with its constituents was recalled by the constituents request.⁶²

⁶⁰ According to an interview conducted on 8 July 2008 in Jakarta.

⁶¹ According to the results of an interview with several Parliamentary Party Groupssecretariat staffs on 4 June 2008, 23 June 2008, and 15 July 2008.

⁶² According to an interview with the PBR secretary on 4 June 2008 in Jakarta.

Parliamentary Party Groups's Accountability

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Accountability
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports and commissional work visit reports to be presented at the beginning of a new meeting period. Group members are also required to make reports on their visits to the election regions. There is a certain obligation to make reports on every invitation to foreign countries.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports and commissional work visit reports. Group members are also required to make reports on their visits to the election regions.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports and commissional work visit reports. Group members are also required to make reports on their visits to the election regions.
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports, but this is seldomly done. Group is required to make an accountability report to its political party every 3 months.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports, but such rule is not abided by some members.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports and commissional work visit reports Group members are also required to make reports on their visits to the election regions.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Parliamentary Party Groups's Accountability
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 Group members are required to make individual work visit reports, but this is not done by all members. Group members are required to make monthly reports. Group is required to make an accountability report to its political party at least every 6 months. Each year there's a forum which requires the presence of all legislative representatives from all regions in Indonesia.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	- Work visit reports are not obligated.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	- Work visit reports are presented orally or in writings.

4. Punishment and Reward

Generally, sanctions for violations committed by the group members are regulated within the Parliamentary Party GroupsBasic/Domestic Budget. There are basically two kinds of sanctions: administrative sanctions (enacted if the group member violated the Parliament Regulations and Ethics Code) and organizational sanction (enacted if the group member harmed the group's principles and good name). However, rewards are rarely regulated by the groups.

As stated by its General Chairman Sudyadharma Ali, PPP group has its own regulations on punishments and rewards for its members concerning their functions as the representatives of the people. Members who are considered to be passive or has not shown any attempts of advocating the people's interests will face recall punishment.⁶³ This internal sanction will be even more severe to those who are proved to be involved in violation of the law.

⁶³ "75% Anggota Parliamentary Party Groups PPP Akan Digusur dari DPR", Seputar Indonesia, 16 May 2008: 2, loc. cit.

PDI-P group was initially quite strict for cases which are considered "light violation of moral codes" but are known widely throughout the country and critized by the people, such as field trips to foreign countries using the State treasury, which is already on a tight budget considering the financial situations of the country. But strangely, recently PDI-P began to loosen up and is starting to appear to be inconsistent towards the enforcement of the regulations.

PDI-P group has allowed its members to participate in the controversial field trip of the Special Committee of the Presidential Election Bills to Argentina for reasons that the fieldtrip was an official task which can hardly be manipulated. Even the Parliament members' wives were allowed to come as long as they pay for the trip themselves.⁶⁴ On the contrary, Golkar group and PD group had forbidden its members to participate in the field trip to Argentina from the beginning.

For cases of ethics misconduct, such as the case of Max Moein's romantic photos of him and her secretary, PDI-P group will impose a recall sanction if the member is proved to be guilty after he/she has been investigated by the Parliament's Honour Body. The member will also be opted out in the next General Election. However, before making such decisions, PDI-P will first call on Max Moein to make a clarification.⁶⁵ In a similar scenario, Golkar had encouraged Yahya Zaini to resign from his membership in the Parliament due to the case of his porn video of him and the singer/artist Maria Eva. The process of sanctioning was conducted after Zaini had been called upon by the political party leaders and the group leaders as well as by the Chairman of the Parliament (which happens to be the leader of Golkar group) and the Parliament's Honour Body.

In cases where its members are suspected of receiving bribery, such as the case of Al-Amin, PPP political group awaits the decisions of the judge with fixed-judicial power before imposing the recall sanction for its member. Ironically, before every inch of the case was revealed, the Chairman of PPP group Lukman Hakim Saefudin had defended Al-Amin because he had thought that Al-Amin was being falsely accused or set up by other party.

⁶⁴ "Anggota Pansus FPDIP Diizinkan Studi Banding", Suara Pembaruan, 17 May 2008: 2.

⁶⁵ "BK Didesak Usut Foto Syur Anggota FDPIP", Seputar Indonesia, 24 May 2008: 2.

However, when the case got clearer each day and PPP group started to make serious preparations of recruiting its new members through election, the Chairman of PPP group and PPP Election Victory Agency leaders made statements to never re-recruit or nominate their members who have troubles with or have violated the ethics code and/or the law for the next Parliament membership term. In fact, after Al-Amin's conversation with Azzirwan through his telephone, which clearly indicated an act of bribery and the procurement of prostitute accompanying the bribery, was made public, the Chairman of PPP Central Board Members Survadharma Ali stated that PPP had appointed one of its member to replace Al-Amin in Parliament using the Inter-temporal Replacement method, which would result in an instant expulsion of Al-Amin the political party. But before such measures were taken, the PPP Central Board Members gave the opportunity for Al-Amin to resign from his membership in the Parliament and in the PPP group. If he did not resign, the group would replace him immediately even if he was still able to retain his membership in PPP before a legal decision by the court.⁶⁶ The sanction of not re-recruiting its Parliament members for the next term also applies to those who rarely attend Parliament meetings or has not shown any attempts of advocating the people's interests in the Parliament.67

PD group also imposes similar sanctions and expulsion/resignation procedures to its members who are involved in cases of corruption. For example, Sarjan Tahir, was suspected of being involved in the case of the mangrove forest transition and road constructions in Tanjung Api-Api project in the district of Banyuasin, South Sumatra, went through the same procedures as Al-Amin. He received no sanctions from the PD group until there was a fixed decision by the courts. The sanctions were imposed when the group was convinced that Sarjan was actually involved in the case for reasons of giving its members the benefit of the doubt. However, as stated by the Chairman of PD Hadi Utomo, there are no rules stating that PD group is not allowed to impose sanctions to Sarjan before the case is finalized by the court. PD group has the rights to impose a sanction by judging the progress of the case.⁶⁸ After all, postponement of the

⁶⁶ "PPP Berhentikan Al Amin Nasution dari DPR", Republika, 14 July 2008: 3.

⁶⁷ Read for example: "PPP Tak Akan Calonkan Kader DPR Bermasalah Hukum", Republika, 28 May 2008: 3.

³ "Partai Demokrat Belum Putuskan Sanksi untuk Sarjana", Kompas, 16 May 2008: 2.

replacement of convicted members will harm the reputation of the political party and its group in the Parliament. More importantly, convicted group members will not be able to perform their duties for a long time, whereas the mandate from the people must be continuosly represented. On the contrary, PAN group seems to have never shown any severity in imposing its internal sanction. PAN group had recalled Djoko Edi, who had violated the group's prohibition of participating in the gambling field trip. That way he was automatically expelled from the group and similar measures was taken by PBR group in the case of Yusuf Pani.

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Punishment/Reward
1.	Partai Golongan Karya (Functionaries Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
2.	Partai Demokrasi Indonesi Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Members who violated the ideological principles of the political party are recalled from their positions. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
3.	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Unity Development Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Members who violated the law and are proven guilty by the court with fixed judicial power are recalled from their positions. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
4.	Partai Demokrat (Democratic Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.v

Punishment/Rewards

No.	Parliamentary Party Groups	Punishment/Reward
5.	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Members who violated the political ideology or principles of the group and considered to have harmed the group's reputations are recalled from their positions. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
6.	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
7.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Justice and Prosperous Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
8.	Partai Bintang Reformasi (Crescent Reformed Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Members who violated the political ideology or principles of the group and considered to have harmed the group's reputations are recalled from their positions. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
9.	Partai Damai Sejahtera (Peace and Prosperous Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.
10.	Bintang Pelopor Demokrasi (Star of Democratic Pioneer Party)	 Sanctions vary from written warnings to expulsion from the membership of the group. Reward is given by giving the group members leadership positions in the Parliament's institutions.

As stated by its Chairman Tjahyo Kumolo, PDI-P group imposes different kinds, levels, and mechanisms of sanctions. The severity of the sanction varies according to the kind and level of violation, ranging from oral warnings, written warnings, and the most severe sanction of all: recalling the members from their membership in the Parliament. However, sanctioning seems to be more common in cases involving the interests of the political party, even if such interests are barely associated to the interests of the people which should be advocated and reflected through the Parliament or the group's activities. Ironically, most groups seem to be reluctant or slow in giving sanction for cases of ethics misconducts, controversial field trips and corruptions. This is why Marissa Haque and Roy BB Janis were recalled in a short period of time while Max Moein and others were sanctioned in longer periods of time.

Zaenal Ma'arif, the former Vice Chairman of Parliament, was recalled by PBR group due to his publicly exposed second marriage without the consent of his first wife. Such ethical misconducts was deemed harmful towards the reputation of the political party and therefore measures were taken immediately and especially after Ma'arif's conflicts with Bursah Zarnubi, another member of his political party. However, PBR did not take the same immediate measures to sanction corruption and cases of blackmail related to the appropriation of funds for the purchase of ships by another member, Bulyan Royan. However, since the case involved other Members of Parliament from Commission V, therefore it was a danger to the political party/group's reputation. Hence, it is safe to conclude that there are differences in attitude when giving internal sanctions because it depends on the impact of the case upon the reputation of the political party/group.

5. Internal and External Implications

The internal and external implication indicators will reveal the impact and magnitude of such an activity when conducted by a political party group. Internal implications will reveal on whether or not the group's attitude forms solidity among its members or creates an internal conflict instead. This is based on the fact that throughout Parliament's history, differences between a group's attitude and its member's attitude resulted in negative consequences, ranging from mild warnings to denomination in the next General Election and recalls from membership in Parliament. Meanwhile, external implications will reveal on whether or not the group's attitude affects the decisions made by Parliament and how the public responds to the group's attitude and adopted policies. This indicator is important because there is no majority party in the current Parliament, and therefore all groups basically have the same chances of influencing the Parliaments decisions. The question remains on whether the group truly advocates the people's interests in the Parliament's decisions. Therefore, a group's achievement lies not only in passing policies in Parliament but also in making good impacts out of the policies.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUDING REMARKS

To this day, political party groups have never made any open, objective, structured and continuous self-assessment on their performances for reasons that such assessments should be better conducted by an external party. However, there are some more advanced groups who took the initiatives to create their own internal regulations in order to guide and improve the work performances of their members, which of course will improve the group's image in the eyes of its constitutents.

From the scientific perspectives, a good evaluation must have objective indicators to be able to measure each group's performance from all aspects. The indicators must also be able to explain the group's performance in a clear and structured way. This research has provided such needed baseline indicators.

Some political party groups have possessed the indicators, and some haven't. In fact, the studies have shown that a group possesses almost all of the indicators, except a few indicators which are quite difficult to be fulfilled, especially by smaller groups and groups which embody an alliance of small groups. As such, Several group baseline indicators are well-planned and structured, but some are fulfilled halfheartedly or are merely a product of group competitiveness in the Parliament, associated more to the reputations and image of the group than its true quality. At its worst, some baseline indicators show that certain groups have neglected the people's aspirations and have taken their assessments for granted, so that the groups failed in assessing and improving the performance of their members in a limited or continuous basis.

The baseline indicators in this research are:

I. Input

- 1. Recruitment System
- 2. Parliamentary Party Groups's Organizational Structure
- 3. Parliamentary Party Groups's Administration
- 4. The Creation of Parliamentary Party Groups

- 5. The Establishment of Parliamentary Party Groups Members within the Parliament/DPR's Institutions
- 6. Supporting System
- 7. Political Party's Platform and Ideology

II. Process

- 1. Supervisory System
- 2. The Execution of the Parliament's Functions (Routine Activities) and Incidental Activities
- 3. Parliamentary Party Groups's Internal and External Communication
- 4. Public Reporting
- 5. Quality Improvement
- 6. Transparency

III. Output

- 1. Accountability
- 2. The Parliamentary Party Groups's Decisions/Behavior in Executing the Parliament's Functions (Routine Activities)
- 3. The Parliamentary Party Groups's Decisions for Incidental Activities
- 4. Punishment/Reward
- 5. Internal and External Implications

Baseline indicators within the input category reveal the physical image of the groups, whereas the baseline indicators within the process category reveal the performance its members and their interactions with the constituents. Baseline indicators within the output category clearly show the responsibility and accountability of the group members towards their constituents, so that the public may retain its control of their representatives in the Parliament. That way, relationship between the people and its representatives are continuously maintained throughout the whole Parliament office term instead of only during the General Election.

The baseline indicators were divided into three large categories: input, process and output circumspectively so as to be able to correctly measure the group's accountability in representing the common interests of the people. Therefore, baseline indicators must be sorted carefully into one of the three categories. The categorization of baseline indicators into the three perspectives of input, process and output would be able to clearly explain the extent of the actuation of the representative function by the Parliament members from the recruitment of candidates and the formation of groups to their performances in passing Bills and supervising as well as sanctioning members who are defective in its function as the representatives people or have misconducted and/or violated the law. Therefore, we can conclude that the physical (shallow) conducts of the Parliament members are not sufficient to assess the extent of the achievements of the Parliament, especially its groups, in executing its representative function. Their daily behaviors can also be used as significant indicators for assessment attempts.

Using the identified baseline indicators, the Parliament of the next office term can also create its own standards of a group's success in orienting to the common interests of the people. In other words, these baseline indicators can be used to assess the extent of the Parliament members's achievements in one parliamentary term (election). To be able to function effectively as the representatives of the people, groups must be able to fulfill all baseline indicators from all categories: input, process and output. The more baseline indicators are fulfilled, the more successful a group is in representing their constituents' interests and aspirations. On the contrary, If only several baseline indicators are fulfilled, the group is deemed as ignorant to its own work performance quality and therefore is not considered capable enough to advocate the interests of the people.

However, it is important to point out that this research is not meant to measure the significance of each baseline indicator towards the performance of a political party group. Such measurement will be conducted in a further researcg. However, with the identification of these indicators, the groups would be able to identify their own flaws and take the necessary measures to improve their performances. The constituents can also use these indicators to assess which political party that best suits their needs. That way, the next Parliament office term may be characterized by a well-performing Parliament as well as by a participative public which will be able to assess the performances of the political parties and its groups. It is in our best hopes that in the future, the political parties and its groups will be more aware of their responsibilities to the constituents and will be more accountable in putting the people's interests before the interests of the individuals, organizations, classes and groups.

However, all people must be made aware that the existence of group baseline indicators do not instantly create a well-functioning Parliament, because the Indonesian political party group system, which was a byproduct of the Dutch colonization, has been distorted by the Soeharto's New Order authoritarian regime which lasted more than 3 decades. The political party's autonomy allows it to intervene with the works of its group in the Parliament, and therefore is able to infuse its interests into the Parliament. Therefore, the groups roles within the Parliament should be reinforced, with the hopes of limiting the influences of the political parties within the Parliament, through the use of a specific law so that the group's attempts to promote the interests of the people are legally protected instead of constantly being reduced by the political parties interventions.