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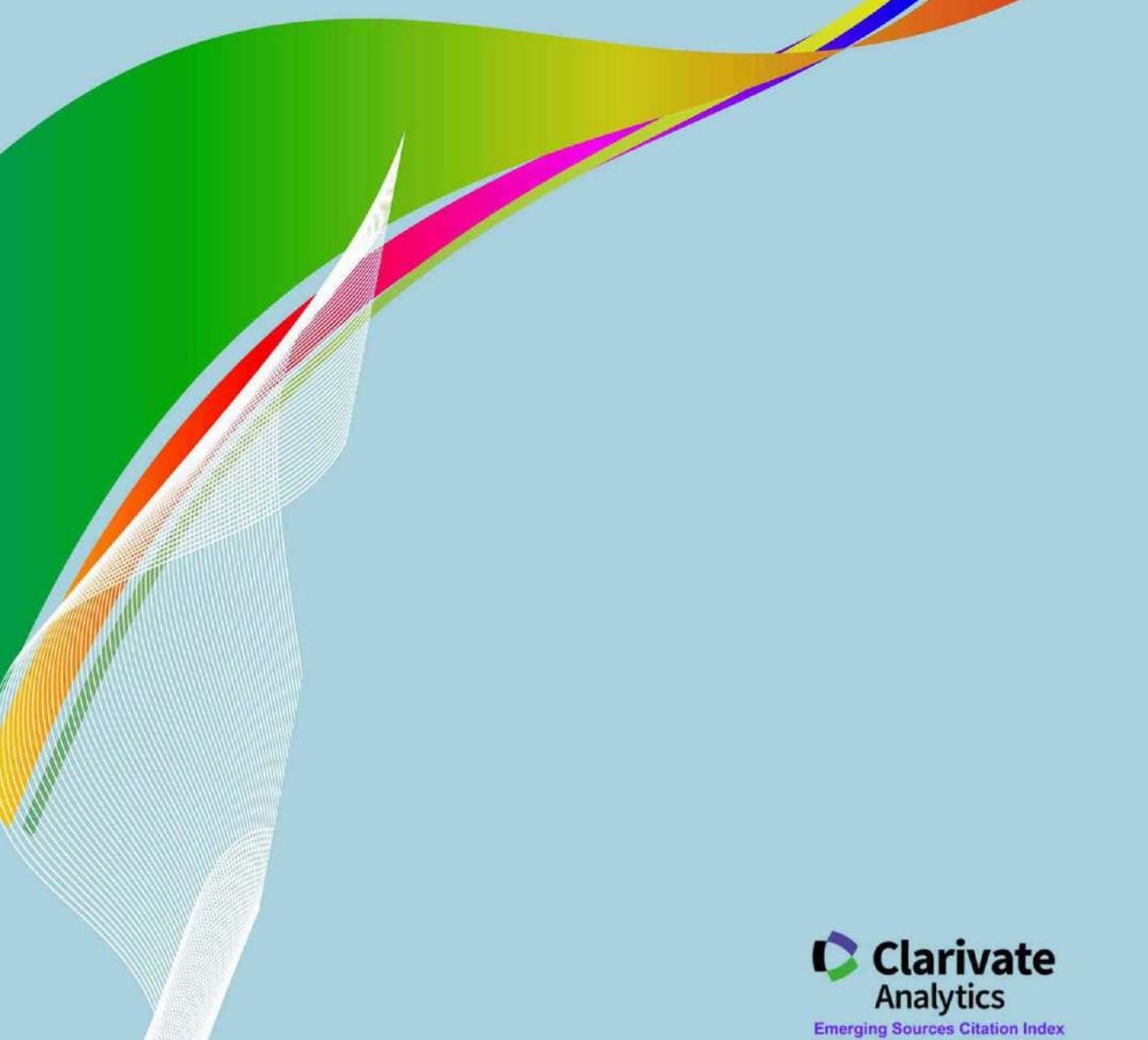
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The Crisis of Democratic Governance in Contemporary Indonesia

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THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

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Abstract

This article attempts to discuss the practice of democratic governance in contemporary Indonesia. This study is essential since Indonesia is one of the countries transitioning from authoritarianism towards democracy following the fall of Suharto's regime. This study shall answer whether democratic governance in Indonesia experiences a crisis, with a focus of analysis on the four dimensions of democratic governance, namely: (1) rule of law, (2) human rights, (3) civil society, and (4) elections and political process. This study applies a qualitative method by collecting data from document studies and literary studies. The findings in this study indicate that democratic governance in Indonesia experiences a crisis as evidenced by the remaining-weak legal supremacy in Indonesia, and the existence of violations of the implementation of human rights, eventually led to horizontal conflicts. The inability of civil society organizations to carry out their functions in democratization as an intermediary between the community and the state as well as to influence government policies for the public interest. Another recent weakness is there are still strong issues related to primordialism in the occasion of General Elections. This crisis of democratic governance shall bring Indonesia to "the decline of democracy" instead of democratic consolidation.

Keywords: *Crisis; Democratic Governance; Civil Society; Indonesia.*



A. Introduction

The study of democratic governance has been analyzed by several researchers (such as Maley, 2005; Cogen & De Brabandere, 2007; Olu-Adeyemi, 2012; and Fye, 2015). Previous studies related to democratic governance focus on African and Latin American countries. Meanwhile, this study attempts to explain post-reform democratic governance in Indonesia with a political perspective. Indonesia during the Suharto era stagnated in terms of politics and democracy due to the pressure of the regime through the applicable regulations and effective instruments of power at that time, namely the military (Indonesian National Armed Forces (ABRI)), the bureaucracy, and Golkar.

Golkar is indeed the best-institutionalized party in Indonesia and that most of its institutional advantages are direct consequences of its long history as a hegemonic party during the New Order (Tomsa, 2008:4). Meanwhile, Vatikiotis (2013) shows that democracy was held back by Suharto's regime, prioritizing order and development. However, order and development were merely part to manipulate the community since order and development merely benefited Suharto and his cronies.

Meanwhile, several other studies of Indonesian political conditions during the Soeharto era reflect the following: "state quo state" (Ben Anderson), "bureaucratic authoritarianism" (Dwight King) and "state corporatism" (O'Donnell). Those various studies have similar inference: the state, in this regard the Soeharto era, had so much power that the community was in a marginalized position and merely the object of power. This condition naturally caused democracy unable to operate as it was supposed to be in accordance with the applicable constitution.

The political and economic crisis in Indonesia triggered the movement of civil society, political parties, and other elements of the community, demanding the resign of Suharto from his office. Eventually, a critical event in Indonesia's political history took place on May 21, 1998. Soeharto resigned as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, subsequently marking the start of the Reform era. Obviously, with the fall of Suharto's regime, there was hope that democracy in Indonesia should be better. Thus, it

is interesting to analyze democratic governance in contemporary Indonesia by describing empirical conditions from several aspects. One interesting report to be a reference to the phenomenon of democracy in contemporary Indonesia can be seen from the Democracy Index, issued by The Economist Intelligence Unit (The EIU) in the category of "flawed democracy" with a score of 7.03 in 2015. In 2017, the democracy index in Indonesia according to The EIU has decreased to 6.39 (Unit, 2017: 6).

Furthermore, several studies of democracy in Indonesia have also been carried out by researchers (see Antlov, Brinkerhoff, & Rapp, 2010; Aspinall, 2010; Mietzner, 2012; Fukuoka 2013a, 2013b; Beer, 2015; Wilson, 2015; Judge & Annahar, 2016; and Berenschot, 2018). Most of the studies show that there are still issues in the political practice of democracy in Indonesia such as the growing conflict, patronage, and clientelism. Meanwhile, this article attempts to answer the following question: Is current democracy in Indonesia experiencing a crisis? Therefore, the purpose of this paper to explain whether democratic governance in Indonesia has experienced a crisis or vice versa has led to the consolidation of democracy. This study is highly essential as a material to improve democracy in Indonesia to ensure that it shall be more useful as an instrument to achieve community welfare and to discover the quality of democracy in Indonesia observed from the substantive side.

B. Literature Review: Understanding Democratic Governance

Democracy and governance are debated issues-particularly in political science related to different scientific fields and different levels or areas of policymaking. Not surprisingly, particular scientific communities (policy analysts, EU specialists, internationalists) frequently use divergent concepts and focus on various aspects of governance and democracy. Democracy in the classical view means the will of the people, common good and public policy.

Locke and Montesquieu view democracy as a constitutional government capable of limiting majority power and simultaneously protecting individual freedom. Moderately different from classical democracy,



Schumpeter (2003: 269), states that "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote". It means that Schumpeter emphasizes democracy more on democratic procedures or methods by formulating democracy as an institutional procedure to achieve political decisions in which individuals obtain the power to make decisions through a competitive struggle to acquire popular votes.

Meanwhile, a more comprehensive definition of democracy is delivered by Held, combining those of liberal tradition and Marxism, which supports the basic principles of autonomy. Held in Sørensen (2008) states:

"Persons should enjoy equal rights and, accordingly, equal obligations in the specification of the political framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them; that is, they should be free and equal in the processes of deliberation about the conditions of their own lives and in the determination of these conditions, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others" (Sørensen, 2008:11).

According to Held, democratic autonomy requires an accountable state and a democratic reorganization of civil society. Every citizen is provided with the right to vote, including an equal opportunity to participate and to find individual preferences and final control of the political agenda, followed by the fulfillment of social and economic rights to ensure adequate resources for democratic autonomy.

It is obvious that democracy and governance are concepts that can be conceptually integrated. Strictly speaking, the concept of "democratic governance" according to Cheema (2005) is:

"The range of processes through which a society reaches consensus on and implements regulations, human rights, laws, policies, and social structures - in pursuit of justice, welfare, and environmental protection. Policies and laws are carried out by many institutions: the legislature, judiciary, executive branch, political parties, the private sector and a variety of civil society. In this sense, democratic governance brings to the fore the question of how a society organizes itself to ensure equality (of opportunity) and equity (social and economic justice) for all citizens" (Cheema, 2005: 1).

Furthermore, Agere in Mudacumura & Morçöl (2014: 267) defines democratic governance in a simpler definition as follows “Democratic governance which is often used interchangeably with the term “good governance” featured by principles such as the rule of law, people’s participation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, effectiveness, and equitable service delivery”. It is further explained that there are two dimensions of democratic governance, namely "democracy within governance" and "governance for democracy".

Democratic governance shall ensure "democracy within governance", implying the existence of particular democratic principles in governing organization and management. Moreover, any democratic government shall also mean "governance for democracy," showing that the general government shall be designed or structured in such a way that it is conducive to the accomplishment of the basic prerequisites of democratic governance, including civil liberties, freedom of expression, suppression of freedom, right to organize, and right to socio-economic needs. In such terms, democratic governance is observed as the second dimension, namely governance for democracy. Furthermore, the International Republican Institute (IRI), studying Democratic Governance in Latin America, defines democratic governance as follows:

“Democratic governance is a system in which citizens participate in government planning and decision-making, while those in office respond to citizen needs with accountability and transparency. It involves the participation and leadership of many actors and institutions within a society; accordingly, this collection of essays has been structured to examine the role and responsibilities of government, civil society, the media and think tanks, exploring how these institutions can work independently and collectively to further consolidate and institutionalize democratic governance in the region” (Nogales & Zelaya-Fenner, 2013:6).

In addition, Cogen & De Brabandere (2007: 1) reveal that there are several elements of democratic governance, namely human rights, free and fair elections, freedom of association, and freedom of expression. Comparatively similar to the previous opinion, Abdoulie Fye states that “democratic governance is reaching on consensus and implements regulations, human



rights, laws, policies, programs, activities, and social structures in its pursuit of justice, equality, equity, welfare and environmental and other natural resources protection" (Fye, 2015: 31).

Taking the aforementioned explanations of democratic governance into account, the authors eventually infer that democratic governance is a government and political process in a country characterized by the implementation of rule of law, the existence of security and protection of the implementation of Human Rights, autonomous civil society, and a role in fighting for public interest, general election, and free, open, and fair political process.

C. Method

This discussion on the topic of democratic governance in Indonesia applies the method of library research, namely through library data collection as well as critical and in-depth review of objects. The data were collected from various sources through a review of literature from books, scientific journals, scientific reports, indices, statistical data, government documents, oral histories, and information from experts. Sources from the media about the development of democracy in Indonesia, both print and online media, were also crucial data sources in this literature study.

The information obtained regarding the practice of democratic governance in Indonesia shall be analyzed by qualitative data analysis. Creswell (2014: 197) describes the process of qualitative data analysis, also relevant to apply in this study. The data were organized by categorizing them by, first, reading the whole data in accordance with the topic of the issue. Afterward, the categorized data were linked to the concepts and theories applied in this study. Eventually, an interpretation of the meaning was presented to draw a conclusion.

D. Finding and Discussion

The agenda for democratization in Indonesia regained its strength following the Reform in 1998. The authoritarian leadership in the New Order era held back the democratic values. Community participation in



the political process became a "scarcity". The results of general elections had been known before the completion, with Golkar dominated as the then regime's supporting party.

The media as the pillar of democracy was inseparable from the intimidation of the regime. However, in the course of democratic transition in Indonesia, a great number of arguments, data, and facts show that the current practice of democracy in Indonesia is stagnant. Some even notice a decline in several dimensions. Therefore, democratic governance in contemporary Indonesia can be explained in the following dimensions:

1. Rule of Law

Ratz provides a simple argument about the rule of law, that "rule of law is designed to minimize the danger created by the law itself". Therefore, the principle of the rule of law is to abolish arbitrary power resulting in uncertainty about the law itself and enforce the law against actions not in accordance with applicable rules (Przeworski & Maravall (2003: 189)). According to Ferejohn & Pasquino in Przeworski & Maravall (2003: 242) democracy and rule of law are expected in the political system; hence, the democratic transition from authoritarianism is a precondition to achieve both simultaneously.

Following the fall of Suharto, the government of Indonesia carried out legal reform, including amending the 1945 Constitution and stipulating the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) of the Republic of Indonesia No X/MPR/1998 on the Principles of Development-Reform in Order to Rescue and Normalize National Life as a State Policy. These efforts aimed to liberate the legal system from the influence of the regime, later becoming law enforcers as a tool of authority in co-opting political opponents and society. Legal reform, particularly law enforcement, should be carried out since it was practically not functioning in the era of President Soeharto. Regarding law enforcement, a country of law shall be based on the rule of law instead of the rule by law (Pekuwalu, 2012:154). The practice of authoritarianism during the New Order became a meaningful lesson in building Indonesian legal politics based on the constitution.



The confirmation that Indonesia is a legal state is not merely found in Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution, but also explicitly stated at the beginning of the reform in the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) of the Republic of Indonesia No IV/MPR/1999 on the Broad Guidelines of State Policy for 1999-2004. Legal development is a priority that shall be carried out by paying attention to the rules to ensure that democracy can develop properly. The legal principles guiding the development of the law are: first, the national law shall be able to maintain the unity of integrity both in ideology and territory in accordance with the objective of "protecting the whole nation and the whole Indonesia"; second, national law shall be democratic and nomocratic in the sense that it shall invite participation and absorb the aspirations of the wider community through a fair, transparent and accountable mechanism; third, national law shall be able to create social justice in the sense that it shall be able to shorten the gap between the strong and the weak and provide special protection to the weak in dealing with the strong both from outside and from within their own country; and last, the law shall guarantee civil religious toleration among religious communities (Mahfud, 2009: 291-292).

The legal development carried out at the beginning of the reform provided hope for strengthening the pillars of democracy in Indonesia. Legal institutions that are still highly important in the constitutional life of Indonesia up to the present day were also strengthened. These institutions are the Constitutional Court and the Corruption Eradication Commission. The Constitutional Court was established through the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 24 of 2003 as amended by the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 8 of 2011. It is a state institution carrying out independent judicial powers to administer justice to uphold law and justice. Meanwhile, the Corruption Eradication Commission was established based on the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 30 of 2002 on the Corruption Eradication Commission. Corruption Eradication Commission has the authority to prevent and eradicate corruption. The presence of

these two legal institutions has contributed to the rule of law in Indonesia, although it is undeniable that there are still many issues with law enforcement in Indonesia.

The most alarming issue of law enforcement that can damage the order of post-reform democracy in Indonesia is the existence of a "legal mafia". This legal mafia in Indonesia has received serious attention that must be resolved thoroughly. The case of the legal mafia is similar to the case of brokers, bribery, or extortion. This legal mafia involves individuals in law enforcement institutions (police, prosecutors, judiciary and even the Corruption Eradication Commission). The practice of this legal mafia results in the low level of public trust in legal institutions expected to create a sense of justice. The results of the survey from the Indonesian Survey Institute carried out in December 2011 showed a public response to law enforcement in Indonesia, i.e. poor (32.6%) and good (31.3%) (Akuntono, 2012). Similar results were also obtained in 2015 from a survey by Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SRMC), in which 38% of respondents stated that law enforcement in Indonesia was still poor (Pratama, 2015).

The rule of law in Indonesia is also "overshadowed" by the lack of law enforcement on the issue of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN). Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism (KKN) are increasingly "endemic" in all government sectors in Indonesia. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) released the results of a survey carried out in July 2016 on the phenomenon of corruption in Indonesia by showing that 66.4% of citizens considered corruption to be increasing (Erdianto, 2016). Furthermore, the results show that the increase in corruption in Indonesia is caused by vulnerable law enforcement, incapable to produce a deterrent effect on the perpetrators of corruption. These results are in accord with the increasing number of corruption cases in Indonesia. The Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia had decided 803 corruption cases from 2014-2015 and 2,321 corruption cases at the cassation level from 2001 to 2015 (Ayuningtyas, 2016). These statistics show that corruption cases are increasing, thus becoming a challenge to accomplish the legal awareness of the citizens of Indonesia.



The condition of the rule of law in Indonesia is also considered low in the World Justice Project, ranked 63 out of 113 countries. It is exacerbated by low indicators of the lack of corruption, fundamental rights, civil justice, and criminal justice. The lack of corruption in Indonesia ranks 90 out of 113 countries with a score of 0.37 (World Justice Project, 2018: 96). Based on the survey carried out by this international institution, it can be concluded that the rule of law in Indonesia is still weak since the Government is incapable to bring justice and the law has not been used as a "commander" in the practice of government administration.

2. Human Rights

The implementation of Human Rights (HAM) in democratic governance is obligatory. A democratic country shall guarantee the basic rights of its citizens. The past history in Indonesia shows that civil rights had been co-opted by the ruling regime with a highly systemic effort using regulation and bureaucracy. The National Commission on Human Rights established through the Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia No 50 of 1993 did not function as expected, resulting in many incidents of human rights violations in the New Order era. However, at the beginning of reform, there was a moderately strong commitment shown by the then government by establishing regulations as a guarantee of the implementation of human rights in Indonesia, namely the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia No XVII/MPR/1999 on Human Rights and the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 39 of 1999 on Human Rights.

The issue of human rights in the broader context in Indonesia is the lack of fulfillment of the needs of the citizens, leading to numerous poor people in Indonesia. The survey issued by the Central Bureau of Statistics per September 2017 states that there are 26.58 million people or 10.12% of the poor in Indonesia (the Central Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Citizens at the empirical level have not enjoyed the independence and development that has been carried out since the development is more oriented to the interests



of elite groups than that of the general public. Another empirical condition proving the unfulfilled economic rights of the citizens is the increasing number of unemployment. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, there are 7.04 million people or 5.50% unemployment in Indonesia in August 2017 (Central Statistics Agency, 2017).

The reality of the current implementation of human rights also shows that there is still discrimination against minority groups both in carrying out civil rights and political rights. The normative civil rights and political rights of the citizens of Indonesia have been recognized and protected according to the 1945 Constitution and Law No 12 of 2005 on the Ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However, in practice, there are still forms of violations of civil rights and political rights. One of the serious concerns in fulfilling fundamental civil rights is religious freedom. The various case related to this freedom occur in several areas, namely the burning of the Mosque in Tolikara Papua and various types of prohibitions or perturbing religious activities, increasingly threatening religious harmony in Indonesia.

This condition is in accordance with the results of a survey carried out by the Setara Institute on the enforcement of human rights in Indonesia. The results show fluctuations in the human rights performance index for the period 2010-2016 as presented in the following figure:

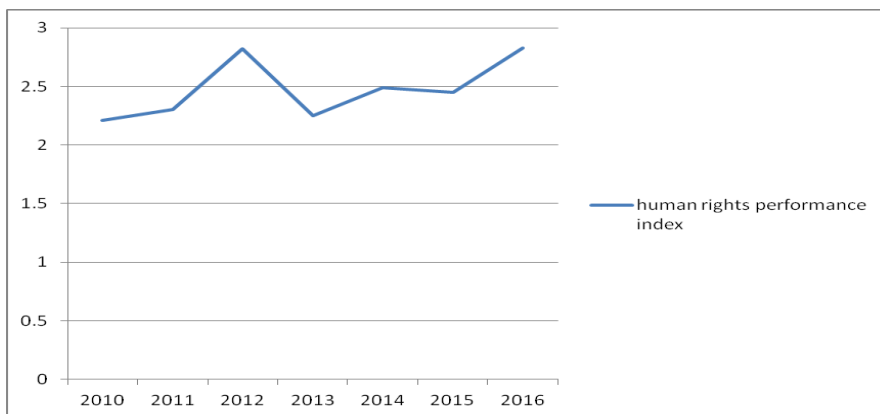


Figure 1. Human Rights Performance Index in Indonesia in 2010-2016



Based on the data above, the overall human rights performance index in the last two years has increased but not significantly. Observed from the data from Setara Institute, there are two factors causing weak enforcement of human rights, namely the freedom of expression and association as well as the freedom of religion/belief. In fact, the freedom of association as the right of every citizen has suffered from excessive interference of the state with binding regulations through the Law on Community Organizations.

Some articles had been eventually tested by the Constitutional Court and revised in 2015. The criminalization towards the community is quite high with the arrest of activists and the use of the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (ITE Law) against their criticism of the government. Therefore, the Government in this regard still does not fully provide the full trust and protection of the civil and political rights of every citizen, giving an impression of discrimination or unfair treatment.

3. Civil Society

State power in the New Order era was highly dominant in the practice of government administration. Therefore, civil society is required to balance state power in a democratic country. Reichardt in Eliaeson (2006: 23) states that the concept of civil society has been used to describe autonomous individual relations to communal solidarity, aiming for the common good. Many scholars have indicated that civil society has the characteristics of politically and socially free and autonomous citizens, engaging, and joining voluntarily in associations, located between the state, the market, and private space. From the perspective of civil society, the public space of agents and their own public space, as well as the type of community formation, are autonomous from political and social actions. The idea of civil society raises fundamental questions about social and political responsibility, legitimacy and integration.

Aspinall in Alagappa (2004) states that the development of civil society in Indonesia in the period 1950-1960 was marked by a great



number of community associations. However, Aspinall also states that a great number of associations does not guarantee the accomplishment of democratic consolidation. Later in the New Order era, the condition of civil society did not develop and stagnated due to the authoritarianism of the then regime, which eventually led to the reform movement with one of its important actors was the association of civil society.

However, the challenge for civil society in Indonesia is not merely in terms of quantity, but more importantly in terms of quality. According to Eisenstadt in Lipset, as quoted by Gaffar (2006: 180), ideal civil society in a democratic country has several important components. First, autonomy means the liberty of the society from the influence of the state, in economic, political and social aspects. Second, the availability of public access to state institutions. In the context of relations between the state and the community, every citizen, both individually and collectively, shall have access to government agencies. Third, independent public arena. It means a space where citizens develop themselves to the fullest in all aspects of life, either in the economic or other fields. Finally, open the public arena, meaning that it is open to all levels of society and is not carried out in an exclusive, confidential, and corporative manner.

Observed from the empirical conditions of civil society in Indonesia, there are still fundamental issues that shall be addressed. For example, the autonomy of civil society organizations is still doubtful since they remain highly dependent on the budget provided by the government. Although legally, the budget assistance is allowed as a form of empowerment of community organizations by the government in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 17 of 2013.

Meanwhile, the community still encounters difficulty to obtain access to government agencies. Such difficulty is frequently related to the process of policy formulation at both the central and regional levels. The community is still utilized as the object of policy instead of the subject or actor of the policy. This condition is exacerbated by the lack of information obtained by the community regarding their interests. It is



highly counterproductive if related to the enactment of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No 14 of 2009 on Public Information Disclosure (KIP Law). In the KIP Law, it is explained that everyone has the right to obtain and access public information other than excluded information in accordance with the provisions.

Furthermore, the post-reform development of civil society associations in Indonesia is more directed towards the basis of primordial ties and the existence of radical groups. The heterogeneity of the citizens of Indonesia can be a source of strength if managed properly. On the other hand, heterogeneity can generate a negative impact if not managed as social capital in building democracy in Indonesia. However, empirical experience in Indonesia shows that parochial political culture is still inherent in community members and civil society associations.

Civil Society Organizations in the post-Suharto era attempt to be the main protector of democracy. However, the challenges of the anti-reform elite groups seek to continue to reverse democracy (Mietzner, 2012). Various methods have been taken to ensure that civil society can't carry out its function as a "bridge" between the state and society by co-opting, controlling, and actively supervising the movement of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). Therefore, Civil Society Organizations cannot play their role in democratization and ultimately leads to "stagnant democracy".

Civil society even shows an alarming development and causes new issues since the issuance of the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No 58 of 2016 on the Implementation of Law No 17 of 2013 on Community Organizations. The arising issue is that there are provisions regarding licensing for Community Organizations established by Foreign Nationals in Indonesia. It obviously raises new issues since the existence of foreign community organizations in Indonesia is feared to trigger conflict and threaten the ideology and unity of the NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). The existence of this foreign community organization for the benefit of Indonesia needs to be reviewed. Supposing that the negative impact is more dominant, the government is advised to revise and even revoke the Government Regulation.

4. General Elections and Political Process

Schumpeter (2003) states that democracy is defined as an institutional arrangement to arrive at political decisions by providing power to certain individuals to decide all things as a consequence of their success in gaining popular votes. Democracy entitles every citizen to be involved in the selection of leadership through a process called General Election. Likewise in Indonesia, during the Suharto era, General Elections were held periodically in accordance with the applicable constitution. However, the Elections were only ceremonial in five years without prioritizing general elections based on the principles of Direct, Public, Free, Confidential, Honest and Fair (LUBER JURDIL) since the ruling regime mobilized the bureaucratic and military machinery to win the election by mobilizing the masses to ensure that Golkar could win the election.

In 1999, the general election was held for the first time after the Suharto era. Political participation of the community in the Legislative Election was quite high, namely 92.6%, followed by 48 political parties participating in the election. The election progressed well through the presence of various political parties with various backgrounds. The direct election of the President and Vice President was first held in 2004 while the direct election of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads was held in June 2005.

However, along with the changes in existing regulations that the Presidential Election and Regional Head Election are carried out directly by the community, various issues arise regarding democracy. The arising issues are first, increasing money politics. Money politics in General Elections, both in the Legislative Elections and the Election of Regional Heads and Deputy Regional Heads are currently a crucial problem. A direct electoral system makes politicians take pragmatic political steps to obtain votes from voters. High political costs have resulted in other arising major issues, namely the practices of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN).



The Annual Report of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) notes that the largest number of Hand Capture Operation (OTT) in the history of Indonesia in 2017 reached 19 OTT involving 72 suspects consisting of Regional Heads, legislators, law enforcers, and the private sector (Eradication Commission Corruption, 2018: 49). The money politics carried out by politicians in the electoral process shall have a negative effect on the practice of government administration. These politicians try to obtain profits and restore their political capital when they become candidates for the legislature or regional heads.

The second issue is the strengthening of primordial issues whenever general elections are held. Several studies show that the voting community in Indonesia is still classified into a sociological voter. It is obviously utilized by politicians or political parties to "sell" issues related to primordial. The influence of primordial sentiment in a democratic party in Indonesia is still an effective way of gaining votes. The politics of flow in Indonesia up to now still strengthen with the loyalty of the community towards the unity of culture, religion, ethnicity, and race.

The last issue is of the incredibility of the general election, not merely involving legislative candidates and candidates of regional heads and deputy regional heads, but also the organizers of the election. A good electoral system is free and fair. General elections must not only be carried out neutrally, but the system itself must also be fair. The free and fair electoral system includes orderly administration in voter registration and formation of electoral lists; eligibility of citizens as candidates; freedom to campaign through public meetings and others; the role of the media in providing balanced coverage; and implementation of election transparency and calculation. In short, voters must be able to go to polling stations and vote confidentially without fear of intimidation or worse (Emerson, 2012: 75). The 2014 General Election showed that the integrity of general elections in Indonesia was still questionable with the emergence of cases of falsification of documents, utilization of state facilities, destruction of ballots, and involvement of election organizers for the victory of one of the candidates.

E. Conclusion

Democratic governance has not been fully implemented in the administration of government and political life in Indonesia. Indonesia in the post-reform era has attempted to create a system of government and politics to accomplish democratic consolidation. Democratic governance in Indonesia has not yet been accomplished and tends to be in a state of crisis due to feeble law enforcement in Indonesia and discrimination against the implementation of human rights resulting in horizontal conflicts among the community. Furthermore, the civil society, expected to be a counterbalance to state power and the intermediary between the interests of the community and the state, has not been able to carry out their functions optimally.

General elections carried out as a condition that must be owned by a democratic country, in general, have been well implemented, although there are still several issues such as money politics and the inevitable strengthening of the issues of Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroup (SARA) in each election due to parochial political culture. Thus, it can be concluded that even though it has been supported by a set of normative rules both in the constitution and other regulations, current democracy in Indonesia is still weak at the empirical level.

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