# ARE FOREIGN INVESTORS ATTRACTED TO POLITICALLY CONNECTED FIRMS?

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### ABSTRACT

This research investigates whether 2014 Indonesia Presidential election, as an opportunity to examine political connection, could give any benefit/loss in terms of foreign investment – given the candidates were equally powerful. Based on the objective mentioned, this research analyzes the relationship between politically connected firms in Indonesia and their foreign share ownerships in one-year period (December 30, 2014 to December 31, 2014). This time bound is selected to represent the time before and after Jokowi-Prabowo 2014 presidential election. Politically connected firms in this research are divided into politically connected winning firms (Jokowi's party) and politically connected losing firms (Prabowo's party). In addition, this research also measures the effects of ownership structure, performance, size, and market value of the firms to foreign share ownership. Our findings show that politically winning firms have attracted foreign share ownership. However, it depends on the perspective of the investor (individual or institutional) and with whom the firm is connected. In 2014 Presidential election, where Jokowi was elected as the president, a firm where its board/shareholder is a parliament member of winning party impacts most on attracting foreign investment.

**Keywords:** Foreign investment; Indonesian Political Connection; Jokowi Effect; Presidential election; Share ownership.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been known for its richness in natural resources, mineral, oil, and fertile land to support agricultural products. Its richness and its location between India and China have made Indonesia so attractive to foreign traders, rulers, and investors. In Indonesia, law No.25/2007 concerning Investment defines investment as Direct investment and Indirect investment. Direct investment, or so called Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), is an investment invested by foreign investors (mostly foreign entities/companies) directly to an Indonesian company while indirect investment, or portfolio investment, are the transactions made through the domestic capital market/stock exchanges of a country (KPMG, 2013).

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Indonesia Stock Exchange (IDX) is a stock exchange that based in Jakarta, Indonesia. It is a self-regulatory market that has the ability to enact rules on listing and membership requirements in Indonesia. It is considered as the biggest stock exchange in South East Asia, with IDR 5,228,043 billion market capitalization and 506 listed companies per December 30, 2014 (Research and Development Division IDX, 2015).

IDX Composite (or known as JCI) was also reported as the fourth highest index comparing to main stock exchanges in regional and global area. The percentage level increase of JCI during 2014 has beyond composite index of Japan Nikkei Index (8.83%), Singapore Stock Exchange (6.32%), Hong Kong Stock Exchange (2%), FTSE 100 British Index (-1.71%), Korea Exchange (-4.15%), and US Dow Jones Index (-4.95%) (Research and Development Division IDX, 2015). On the long term, the JCI growth in the past six years (2008-2014) was the second best with 282.05% growth (Research and Development Division IDX, 2015). The outstanding performance, following the opportunity and benefit from investing in Indonesia, has increased the interest of foreign investors to invest in Indonesian Stock Exchange (Research and Development Division IDX, 2015).

Based on research done by KPMG (2013), Indonesian equity market is highly institutionalized. From 2002-2007, foreign institutions held almost 70% of the market capitalization of Indonesian equity market, which less than 5% owned by individuals. Foreign investment has recorded to reach the highest record of IDR 42.60 trillion from January to December 30, 2014 – increased 168.23% within 2 years. The major soar of the foreign investment value in 2014 has motivated this research to find the background. One of the possible phenomena in 2014 that can be related to this fascinating foreign investment upturn is the Indonesian 3<sup>rd</sup> Presidential Election.

Since 1998, Indonesia reformed its fundamental shape as a democratic country. Based on The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015), Indonesia is listed as the 49th democratic country (out of 167 countries) and the third largest democratic country in the world. As part of reformation's freedom of expression, there is a democratic event every five years where adult citizens have the right to elect the president. As in 2014, Presidential election has brought Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Jusuf Kalla (JK) as the president and the vice president of Indonesia – gained 53.15% of the total votes. The percentage exceeded the vote for Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa with 46.85% (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2014a, 2014b). The slight difference between the two candidates, as also shown during the campaign period, has reflected that there is no dominant candidate in this time of election. Joko Widodo who previously served as mayor of Solo and governor of Jakarta becomes an attraction in this election because takes place as the new idol to lead Indonesia. On the other hand, Prabowo Subianto position as a former highachiever military force general has been also dragging attention from the citizen. This Democratic Party has ended up by the nation's disunity: Koalisi Merah Putih (Prabowo-Hatta) and Koalisi Indonesia Hebat (Jokowi-JK). The rupture has spread not only in the political world, but also in the economy and the investment market of Indonesia. Moreover, the impact of the rupture still exists after the party was over.

Previous studies found that there is a relationship between presidential election and stock market investment. By using Standard & Poor's from 1900 to 1979, Allvine and O'Neil (1980) found that there is a relationship between the returns of the stock market and the presidential election in the U.S. In addition, Foerster and Schmitz (1997) also showed similar result, so do in certain emerging markets, such as Egypt (Nezerwe, 2013). These may be due to the benefits of being a politically connected firms such as easier access to financial resources (Charumilind et al., 2006; Claessens et

al., 2008; Fraser et al., 2006; Khwaja and Mian, 2005; Li et al., 2008), increased confidence in the legal system (Li et al., 2008), improved performance (Johnson and Mitton, 2003), a higher probability of bail-out (Faccio et al., 2006), an increase in firm value (Goldman et al., 2009), and lower-cost equity capital (Boubakri et al., 2012).

Nonetheless, several studies also found that there are negative effects from having a political connection, such as lesser-quality accounting information (Chaney et al., 2011), appointed managers and directors with lesser qualifications (Boubakri et al., 2012; Leuz and Oberholzer-Gee, 2006); a decrease in long term performance due to lower managerial incentives and/or inefficiency (Claessens et al., 2008; Fan et al., 2007); and a higher cost of debt (Bliss and Gul, 2012).

However, some studies did not find any relevance between the investment and the presidential election. Those are the research of Chandra et al. (2014), Döpke and Pierdzioch (2004), Siegel (1998), and Trisnawati (2011).

The past literature shows that Indonesia, under the lead of former President Soeharto, had some firms that were connected to the government. Political connection was considered beneficial to make the access to finance easier (Borsuk, 1993; Fisman, 2001). The arguments were supported by the evidence in early 1990s where Golden Key, a little-known chemical and manufacturing company, has been given loan from state-owned bank because one of the investors was the youngest son of President Soeharto. The Salim Group was also managed to be the largest Indonesian conglomerates given the very close relationship to Soeharto.

Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) has done a study related to presidential election and the perceived value of the politically connected firms in Indonesia. The study has conducted event study that investigated 37 companies that were politically connected to Jokowi-JK and 17 companies to Prabowo-Hatta. The political connection was determined based on the corporate governance of the company – whether there is at least one member on the board of directors that placed in the political position (in this case is Ministry of Indonesia positions) and/or supported the political activities. Using event study and calculation on abnormal return, the research recently done by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) showed that, in the 2014 Presidential election, there is perceived value gained by investor when invest in politically connected winning firms. These results are supported by several research findings from the case study of United States (Do et al., 2013) and case study of Malaysia (Chen et al., 2013).

However, there is still limited research that determines the relationship between political connection of firms and their foreign share ownership/foreign capital investment flow. There are two conflicting arguments regarding the relationship between political connection and foreign financing. For most researchers, politically connected firms are considered as attractive business opportunities that could attract foreign markets. This perspective emerged due to the high possibility for political connection firms to pay lower taxes and reach larger market shares (Faccio, 2006); and also get easier bank loan (Borsuk, 1993). In contrast, research done by Leuz and Oberholzer-Gee (2006) found that there is a role of political connection in firms' financing decision. Based on the research, they found that firms that have political connections are less likely to get foreign portfolio investment. The possible reason might be the believe that politically connected firms could not entitle high level of transparency to the investors and prone to macroeconomic and political issues (Purbasari, 2006).

Efficient market hypothesis theory states that market price will instantaneously reflect the information that arrives in the market. The presidential election is one of the information that will heat up the

market. Not to mention that it also could lead to either increase or decrease in foreign investment level in Indonesia. Therefore, to clarify the conflicting arguments we aim to extend previous research by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) which has documented the relation between perceived value and politically connected firms, by investigating whether there is a relationship between politically connected firms and the foreign share ownership of those firms.

Based on the objective, the research is only limited to focus on foreign portfolio investment. The research examines both Politically Connected Winning and Politically Connected Losing firms; it does not take non-political connection firms into account. Politically Connected Winning firms are defined as firms that support Jokowi, while Politically Connected Losing firms are defined as firms that support Prabowo during the presidential election time. This research employs regression model to test the hypothesis that there is a positive relation between the political connected wining firms and foreign investment.

Results show that different political connection measures have different effects on foreign investment. This depends on the characteristics of the political connection itself and the type of foreign investors – individual or institutional. The result is consistent with Purbasari (2006) which states that politically connected firms are more likely to be chosen as a local partner in a joint venture compared to non-politically connected firm.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the findings of the previous studies to develop the hypothesis. Section 3 explains more detail about the methodology employed in this research. Furthermore, Section 4 presents the result and links it to the previous studies. By the end, Section 5 gives conclusion of the overall research.

### 2. FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND POLITICALLY CONNECTED FIRMS

Based on Ito (1999), the major reason of the foreign investors to invest their portfolio internationally is to diversify their portfolio given the high yield opportunities in many emerging markets, since it had started to liberalize restrictions on inward investment. However, many people still believe that most of emerging market still has lack of transparency in their corporate governance (Fisman, 2001). This could be a motive to an argument that there are still many firms in emerging markets that connected to the government politics.

Indonesia, like other developing country such as Malaysia, Thailand, and Philippines, is the example of an emerging market that has many dominant firms with political connection. However, the recent study about the relation between foreign investment and politically connected firms is still limited. The research done by Leuz and Oberholzer-gee (2006) have explained that there are two strategies to increase firm value, which are (1) to searching for loan/debt and (2) to access foreign capital market. Based on the examination, the research concludes that there is evidence in Indonesia that in the new government era, firms that faced difficulties in building connection, will likely to underperform under the new regime, hardly obtain any access to receive debt financing, and subsequently turn to foreign financing.

On the other hand, Purbasari (2006) has found that politically connected firms are between 22 and 37 percentage points more likely to be chosen as a local partner in a joint venture compared to non-political connected firm. This argument might be motivated by the believe that politically connected

firms are considered as attractive business opportunities that could attract foreign markets more. Politically connected firms have more possibility to get easier access to larger market share and greater market financing.

This research is the extension of literature on the value of political connection in Indonesia. It is expected that foreign investors may perceive this value thus invest in politically connected winning firms. The research by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) was resulted on perceived value on the politically winning connected firms toward the domestic stocks. As politically winning firms, those firms were backed-up by the running government – which the research believes is more powerful than the losing parties. Therefore, this research, as the extend literature of Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) also believes that politically winning connected firms has the same effect on foreign investment, which enable firms to increase their foreign investment. Hence:

H1: There is a positive relation between the political connected winning firms and foreign investment

## 3. DATA, METHODOLOGY, AND VARIABLES

## 3.1. Data sample

This research uses the foreign ownership data gathered from *Kustodian Sentral Efek Indonesia* (KSEI). Since the data consists of several group owners the ownership data consists of 9 group of owners: individual, mutual fund, corporate, insurance, securities company, pension fund, bank, foundation, and others ownership.

There are two kinds of politically connected firms, which are politically connected winning firms and politically connected losing firms. Politically connected winning firm (*POLWIN*) will be described as a firm that has political connection with a winning party or in coalition with winning party, while politically connected losing firms (*POLLOS*) have political connection with losing party or its coalitions. This division refers to previous study done by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015). The samples are 36 politically connected winning firms and 21 politically connected losing firms, where the summary of the selection process is provided in Table 1 and details can be seen in Appendixes A to D. The research excludes financial institution firms due to the different firm fundamental owned by financial companies (Su and Fung, 2013).

Literature in corporate finance has done several studies about corporate political connection. Reflecting on those literature review, there are several proxies in determining the political connection had by firms. Fan et al. (2007) and Francis et al. (2009) considered a firm to have political connection if it has government bureaucrats as board members. This proxy is the most common methodology that also used in following studies (Su and Fung, 2013; Nys et al., 2015). Some other literature determine political connection based on closeness to the country's president or top politicians (Fisman, 2001; Purbasari, 2006; Leuz and Oberholzer-Gee, 2006), based on shareholders which also are members of a political party (Li et al., 2008), and based on firms' contributions during general elections (Claessens et al., 2008).

Based on the previous research, this research employed three different methodologies in determining political connection to broaden the analysis:

(a) Proxy 1: Political classification based on the existence of board members which is also a member of a political party

A firm is said to have political connection if one of its current/former large shareholder or boards is a member of parliament. This research assumes that a member of political party would be detected by examining member of parliament. Data was collected through searching the connection if at least one of its board of directors/board of commissioners is a member of Indonesian parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*). The data are obtained from Official Website of *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (www.dpr.go.id), in the Curriculum Vitae section.

(b) Proxy 2: Political connection classification based on firms' contribution during general elections (Hillman et al., 1999)

A firm is said to have political connection if one of its current/former large shareholder or boards is a supporter of the party in the election period. The supporter of the party is a person that sponsored the party during the campaign process. There are people coming from the Indonesian business conglomeration group and from successor teams. The list of politically winning connected firms obtained using this proxy was adopted from the recent study by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015). The study makes obtained the business conglomeration list from Bloomberg BusinessWeek, December 11, 2014 "Laju Bisnis Konglomerasi 2014", while obtained successor teams who have positions in the listed company collected from Kompas, May 28, 2014 "Ini Tim Kampanye Nasional Prabowo - Hatta dan Jokowi – JK".

(c) Proxy 3: Political connection classification based on the existence of government bureaucrats as board members (Fan et al., 2007)

A firm is said to have political connection if one of its current/former large shareholder or boards is a member of executive body of Indonesian Republic. The list of politically winning connected firms during 2014 Presidential election from this proxy was adopted from the recent study by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015). The study examines the ministers who previously worked at listed company are taken from Tempo, October 26, 2014 "Daftar Lengkap Menteri Kabinet Kerja Jokowi".

In Indonesia, law No.25/2007 concerning Investment defines investment as Direct investment and Indirect investment (portfolio investment). In this research, we focus on finding the relationship between the political connection and indirect investment. The final sample is 57, which is greater than the sample in Fajarriyanto et al. (2015).

**Table 1**: Sample Description of Politically Connected Firms

Original sample size	70
Less: Financial institution sample	(11)
Less: Sample that categorized as both POLWIN and POLLOS	(2)
Final sample size used for doing analysis	57

## 3.2. Methodology

To investigate the effect of political connection towards foreign share ownership before and after the election, this study employs OLS regression to test the hypotheses. We examine the relation between

foreign ownership and political connection, along with some control variables. The structural model of foreign investment is as follows:

Foreign Investment = 
$$\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Political Connection + \alpha_2 Leverage + \alpha_3 ROA + \alpha_4 Mktval + \alpha_5 Size + \alpha_6 Growth + \alpha_7 CR + \varepsilon_0$$

where *Foreign Investment* is the monthly average number of shares owned by foreign investors from December 30, 2013 to December 31, 2014. There are two types of ownership: individual foreign ownership and institutional foreign ownership. Institutional foreign ownership consists of eight groups of owners such as mutual fund, corporate, insurance, securities company, pension fund, bank, foundation, and others ownership. Therefore we will employ three measures of the monthly average *Foreign Investment*: (1) All foreign ownership – the total of individual and institutional foreign share ownership (*AVGALL*); (2) Individual foreign share ownership (*AVGIND*); and (3) Institutional foreign share ownership (*AVGINS*).

Political Connection is measured by using politically winning (POLWIN) and losing (POLLOS) connected firms. POLWIN equals to one if firms have political connection to member of Koalisi Indonesia Hebat as the winning party (including PDI-P, PKB, Partai NasDem, Partai Hanura, PKP Indonesia, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Partai Amanat Nasional, and Partai Golkar), otherwise zero. POLLOS equals one if firms have political connection to member of Koalisi Merah Putih as the losing party (including Partai Gerindra, PKS, PBB, Partai Persatuan Indonesia, and Partai Perindo), otherwise zero.

Following Nys et al. (2015) we employ three measures of political connection which are the connection of firm through the board as a parliament member, a campaign supporter, and a government executive body (which applies only for politically winning connected firms). *PARWIN* equals to one if at least one of the firm's board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a parliament member representing one of Jokowi's coalition party. *SUPWIN* equals to one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a supporter or the successor team of the Jokowi's campaign during presidential election period. *GOVWIN* equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a government official (president, vice president, minister). *POLLOS* equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a parliament member representing one of Prabowo's coalition party. *SUPLOS* equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a supporter or the successor team of the Prabowo's campaign during presidential election period.

The control variables used are (1) *Leverage* measured by the debt-to-asset ratio; (2) profitability or *ROA* (Return on Asset); (3) *Mktval* (market value of equity or the natural logarithm of market value defined as the first day's closing price multiplied by the number of shares outstanding after the IPO); (4) *Size* is measured as natural logarithm of the total assets; (5) *Growth* described as annual sales growth rate or the amount of sales revenues in year t minus sales revenues in year t-1 divided by sales revenue in year t-1; and (6) *CR*, expressed as the ratio of current assets and current liabilities (e.g. Ang et al., 2013; Bliss and Gull, 2012; Leuz and Oberholzer-gee, 2006; Mitton, 2002; Su and Fung, 2013).

#### 4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Table 2 represents the descriptive statistics for both dependent and independent variable of the sample, which are politically winning and losing connected firms. POLWIN's standard deviation of foreign share ownerships are slightly lower than POLLOS's. It means that the sample of the POLLOS's foreign share ownerships are more widely spread. Thus, the data from POLWIN are more reliable given the lower standard deviation. This condition also applies for the most of the independent variable, where POLLOS's variables are more fluctuate.

The mean of the dependent variable for both kinds of politically connected firms are similar. It does not show the same way in the control variables. POLLOS has more *Leverage* and *Size*, but it shows minus amount in *ROA* variable. *Mktval* and *Growth* are indifferent between POLWIN and POLLOS.

This research investigates whether 2014 Indonesia Presidential election attracted foreign investment. Therefore, the research analyzes the relationship between political connected winning/losing party to their foreign share ownership. We will examine the political connection using the measures of *PARWIN* and *PARLOS* in model A; *SUPWIN* and *SUPLOS* in model B; and *GOVWIN* in Model C with foreign share ownership (using measures of *AVGALL*(1), *AVGIND*(2); and *AVGINS*(3)).

Table 3, Model A shows that politically losing connected firms (POLLOS) through parliament member (*PARLOS*) seem to decrease firms' total foreign ownership as much as 6.840% and significant at 1% level, inconsistent with the hypothesis. *PARLOS* also has similar decreasing effect to institutional foreign ownership. From the result, POLLOS through parliament member decreases the institutional foreign ownership by 7.014% at 1% significant level.

However, the result shows no evidence of the relationship between politically winning connected firms (POLWIN) through parliament member (*PARWIN*) and individual share ownership. This is different to the result of institutional foreign share ownership. The regression model results that *PARWIN* increases institutional share ownership by 1.347%, at 10% significance level, supporting our hypothesis.

Firms that have its board of directors/shareholders as a supporter of the winning party (*SUPWIN*) tend to decrease its individual foreign investment by 2.062% at 10% significant level. This result contradicts the result from Model A that concludes *PARWIN* increases firms' number of share ownership. There is no evidence that foreign investors were attracted to politically losing connected firms from supporter of the losing party during the campaign period (*SUPLOS*). This result turned to have different result compared to Fajarriyanto (2015)'s research on domestic share ownership. The research had resulted that domestic investors were more attracted to firms supported the winning party.

From Model C, the result had shown that, in the following year of Indonesia 2014 Presidential election, individual foreign investors were more likely to be attracted to firms that has a board/shareholder acts as an executive member in the government (*GOVWIN*), which concluded by +1.304%, significant at 10% level. Institutional foreign investors imply to have different concern to individual foreign investors. The similar results of institutional share ownership (*AVGINS*) and overall share ownership (*AVGALL*) are due to the dominance of institutional foreign investors in the foreign investment market.

On the control variables, regression results show that *ROA* and *Mktval* do not have any relation to foreign share ownership, neither individual nor institutional. Individual foreign investors only pay

attention to *Size* of the firm by 1%, significant at 1% level. On the other hand, institutional share ownership is not just determined by *Size*, but also sales growth, liquidity (*CR*), and *Leverage* of the firm. The control variable results are very contradictive compared to previous literature from Leuz and Oberholzer-gee (2006), suggesting that size of the firm and leverage has negative relation with foreign investment, whereas ROA has positive relation with foreign investment.

Overall result shows that not all firms with political connection will get benefit of increasing in foreign investment. It depends on the perspective of the investor (individual or institutional) and with whom the firm is connected. In 2014 Presidential election, which has won Jokowi as the president, having its board/shareholder as a parliament member of winning party will get most benefit of increasing its foreign investment. Foreign investors valued parliament, as an institution which does not work under the direct supervision of Jokowi, may have more impactful power due to their flexibility in making decision. Moreover, there is no evidence that foreign investors were attracted to political connected winning firms through supporters and government executive members. The possible reason is because of the belief that Jokowi's trustworthiness in supervising their work would distress particular party to take benefit from the political connection. It has been reported that Jokowi had committed to tackle corruption as his priority (Dodd, 2014).

Comparing to the previous studies, the result of the research contradicts the result found by Leuz and Oberholzer-Gee (2006), which says that politically connected firms' foreign investment will decrease. This research concluded that each political connection has different effect on foreign investment; depends on the characteristics of the political connection itself.

	Table 2. Descriptive Statistics of FOEWHY and FOELOS Firms										
Variable	POLWIN Firms (N=36)					POLLOS Firms (N=21)					
v ai iabie	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	
AVGALL	36	20.655	2.057	14.845	24.425	21	21.523	3.210	9.603	24.606	
AVGIND	36	14.913	2.972	7.338		21	16.431	3.192	8.756	21.809	
<b>AVGINS</b>	36	20.555	2.282	13.831		21	21.478	3.302	9.044	24.599	
<b>PARWIN</b>	36	0.111	0.319	0	1	21	0	0	0	0	
<i>SUPWIN</i>	36	0.694	0.467	0	1	21	0	0	0	0	
GOVOFF	36	0.194	0.401	0	1	21	0	0	0	0	
<i>PARLOS</i>	36	0	0	0	0	21	0.091	0.294	0	1	
SUPLOS	36	0	0	0	0	21	0.091	0.294	0	1	
Leverage	36	0.442	0.208	0	0.950	21	0.619	0.331	0.200	1.510	
ROA	36	0.085	0.085	-0.040	0.420	21	-0.001	0.102	-0.380	0.190	
Mktval	36	8.990	1.996	2.712	12.613	21	8.250	1.593	4.043	10.748	
Size	36	15.885	1.593	11.937	19.279	21	16.051	1.642	11.041	18.208	
Growth	36	0.113	0.258	-0.790	0.750	21	0.199	0.800	-0.520	3.600	
CR	36	9.508	41.073	0.410	247.130	21	1.420	1.202	0.010	4.170	

**Table 2**: Descriptive Statistics of POLWIN and POLLOS Firms

Notes: This table presents descriptive statistics of data samples (N=57). The dependent variables are the natural logarithm of total share ownership (AVGIND), and the natural logarithm of institutional share ownership (AVGIND). PARWIN equals to one if the firm is politically connected winning firms through the parliament member; PARWIN equals to one if at least one of the firm's board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a parliament member representing one of Jokowi's coalition party. SUPWIN equals to one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a supporter or the successor team of the Jokowi's campaign during presidential election period. GOVWIN equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a government official (president, vice president, minister). POLLOS equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a parliament member representing one of Prabowo's coalition party. SUPLOS equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a supporter or the successor team of the Prabowo's campaign during presidential election period. Leverage is the debt-to asset ratio; ROA is the return on assets computed as net income divided by total assets; Mktval is the natural logarithm of market value defined as the first day's closing price multiplied by the number of shares outstanding after the IPO; Size is the natural logarithm of total asset, which defines the value of the firm; Growth is the amount of sales revenues in year t minus sales revenues in year t-1 divided by sales revenue in year t-1; CR is the amount of current assets divided by current liabilities.

**Table 3**: The Relationship between Politically Connected Firms and Foreign Ownership

Foreign Share		Model A			Model B			Model C	
Ownership	AVGALL	AVGIND	AVGINS	AVGALL	AVGIND	AVGINS	AVGALL	AVGIND	AVGINS
PARWIN	1.172*	1.070	1.347*						
	(0.102)	(0.59)	(0.083)						
<b>PARLOS</b>	-6.840***	-3.501*	-7.014***						
	(0.002)	(0.071)	(0.001)						
SUPWIN				0.236	-2.062*	0.141			
				(0.775)	(0.052)	(0.868)			
SUPLOS				1.388	0.291	1.458			
				(0.132)	(0.788)	(0.123)			
GOVWIN							-0.837	1.304*	-0.874
							(0.138)	(0.091)	(0.118)
Leverage	1.907*	0.935	2.181**	1.604*	0.525	1.832*	1.932**	0.824	2.191**
_	(0.065)	(0.582)	(0.041)	(0.089)	(0.752)	(0.055)	(0.045)	(0.639)	(0.027)
ROA	-1.826	-0.007	-1.929	0.006	4.189	0.136	-1.491	0.171	-1.628
	(0.431)	(0.999)	(0.399)	(0.998)	(0.376)	(0.953)	(0.474)	(0.969)	(0.442)
Mktval	-0.058	-0.474	0.049	0.105	-0.375	0.220	0.094	-0.449	0.207
	(0.736)	(0.114)	(0.823)	(0.599)	(0.235)	(0.351)	(0.613)	(0.149)	(0.369)
Size	0.902***	1.148***	0.891***	0.860***	1.205***	0.843***	0.922***	1.218***	0.906***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.001)
Growth	2.206***	0.408	2.430***	0.946*	-0.365	1.132**	0.787*	-0.257	0.969**
	(0.003)	(0.589)	(0.001)	(0.070)	(0.582)	(0.037)	(0.085)	(0.672)	(0.045)
CR	0.021***	0.001	0.023***	0.018***	0.003	0.019***	0.016***	-0.001	0.017***
	(0.000)	(0.848)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.572)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.866)	(0.000)
Constant	5.930**	0.817	4.898	4.706	-0.120	3.743	4.438	-0.571	3.482
	(0.044)	(0.827)	(0.124)	(0.209)	(0.980)	(0.337)	(0.263)	(0.910)	(0.396)
$\mathbb{R}^2$	0.617	0.291	0.627	0.505	0.357	0.524	0.474	0.275	0.490

Notes: This table presents OLS regression results with robust estimator variance (N=57) using three dependent variables the natural logarithm of total share ownership (AVGIND), and the natural logarithm of institutional share ownership (AVGIND). PARWIN equals to one if the firm is politically connected winning firms through the parliament member; PARWIN equals to one if at least one of the firm's board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a parliament member representing one of Jokowi's coalition party. SUPWIN equals to one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a supporter or the successor team of the Jokowi's campaign during presidential election period. GOVWIN equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is a government official (president, vice president, minister). POLLOS equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a parliament member representing one of Prabowo's coalition party. SUPLOS equals one if firms have at least one of their board of director/commissionaire or their controlling shareholders is politically connected as a supporter or the successor team of the Prabowo's campaign during presidential election period. Leverage is the debt-to asset ratio; ROA is the return on assets computed as net income divided by total assets; Mktval is the natural logarithm of market value defined as the first day's closing price multiplied by the number of shares outstanding after the IPO; Size is the natural logarithm of total asset, which defines the value of the firm; Growth is the amount of sales revenues in year thinus sales revenues in year thinus sales revenue in year thinus sales

## 5. CONCLUSION

This research aims to extent the research done by Fajarriyanto et al. (2015) in perceived value of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential election and the research by Leuz and Oberhelzer-Gee (2006) about political connection and foreign investment. This research focus on exploring new things related to political connection: winning political connection and losing political connection. By expanding the area of interest, this research hopefully could give the new insight related to politically connected firms and their foreign share ownership.

In total, this research used 35 politically winning connected firms and 22 politically losing connected firms as the sample. Those were determined by using three kinds of proxy – parliament member, supporter of the candidates, and government official for winning parties. Based on the result, this

research concludes several points. First, there is a positive relation between politically connected winning firms through parliament members and institutional foreign share ownership. Moreover, the result also justifies that politically connected losing firms decreases its (all, individual, and institutional) foreign share ownership.

Further, there is a mixed result of the relationship between politically connected firms with individual foreign ownership. There is negative relation between politically connected losing firms through parliament and supporter with individual foreign share ownership. However, there is a positive relationship of politically connected winning firms through government winning officials and individual foreign ownership.

Other characteristics of the firm that may influence foreign share ownership are firm size, sales growth, liquidity, and leverage. It is concluded from significant result obtained by using three measures of political connection – these variables have positive relation with foreign share ownership. These results suggest that larger, profitable, growing, higher liquidity and leverage firms have attracted foreign share ownership.

From the result, the research concludes that different political connection measure has different effect on foreign investment. This depends on the characteristics of the political connection itself and the type of foreign investors – individual or institutional. The result is consistent with Purbasari (2006) which states that politically connected firms are more likely to be chosen as a local partner in a joint venture compared to non-political connected firm.

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### APPENDICES

**Appendix A:** List of Politically Connected Firms **Political Connection** Stock Code Company Name **Position in Government** 1. Agriculture 1.2. Plantation LSIP PT PP London Sumatra Winning Supporter SIMP PT Salim Invomas Winning Supporter SSMS PT Sawit Sumbermas Tbk Winning Supporter PT Bakrie Sumatera Plantation UNSP Losing Supporter 2. Mining 2.1. Coal Mining PTRO PT Petrosea, Tbk. Winning Government official ADRO PT Adaro Energy Losing Supporter PT Berau Coal Energy Supporter BRAU Losing PT Bumi Resources Supporter BUMI Losing **DEWA** PT Darma Henwa Losing Supporter 2.2. Crude Petroleum & Natural Gas Production PT Energi Mega Persada **ENRG** Losing Supporter 3. Basic Industry and Chemicals 3.1. Cement INTP PT Indocement Tunggal Winning Supporter 3.2. Plastics & Packaging SIMA PT Siwani Makmur, Tbk. Losing Legislative 4. Miscellaneous Industry 4.1. Automotive and Components PT Astra Internasional Tbk Winning Supporter ASII AUTO PT Astra Otopart Winning Supporter **IMAS** PT Indomobil Sukses Winning Supporter 4.2. Electronics PTSN PT SAT Nusapersada Tbk Winning Supporter

**Appendix A:** List of Politically Connected Firms (cont.)

Stock Code	Company Name	<b>Political Connection</b>	Position in Government
5. Consumer Goods	Industry		
5.1. Food and Bev			
ICBP	PT Indofood CBP	Winning	Supporter
INDF	PT Indofood Sukses Makmur	Winning	Supporter
5.2. Pharmaceutic	eals		
KAEF	PT Kimia Farma, Tbk.	Winning	Government official
6. Property, Real Es	tate, and Building Construction		
6.1. Property and	Real Estate		
LPCK	PT Lippo Cikarang	Winning	Supporter
LPKR	PT Lippo Karawaci	Winning	Supporter
FMII	PT Fortune Mate Indonesia Tbk	Winning	Legislative
MDLN	PT Modernland Realty Tbk.	Winning	Legislative
ELTY	PT Bakrieland Development	Losing	Supporter
LAMI	PT Lamicitra Nusantara, Tbk.	Losing	Legislative
6.2. Building Cons			
WIKA	PT Wijaya Karya, Tbk.	Winning	Government official
	ilities, and Transportation		
7.1. Energy			
KOPI	PT Mitra Energi Persada Tbk	Winning	Government official
RAJA	PT Rukun Raharja, Tbk.	Winning	Government official
	irport, Harbor, and Allied Products		
CMNP	PT Citra Marga Nusaphala Persada Tbk	Winning	Legislative
7.3. Telecommun			
ISAT	PT Indosat, Tbk.	Winning	Government official
TLKM	PT Telkom Indonesia, Tbk.	Winning	Government official
BTEL	PT Bakrie Telecom	Losing	Supporter
7.4. Transportation			~
IATA	PT Indonesia Transport	Losing	Supporter
7.5. Non Building			~
TOWR	PT Protelindo	Winning	Supporter
TBIG	PT Tower Bersama	Losing	Supporter
8. Trade, Service, an			
	urable & Non-Durable Goods)	****	g ,
UNTR	PT United Tractors	Winning	Supporter
MPMX	PT Mitra Pinasthika	Losing	Supporter
8.2. Retail Trade	DEM (1 'D) (G)	****	g ,
LPPF	PT Matahari Department Store	Winning	Supporter
MPPA	PT Matahari Putra Prima	Winning	Supporter
,	taurant, and Hotel	<b>33</b> 7:	S
FAST SHID	PT Fastfood Indonesia PT Hotel Sahid Jaya International Tbk.	Winning Winning	Supporter Legislative
KPIG	PT MNC Land	Losing	Supporter
	Printing, and Media	Losing	Supporter
KBLV	PT First Media	Winning	Cupportor
LINK	PT Link Net	Winning	Supporter Supporter
LPLI	PT Star Pasific	Winning	Supporter
MDIA	PT Intermedia Capital	Losing	Supporter
MSKY	PT MNC Sky Vision	Losing	Supporter
VIVA	PT Visi Media Asia	Losing	Supporter
8.5. Healthcare	1 1 VISI IVICUIA ASIA	Losing	Supporter
SILO	PT Siloam International	Winning	Supporter
8.6. Computer and		willing	Supporter
ASGR	PT Astra Graphia Tbk	Winning	Supporter
DNET	PT Astra Grapma 10k PT Indoritel Makmur		Supporter
DNEI	1 1 muontei wakindi	Winning	Supporter

**Appendix A:** List of Politically Connected Firms (cont.)

Stock Code	Company Name	Political Connection	Position in Government
8.7. Investment C	ompany		
MLPL	PT Multipolar	Winning	Supporter
BNBR	PT Bakrie Brothers	Losing	Supporter
BRMS	PT Bumi Resources Mineral	Losing	Supporter
BMTR	PT Global Mediacom	Losing	Supporter
BHIT	PT MNC Investama	Losing	Supporter
SRTG	PT Saratoga Investama	Losing	Supporter

**Appendix B:** Politically Connected Firms Through Parliament Member (PAR)

No.	. Name Fraction	Constituency	Commission	1	Position	Company	Stock Code	Political Connection
1	Dra. Hj. Sarwo B. Wiryanti Budiwiryanti Sukamdani, CHA	Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	DKI I	X	Vice President Commissioner acting as Daily Commissioner	PT Hotel Sahid Jaya International Tbk.	SHID	PARWIN
2	Charles Honoris	Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	DKI III	I	Former Vice President	PT Modernland Realty Tbk.	MDLN	PARWIN
3	Henky Kurniadi	Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	Jawa Timur	I XI	Former Independent Commissioner	PT Fortune Mate Indonesia Tbk	FMII	PARWIN
4	Nyoman Dhamantra, S.E.	Fraksi Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan	Bali	VI	Former Commissioner	PT Citra Marga Nusaphala Persada Tbk	CMNP	PARWIN
5	Dave Akbarshah Fikarno, ME.	Fraksi Partai Golongan Karya	Jawa Barat VIII	I	Former Independent Commissioner	PT Siwani Makmur, Tbk.	SIMA	PARLOS
6	H. Bambang Soesatyo, S.E., MBA	Fraksi Partai Golongan Karya	Jawa Tengal VII	ı III	Former Independent Director	PT Siwani Makmur, Tbk.	SIMA	PARLOS

Appendix C: Politically Connected Firms Through Supporter of The Party (SUP)

_			<u> </u>		,
No. Name		Group Conglomerate	Company	Stock Code	<b>Political Connection</b>
1	Edward Suryadjaja	ASTRA	PT Astra Internasional Tbk	ASII	SUPWIN
2			PT Astra Otopart	AUTO	SUPWIN
3			PT United Tractors	UNTR	SUPWIN
4			PT Astra Graphia Tbk	ASGR	SUPWIN
5	Robert Budi Hartono	DJARUM	PT Protelindo	TOWR	SUPWIN
6	James Tjahaja Riady	LIPPO	PT Lippo Cikarang	LPCK	SUPWIN
7			PT Lippo Karawaci	LPKR	SUPWIN
8			PT Matahari Department Store	LPPF	SUPWIN
9			PT First Media	KBLV	SUPWIN
10			PT Link Net	LINK	SUPWIN
11			PT Star Pasific	LPLI	SUPWIN

**Appendix C:** Politically Connected Firms Through Supporter of The Party (SUP) (cont.)

No. Name	Group Conglomerate	Company	Stock Code	<b>Political Connection</b>
12		PT Matahari Putra Prima	MPPA	SUPWIN
13		PT Siloam International	SILO	SUPWIN
14		PT Multipolar	MLPL	SUPWIN
15 Anthony Salim	SALIM	PT PP London Sumatra	LSIP	SUPWIN
16		PT Salim Invomas	SIMP	SUPWIN
17		PT Indocement Tunggal	INTP	SUPWIN
18		PT Indomobil Sukses	IMAS	SUPWIN
19		PT Indofood CBP	ICBP	SUPWIN
20		PT Indofood Sukses Makmur	INDF	SUPWIN
21		PT Fastfood Indonesia	FAST	SUPWIN
22		PT Indoritel Makmur	DNET	SUPWIN
23 Surya Paloh	MEDIA	PT Sawit Sumbermas Tbk	SSMS	SUPWIN
24 Sofjan Wanandi	GEMALA	PT SAT Nusapersada Tbk	PTSN	SUPWIN
25 Aburizal Bakrie	BAKRIE	PT Bakrie Sumatera Plantation	UNSP	SUPLOS
26		PT Berau Coal Energy	BRAU	SUPLOS
27		PT Bumi Resources	BUMI	SUPLOS
28		PT Darma Henwa	DEWA	SUPLOS
29		PT Energi Mega Persada	ENRG	SUPLOS
30		PT Bakrieland Development	ELTY	SUPLOS
31		PT Bakrie Telecom	BTEL	SUPLOS
32		PT Intermedia Capital	MDIA	SUPLOS
33		PT Visi Media Asia	VIVA	SUPLOS
34		PT Bakrie Brothers	BNBR	SUPLOS
35		PT Bumi Resources Mineral	BRMS	SUPLOS
36 Hary Tanoesoedibjo	MNC BHAKTI	PT Indonesia Transport	IATA	SUPLOS
37	INVESTAMA	PT MNC Land	KPIG	SUPLOS
38		PT MNC Sky Vision	MSKY	SUPLOS
39		PT Global Mediacom	BMTR	SUPLOS
40		PT MNC Investama	BHIT	SUPLOS
41 Sandiaga S. Uno	SARATOGA	PT Adaro Energy	ADRO	SUPLOS
42		PT Tower Bersama	TBIG	SUPLOS
43		PT Mitra Pinasthika	MPMX	SUPLOS
44		PT Saratoga Investama	SRTG	SUPLOS

**Appendix D:** Politically Connected Firms Through Government Executive (GOVWIN)

No	Name	Position in Government	Position in Company	Company		Political Connection
1	M. Jusuf Kalla	Wakil Presiden RI	Shareholders	PT Mitra Energi Persada Tbk	KOPI	GOVWIN
2	Sudirman Said	Menteri Energi dan	Vice President	PT Petrosea, Tbk.	PTRO	GOVWIN
		Sumberdaya Mineral				
3	Arief Yahya	Menteri Pariwisata	Director	PT Telkom Indonesia, Tbk.	TLKM	GOVWIN
4	Rudiantara	Menteri Komunikasi dan	President	PT Rukun Raharja, Tbk.	RAJA	GOVWIN
		Informatika	Commisioner	, and the second		
5			Commisioner	PT Indosat, Tbk.	ISAT	GOVWIN
6	Sofjan Djalil	Menteri Koordinator Bidang	Commisioner	PT Kimia Farma, Tbk.	KAEF	GOVWIN
		Perekonomian				
7	Basuki Hadi Muljono	Menteri Pekerjaan Umum dan	Commisioner	PT Wijaya Karya, Tbk.	WIKA	GOVWIN
	v	Perumahan Rakyat		•		