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**Postponement of the 2024 Election:  
Failure to Create Policy Window from the  
Perspective of the Multiple Stream Framework**

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**Fatkhuri**

Department of Political Science, UPN Veteran Jakarta  
Jalan RS. Fatmawati Raya No.1 Pd. Labu, Kec. Cilandak, Kota Jakarta Selatan,  
Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 12450

***Abstract***

*In late 2021, public attention was captivated by a contentious issue surrounding the potential postponement of the 2024 election. Prominent figures including Minister of Maritime Affairs and Investment Luhut Binsar Panjaitan, as well as leaders from the Golkar, PKB, and PAN parties, put forward proposals to delay the upcoming election. This study was undertaken to delve into the underlying factors contributing to the downfall of the discourse advocating the postponement of the 2024 election. Through the application of Kingdon's (2014) multi-stream framework (MSF) analysis, this research reveals that the notion of postponing the election lacked the necessary feasibility to transition into a viable policy agenda, as assessed from the perspectives of the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. Examination of the problem stream reveals a lack of indicators supporting the idea of postponing the 2024 election from an economic standpoint. The prevalent positive economic growth and the optimistic sentiment of the populace toward national economic progress undermine any basis for endorsing the discourse. Moving to the policy stream, it becomes evident that most legislative members and community groups outright rejected the discourse. Additionally, the dearth of policy entrepreneurs emerged as a crucial factor contributing to the discourse's failure. Lastly, from the political stream perspective, the lack of widespread public support proved to be a pivotal factor in the discourse's demise. Political parties, the legislature, and various segments of society, including students, vehemently opposed the proposition. This landscape underscores the incongruence between the nation's sentiment and the notion of postponing the election. Consequently, the inability of the discourse to gain traction as a government policy agenda can be attributed to the prevailing economic conditions, the absence of substantial public support, and the lack of influential groups positioned as policy entrepreneurs advocating for the postponement of the 2024 election.*

**Keywords:** *Postponement; Election; Policy; Multi-Stream Framework.*

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**Corresponding Author:** [fatkhuri@upnvj.ac.id](mailto:fatkhuri@upnvj.ac.id) (Fatkhuri)

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## INTRODUCTION

The discourse to postpone the General Election in Indonesia surfaced in the public sphere between 2021 and 2022, originating from sources or elites closely associated with the centre of power. It commenced with a statement from the President's aide, the Investment Minister, Bahlil Lahadalia, who expressed businessmen's desire for an election postponement to sustain economic recovery momentum following the COVID-19 pandemic (Ramadhan, 2022). In addition, Luhut B. Pandjaitan (Maritime and Investment Minister) also claimed that 110 million people, based on big data, agreed to extend the President's term (Ancely, 2022). Furthermore, the rumour of shelving the election gained momentum with the statement of the three Chairmen of the Government Coalition Parties (National Awakening Party/PKB, Functional Group Party/Golkar, and National Mandate Party/PAN) who supported the postponement of the election. PKB Chairman Muhaimin Iskandar cited social media data indicating that 60 million netizens favoured delaying the election (Assifa, 2022).

The discourse on postponing the 2024 General Election sparked various reactions. Many parties rejected the proposal, including some coalition-supporting parties. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle/PDIP, United Development Party/PPP, National Democrat Party/Nasdem, and Great Indonesia Movement/Gerindra are among the coalition parties that did not support the proposal. According to Hasto Kristiyanto, the Secretary-General of PDIP, the main supporting party of the government, there is no urgent situation that requires the election to be postponed. Therefore, there is nothing that, according to him, could justify the government issuing a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) to postpone the 2024 General Election (Nurita, 2022).

The discussion of postponing the election initially did not receive a firm response from President Jokowi, though the public's response to this discourse is quite cynical. Jokowi is under pressure to have a concrete stance in regard to whether he supports the postponement of the election in order to extend his final term in office (Cheung, 2022). However, the President in turn took a firm stance according to which the proposal to postpone the election should be ended because it is contrary to the Constitution. The President instructed all ministers not to roll out proposals for deferring the 2024 election and extending the President's term to 3 periods. This closure of the discourse gained momentum when not long after, the General Election Commission (KPU) also established the stages of the implementation of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections (Pilpres) and the Legislative Election at the central and regional levels (Pileg). The KPU issued Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 3 of 2022 concerning the Stages and Schedule for the Implementation of the 2024 General Elections. The PKPU states that the stages of the 2024 election, especially for program and budget planning and the preparation of implementing regulations for the election, began on

June 14, 2022. Meanwhile, the implementation of the election (the stages of ballot casting and vote counting) will take place on February 14, 2024.

Recently, limited research exists on postponing the 2024 elections from a public policy standpoint. Existing literature primarily focuses on the legal (Siagian et al., 2022; Phiau et al., 2022; Heryani et al., 2022) and political perspectives (Heryani et al., 2022; Harimurti, 2022). Siagian et al. argue that election rearrangement violates the constitution, impacting legitimacy and authority (Siagian et al., 2022; Phiau et al., 2020). In addition, postponing the elections also has potential consequences that may decline the democracy in Indonesia (Fitrianti & Laksana, 2022; Phiau et al., 2020). It is caused by the absence of uncertainty in politics, weak democracy, and the emergence of dilemmas in the authorities that determine and ratify positions resulting from the elections (Siagian et al., 2022). In this regard, the complexity of governing state institutions emerge due to the national leadership (Harimurti, 2022) no longer being able to take place within the 5-year cycle (Phiau et al., 2020). The deferring the 2024 elections is also considered contrary to the spirit of reform which can return Indonesia to be tyrannical system (Heryani, Ani, 2022), just like Suharto's rules who tends to be arbitrary with centralized power (Fatkhuri, 2020), and violate human rights because one of the focuses of the reform movement is to limit the President's term (Emshaliha, 2022). Furthermore, Fitrianti and Laksana (2022) see the discourse of postponing the 2024 general election is influenced the role of media. Using Koran Tempo as an object, they stated that Koran Tempo's social media (Twitter) created an issue and wanted to form public opinion awareness to reject the discourse. Through the media's role, the discourse on the postponement of the 2024 election then come up that encourage the public would be aware that it would damage democracy.

While most scholars see postponing the 2024 general elections in Indonesia as a mission impossible, few perceive the discourse still has the potential opportunity. Junaedi (2023) sees postponing the 2024 general election is still possible if a certain condition exists namely there are Amendments to the 1945 Constitution, Presidential Decrees, and constitutional conventions (Junaedi, 2022). Though it has a long journey to deal with, this is one of the strategies to delay the election. To my knowledge, it will be very costly and endanger the situation if this solution is accommodated. But, as a discourse, Junaedi's works are very important to be considered as a counter-discourse.

This research delves into the failure of the discourse surrounding the postponement of the 2024 election to gain traction as a public policy agenda. It examines the lack of a strong argumentative basis for the proposal, citing successful COVID-19 pandemic management, simultaneous regional elections, and constitutional conflicts as contributing factors. Addi-

tionally, it highlights the absence of support from the legislative institution and public opposition, supported by survey results and protests. The study provides a comprehensive analysis of the factors leading to the failure of pushing the proposal to delay the election as a policy agenda, addressing the root cause of this failure and considering multiple perspectives and contextual factors. The question in this research is why the discourse of delaying the 2024 election is failed to become a public policy agenda. What is the root cause of the failure to push the proposal to delay the election as a policy agenda?

This research lies in its comprehensive analysis of the discourse surrounding the postponement of the 2024 election, utilizing Kingdon's Multi-Stream Framework (MSF) to provide a deeper understanding of the factors contributing to its failure as a policy agenda. It delves into the economic, political, and societal factors influencing the discourse's failure as a policy agenda. The study's findings highlight positive economic indicators and optimistic public sentiment towards national economic improvement. This aspect is as a decisive factor discrediting the discourse introduces a novel dimension to the analysis, revealing the intricate relationship between economic conditions and policy considerations. Furthermore, the research uncovers the absence of policy entrepreneurs and the rejection of the discourse by legislative members and community groups, shedding light on influential actors and their roles in shaping policy agendas. Additionally, the study explores the lack of public support and the rejection of the discourse by political parties, the legislature, and societal groups, providing insights into public opinion dynamics and their influence on policy agendas.

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research uses a qualitative descriptive method. The qualitative method is a research method that relies on textual and visual data and has unique steps in data analysis, explaining various designs (Creswell, 2018). In its implementation, this research was conducted by collecting data and information through literature such as books, journals, and document studies. A literature review was carried out by analyzing several sources of literature related to this research, both directly and indirectly. Various collected data were then categorized and reduced before being analyzed to answer research questions. The MSF theory is used as an analysis tool to see the factors that influence the failure of policy formulation from the aspect of problem flow, policy flow, and political flow. Data and information related to these three aspects will be analyzed to see the extent of the influence of each flow on the failure of an agenda setting.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

To answer the research question about why the discourse of postponing the 2024 election, which actually came from the supporting power elite, failed to become a public policy agenda, and what are the root causes of the failure to push for the postponement proposal as a policy agenda, this study will discuss various factors using the multiple stream framework perspective as an analytical tool. In late 2021, a group of power elites supported by political parties raised the issue of postponing the 2024 election. As explained in the background of this study, the issue of postponing the 2024 election proved to be a failure, so it did not reach the agenda-setting stage in the policy formulation process or remained a public discourse. Referring to the MSF, this study analyzes the failure of the issue of postponing the 2024 election in the context of policy formulation.

In the problem stream perspective, issues are only considered for political action once they are identified as problems. The problem stream generally reflects the elite's interpretation of social conditions through indicators, significant events, and feedback from prior policies (Goyal, 2021). The discussions and definitions of problems however also occur within policy communities, typically comprised of interest groups, academics, and bureaucratic members focused on the specific area. This process shapes the agenda for political action, highlighting the significance of defining situations as problems within the policy landscape before any substantial action can be expected (Hoefer, 2022). In this regard, Kingdon proposes certain indicators that can serve as a basis for many parties to determine an event as a problem. According to him, the government's attention to a problem is not determined by political pressure or the perception of a small group, but because several indicators show signals that there is a problem that is happening and can have some impacts/consequences (Kingdon, 2014). The issue of deferring the 2024 election failed to become a problem that meets the criteria as a policy agenda because it did not show any indicators that have the potential for serious impacts if the election is not postponed.

Looking at the economic indicators, where this issue became the argument of supporters of the proposal to postpone the 2024 election, the economic condition in Indonesia is showing a positive trend. The discourse of postponing the election emerged in the public sphere driven by the pretext of maintaining the momentum of economic recovery post-Covid-19 as a reason to delay the election. The issue of the economic crisis that occurred in Indonesia is not strong enough to be used as an indicator for the public to consider it as a problem. Firstly, Statistical data shows that at the end of 2021 until early 2022 (Q2-2022 compared to Q2-2021), Indonesia's economy grew by 5.44 per cent (year on year) and compared to the previous quarter, it grew by 3.72 per cent (quarter to quarter) according to data from the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022).

In addition, the results of the World Bank's research also show similar results. Accord-

ing to the study, even though Indonesia still faces high risks and uncertainties in the COVID-19 era, Indonesia's economy has a fairly good growth rate. Indonesia's economy rebounded by 3.7 per cent in 2021 and is predicted to continue to grow to 5.2 per cent in 2022, provided that Indonesia does not face a new wave of COVID-19 transmission and most provinces will achieve a vaccination rate of up to 70 per cent in 2022, while at the same time, fiscal and monetary policies remain accommodative (World Bank, 2021). The improving economic growth is a positive signal for the sustainability of the country's economy, which means that Indonesia is not in a crisis position that is worrying enough to require the postponement of the election. Moreover, the people's voice also expressed their optimism that the Indonesian economy will be better in the coming year. The results of the SMRC survey show that 49.6 per cent of the people believe that the national economy next year (2022) will be better than in 2021 (SMRC, 2021). Furthermore, in terms of Covid-19 treatment, Indonesia is at the first rank in ASEAN in Nikkei Asia's Covid-19 Recovery Index. In this case, Indonesia is ranked 54th out of 121 countries in the global ranking, with a score of 54.5 and occupies the first position among a number of other ASEAN countries in the index (Javier, 2021). From the problem stream perspective, the situation/condition of the economy that is heading towards improvement, as indicated by various data, is very clearly contrasting with the crisis indicators, so it is not sufficient to be used as an argument for the need to postpone the election. Therefore, this condition is also not strong enough to urge the discourse of postponing the election in the policy agenda.

From the policy stream perspective, the "policy stream," also known as the "solution stream," encompasses potential policy recommendations crafted by policymakers, experts, scholars, and advocacy groups united by a common interest. Herweg et al. (2017) assert that for an idea to be seriously regarded as a policy choice, it must satisfy specific "survival criteria," including technical feasibility, acceptance of values, public approval, and financial viability. This stream serves as a reservoir of potential solutions, with proposals undergoing rigorous evaluation to determine their suitability for addressing pressing issues. (Derwort et al., 2022). Kingdon (2014) explains that an issue can become a policy through a process called "primeval soup". Primeval soup is a concept used to describe an important stage in the policy agenda where there needs to be a process of exchanging ideas between groups based on a public issue that is occurring. This process provides space for the public to be involved in providing ideas related to a crucial issue. The roles of various actors such as media, academics, and policy communities like NGOs and other organic movements are essential in this agenda-setting process (Ilman, & Fitrie, 2021). In the process of exchanging ideas, one idea will rise to the top while others will sink (Wibawa, 2011). In this situation, there needs to be a group of people as policy entrepreneurs who are willing to invest the resources they have

to advocate for their interests so that the struggle to push a particular issue into policy can succeed (Wibawa, 2011).

Policy entrepreneurs, as described by Cohen (2016), are individuals who exert influence on policy results despite lacking the formal resources to effect these changes independently. Their defining characteristic is their actions rather than their positions, allowing them to operate within the public and private sectors, as well as in civil society. This definition emphasizes the diverse avenues through which these influential figures navigate to shape policy outcomes. (Johannesson & Qvist, 2020). Policy entrepreneurs play an important role in this process. They act as agents of change by mobilizing support and lobbying those with power in policy-making. They also play a role in designing solutions and strategies to address the issues raised. A reliable policy entrepreneur must have the ability to effectively advocate for the chosen issue, whether through public advocacy, media use, or other relevant means (Ilman & Fitrie, 2021). Additionally, policy entrepreneurs must be able to manage resources and build partnerships with related groups to ensure adequate support in pursuing their cause. With hard work and appropriate strategies, policy entrepreneurs can play an important role in influencing the policy agenda set by the government.

In the context of the delay of the 2024 election, this discourse emerged in the public space starting from the closest groups to the ruling power such as Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment, Luhut Binsar Panjaitan; the Minister of Investment, Bahlil Lahadalia, and the three Chairmen of the Coalition political parties, namely PKB, Golkar, and PAN. This issue has attracted public attention for more than a year. The discourse became a public debate that involved many interest groups and individuals. If viewed from the existing trend, the majority rejected this issue because it is considered to violate the constitution and damage the democratic climate. The discourse of postponing the election failed to become a policy agenda due to two reasons.

Firstly, the majority of the public reacted negatively to the issue. This can be seen from the debates in the media that showed many groups of people rejecting this issue. From the legislative group, Hidayat Nur Wahid gave an assessment that the issue of postponing the election was unconstitutional as stated in Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution which states that "the president and vice president hold a five-year term, and after that can be re-elected to the same position, only once." (Rauf & Rado, 2022). From the academic circles, the Alliance of Academics Refusing Presidential Term Extension expressed its rejection of attempts to amend the constitution for purposes that contradict constitutionalism and democracy, namely an attempt to use law and the constitution as a political tool to serve the lust for power (Saptohutomo, 2022). From civil society groups, Perludem together with the Democracy and Electoral Empowerment Partnership (DEEP), the Indonesian Democracy Network

(JaDI), the Legislative Monitoring Committee (Kopel), the Democracy Constitution (Kode) Initiative, the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (NETGRIT), and the Constitutional Studies Center (Pusako) Faculty of Law, Andalas University created a Petition on Rejecting the Postponement of the 2024 Election on March 3, 2022. In one of the contents of the petition, they strongly condemned the postponement of the 2024 Election because it violates the principle of presidential government where in the Constitution it is stipulated that the president as the head of government has a fixed term and is limited by direct elections by the people periodically (Perludem, 2022).

Secondly, the failure of the discourse on postponing the election was due to the lack of policy entrepreneurs who played an important role in advocating for the discourse on postponing the 2024 election to become a policy issue. Policy entrepreneurs are a group of actors who act as agents of change. They, with their abilities and resources, become the forefront or a driving force for action (Mintrom & Norman, 2009) to push a particular issue to become a policy. They persistently advocate their aspirations through more concrete instruments such as draft bills or academic papers, and so on. This means that there must be a group of elites, both from the government, legislative, and interest groups who can advocate and convince the public about the urgency of postponing the election. In this context, the position and role of policy entrepreneurs are crucial in bridging the interests of elites with the will of the people. They are the ones who play an important role in presenting the rationalization of the discourse on postponing the 2024 election through a draft policy proposal that can be accounted for.

In the case of the discourse on postponing the 2024 election, it can be said that the discourse is still immature because there is no group of people who are really preparing a draft policy proposal that can become the object of public debate. This means the push to postpone the elections is a personal aspiration of a few party chairmen, namely the chairmen of PKB, Golkar, and PAN, and therefore does not reflect the aspirations of the DPR and political parties. Many members of the DPR have even criticized the idea, including members of the PDIP Faction, which is the main supporter of President Jokowi. The lack of a draft like an academic paper and a draft bill for discussion on one side, and the weak bargaining position of certain individuals in the executive branch who agree with the issue of postponing the elections and the criticism of members of the Indonesian DPR on the other, narrow the opportunity to facilitate the issue of postponing the elections through the policy arena in agenda setting.

Furthermore, from a political stream perspective, the political stream encompasses the national sentiment, the participating elected officials in decision-making, and the various interest groups involved on all fronts (Hoefer, 2022). In this stream, majorities for proposals



are sought by means of bargaining and power (Derwort et al., 2022). At a certain juncture, an actionable opportunity arises when there is a clearly defined problem alongside an acceptable solution.

In this particular stream, several indicators such as public mood, pressure group campaigns, election results, and so on can pave the way for an issue to become a policy agenda. Some agendas in the political stream have a powerful effect on agendas, so at certain times they can drown out other agendas (Kingdon, 2014). This explanation shows that an issue can become a public problem that enters the policy agenda if there are indicators of public sentiment that consider the postponement of the 2024 elections to be urgent. The political stream is a way in which political problems, such as public aspirations, can become a path to opening a policy window in discussing the postponement of the 2024 elections. In this context, the discourse of suspending the election where there is minimal public sympathy is clearly a trigger for the failure of the discourse of postponing the election to become a policy agenda. At the moment when this issue became a public debate, many community groups rejected it. To be precise, 80 per cent of the Indonesian people rejects the idea of delaying the 2024 election (Cheung, 2022). This can be seen from the emergence of demonstrations by student groups who rejected the discourse in the period of January-March 2022.

Furthermore, the survey results released by SMRC show that for whatever reason, the majority of people reject the postponement of the elections. 78.9 per cent of Indonesians reject the idea of postponing the elections even if the reason is Covid-19, 79.8 per cent reject it even if the reason is the economy, and 78.5 per cent reject it even if the reason is for the development of IKN (Detikcom, 2022). Additionally, rejection also came from student groups. The demonstration by a cross-student group on April 11, 2022, rejecting the postponement of the 2024 elections is concrete evidence that the public does not want the elections postponed. The students demanded that President Jokowi firmly reject the postponement of the 2024 elections and the three-term presidential period (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

Finally, the rejection also comes from netizens who actively voice on social media such as Twitter. Koran Tempo is one of the media which has succeeded in forming opinions and addressing issues regarding the rejection of the postponement of the 2024 election in 2022. In this regard, they carried out an agenda setting, then framed the issue as an important issue to lead to massive opinion, so Koran Tempo could raise this issue up to 80 per cent in one day compared to other reports (Fitrianti & Laksana, 2022). From this description, it can be concluded that the failure of the discourse of postponing the 2024 elections to become a policy agenda is due to three important indicators: problem stream, policy stream, and political stream, which did not provide any opportunities for the transformation of discourse into a policy issue.

## CONCLUSIONS

The research aimed to delve deeper into the reasons behind the failure of the discourse on postponing the 2024 election to gain traction as a policy agenda. Utilizing Kingdon's (2014) multi-stream framework (MSF), the study identified three pivotal factors influencing the transition of an idea into a policy issue: the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The findings of the research point to the failure of the discourse to become a policy agenda due to inadequate support from the problem stream, weak backing from the executive and legislative branches in the policy stream, and minimal endorsement from political parties and the public in the political stream.

From the perspective of the problem stream, the study reveals a lack of indicators supporting the notion of postponing the 2024 election in economic terms. Despite proponents of the discourse using economic factors to bolster their argument, positive economic growth and the public's optimistic outlook toward national economic progress have rendered any supportive indicators non-existent. This absence of a basis for accepting the discourse stemmed from the economic standpoint. In addition, within the policy stream, the majority of the public responded negatively to the issue. Members of the legislative body and active interest groups voiced objections in various forums such as discussions, seminars, talk shows, podcasts, and other media platforms. Additionally, the absence of a policy entrepreneur as a key advocate for the discourse proved to be a significant contributing factor to its failure. The proposal from the three party leaders (PKB, PAN, and Golkar) and two ministers was more representative of personal aspirations rather than the collective voice of the party institutions. Their role was limited to expressing their opinions rather than actively championing the discourse as a policy agenda.

Furthermore, from the political stream perspective, the discourse's failure to gain traction was attributed to the lack of support from the majority of the public, political parties, and the legislative body, including students. Notably, public sentiment and pressure group campaigns can facilitate the transition of an issue into a policy agenda. However, in the case of the proposed postponement of the 2024 elections in Indonesia, these factors acted as barriers to transforming the idea into a policy issue. The prevailing public sentiment did not align with indicators supporting the discourse on postponing the election. This situation clearly did not meet the nation's mood indicator that provides support for the discourse on postponing the election.

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