

The Decline of Democracy in The Joko Widodo Regime: A Case Study of Issues Ethnicity, Religion, Race Inter-Group Relations of The Election 2019

Kamila Khoirunnisa¹, Siwach Sripokangkul², Muhammad Kamil³,
Asep Nurjaman⁴ and Iradhat Taqwa⁵

Received : March 2, 2020; Revised : June 22, 2020; Accepted : June 23, 2020

Abstract

Indonesia as one of the countries that adopted a democratic system should make election as a way to choose the country's leader. There are still many political elites and interest groups that make identity politics a trigger for conflict in elections. Indonesia which has a pluralistic society should not be divided only because of political interests. The issue of SARA has become a major conflict in the division of society in Indonesia. In fact, differences in principles and points of view which makes the emergence of patterns as if there is competition up to seeps into the strata of society. Then the things about triggers divisions in the community in welcoming the 2019 presidential election contestation is very important to be studied in order to

¹Departement of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia; e-mail : Kamilakhoirunnisa99@gmail.com

²College of Local Administration, Khon Kaen University, Thailand;
e-mail : siwasri@kku.ac.th

³Departement of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia; e-mail : kamil@umm.ac.id

⁴Departement of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia; e-mail : asepnurjaman68@gmail.com

⁵Departement of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia; e-mail : iradhad89@gmail.com

maintain the integrity of the nation because Indonesia is a country that values pluralism and prone to divisions. Clean, honest, fair and confidential elections. This aims to study how identity politics influences people towards the 2019 general election in Indonesia. The analytical methodology descriptive analysis. All citizens are entitled to the votes they have to elect the nation's leaders going forward. Identity politics also still cannot maintain a sense of tolerance for society and the interests of political elites. Nationalism that must be possessed by us is not only limited to defending the country, but also in the elections and elections, when we eliminate identity politics then that is an intelligence of choice. Looking at the name of the Indonesian people not on ethnicity, religion, race and class. Political education must be given to everyone involved in elections / local elections so that together they build the foundation of a fair election without negative campaigns that attack the issue of ethnicity, religion, race between groups (SARA) Bhineka Tunggal Ika became the watchword of Indonesia to unite the Republic of Indonesia. Bhineka Tunggal Ika became the watchword of Indonesia to unite the Republic of Indonesia.

Keywords : Election, Democracy, Political Identity, Pluralistic Society.

Introduction

As a country that adopts a democratic system, it is very important for Indonesian to elect political officials using their voting rights. This process is known as General Election. Elections are very important as an instrument for determining the direction of a country's policy that adheres to a democratic system. Furthermore majority of countries in the world choose democracy. Democracy apparently provides human rights protection compared to an authoritarian system.

Solid stability and democracy have a close relationship with the creation of appreciation of human rights. Whereas in other fields not related to political freedom, democracy promises to create a political framework in which the development and fulfillment of human rights becomes better organically and expresses its demands. Democracy helps prevent the development of cruel governments and cunning clerics

(Harahap, 2010). In addition, democracy has a correlation with the prevention of corruption (related to other factors). A multi-party system and free market will increase competition and accountability so that it can ultimately reduce corruption.

Indonesia first held elections in 1955 based on Law Number 7 of 1953 concerning for electing members of Parliament (DPR) and constituents (Institutions that were given the task and authority to make changes to the country's constitution). The first election was attended by 118 participants consisting of 36 political parties, 34 social organizations, and 48 individuals, while the second election was attended by 91 participants consisting of 39 political parties, 23 social organizations, and 29 individuals. In 1971, the New Order era elections began which was the second election in Indonesia since independence. At that time, Golkar won the election. Since that time, elections have been held in succession in the political arena in Indonesia with the same results from the 1971 election to 1997. Thus, the Suharto era successfully held elections in 1971, 1977, 1982, 1992 which ended with the victory of the Golkar party (Feith, 1957). But the victory was carried out with fraud such as manipulation by government officials, bureaucratic pressure, media monopoly, unfair organizing institutions, and corruption conducted by court officials who all ended up protecting the interests of the New Order.

However, elections in Indonesia often trigger conflicts that using religion as the main role to encourage people to choose one party candidate or leader who sees a religious background. This has happened at the time of the 1955 elections there were four major parties on the political stage namely the Indonesian National Party (PNI), Masjumi, Nahdlatul Ulama, and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). An Australian researcher employed by the Government of Indonesia. There were a number of events, including demonstrations against blasphemy, rejection of communist, and intimidation by the authorities. The start of the campaign was marked by the ratification of the Law on Elections on April 4, 1953. Party symbols were approved and announced by the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) on May

31, 1953. This campaign seemed to force political parties to network at the village level.

The Masyumi-dominated Islamic organization then mobilized a demonstration in February 1954 condemning Permai and PNI. This is a follow-up demonstration of the previous issue, namely the replacement of the Greater Jakarta Mayor from Masjumi, Sjamsuridjal, with a PNI member, Sudiro. This substitution also changed the composition of Masyumi's representation in the Election Committee a year before the election. This demonstration was also driven by the government's uncertainty in responding to the issue of blasphemy at that time.

In the era of the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, it was also not spared from SARA's actions, among others there were still many religious intolerances, for example, the sealing of the Indonesian Christian Church in Bogor. In the legal process, in December 2010 the Supreme Court issued a decree, which strengthened the decision of the Bandung Administrative Court and PT Jakarta Administrative Court to order the Bogor City Urban Planning and Parks Office to revoke the Freezing of Yasmin GKI Building Permit. However, the Court's decision was never implemented by the Bogor City Government. This makes the pilgrims feel prevented from worshipping because it has been closed by the Indonesian Christian Church Yasmin.

This conflict also occurred in the Election of DKI Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahja Purnama (BTP) at the time of the Jakarta election campaign to bring Verses of the Qur'an at the time of the campaign and to give a misunderstanding to the community so that the Islamic ummah and some community organizations declared it as blasphemy. Thus, the community considers a leader to be able to maintain his behavior and speech. Political officials and political parties are divided because they have two groups, the first being opposition and defense which makes this case a barrier to the 2019 presidential election, community organizations that carry Islam as a bulwark. Meanwhile, in the defense group that brought the coalition of Presidential Candidate number 1, namely Joko Widodo, which was motivated by the PDIP and other parties. Why did the 2018 election case affect the 2019 election because BTP

was a candidate carried by the PDIP and the opposition gave a statement if the blasphemy of religion was not feasible to become a leader in the State of Indonesia. In the end of the discussion, it will raise the question whether the decline of democracy in the Jokowi era will continue to occur because of the issue of SARA which is currently a hot topic of discussion in Indonesia? Then how are the factors that influence the SARA conflict in the 2019 election?

This writing adopts the theory of J.S Furnivall stating that a multicultural society is a society consisting of two or more elements that live independently without renewing one another in political unity. In this case, this writing is intended so that no more differences occur in a country that adopts a democratic system so that a peaceful and prosperous society will be created. Indonesia already has Pancasila as the state ideology and the people must be able to implement it in their lives. In this case, this writing is intended so that no more differences occur in a country that adopts a democratic system so that a peaceful and prosperous society will be created. At this time Indonesia is also inseparable from the politics of identity that has been embedded in the community. Identity politics is to provide a clear line to determine who will be accepted and who will be rejected. Because these predetermined lines appear irreversible, status as a non-member can be permanent.

Methodology

This study uses a qualitative research paradigm and also a literature study. The author analyzes the literature obtained from documents, print media, books and journals. Qualitative research is a type of research whose findings were not obtained through statistical procedures or other forms of calculation and aimed at expressing symptoms holistically - contextually through the collection of data with a natural background by using researchers themselves as key instruments (Sugianto, 2015). Meanwhile, that qualitative research is the study of empiric (cultural) phenomena in the field. Qualitative research is a multi-method study area that focuses on naturalistic interpretations and approaches to an issue (Denzin, 2008).

Result and Discussion

Indonesia is a country that has a variety of races, tribes and religions that can be called a pluralistic country. Unity in Diversity as the motto of the Indonesian for its plurality. However, at present the SARA problem is the most dangerous issue in politics. With the existence of a pluralistic society, Indonesia is vulnerable to SARA conflicts, especially during the 2019 General Election. The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) presented surprising survey results about the potential development of ethnic, religious, racial and intergroup issues in the 2019 General Election. The result, the SARA issue deliberately made by the political elite. The results of the survey were carried out by 145 political, economic, social, cultural and defense experts at LIPI. LIPI survey results show that SARA issues are not significant at the grassroots level. The survey was conducted on 145 experts in the fields of politics, economy, social, culture and defense and security, spread in 11 provinces during the period from April to July 2018. The survey is as part of conducting a survey activity "mapping political, economic, socio-cultural and defense conditions- security ahead of the 2019 concurrent elections: in the context of strengthening democracy "which is part of the 2018 national priority program (PN).

In this case there is still the identity politics brought by a group of political elites to influence the community in the 2019 general election. Identity politics are sharply distinguished between political identity and political of identity (Muhtar, 2012) . Political identity is a construction that determines the position of the subject's interests in the bond of a political community while political of identity refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as a source and means of politics. Identity politics can include racism, fio-feminism, environmentalism (the politics of environmental issues), and ethnic strife (Sari, 2020). While in the context of religious politics, identity is reflected in a variety of efforts to include religious values in the policy making process, including the promotion of regional regulations on sharia, as well as efforts to make a city synonymous with certain religions.

Identity politics is based on strategic essentialism, where we act as if identity is a stable entity for certain political and practical purposes. Every nation of self, identity, community of identification (nation, ethnicity, sexuality, class, etc.), and politics that flow from it is only fiction that marks the temporary, partial, and arbitrary standardization of meaning. . The operationalization of identity politics which is basically cultural in nature will occupy three public areas which become a battle between many cultural interests. First, the operationalization of identity politics is played optimally through the wheels of government. Second is the area of religion. Third, identity politics operates by means of power sharing, in which group identity will include the interests of its identity in a particular way.

The dynamics of the political flow is determined by the political communication that exists in the country. The function of political communication includes six things as stated by Gabriel Almond: political communication is a function that is always present in every political system. All of the functions performed in the political system, political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication, are performed by means of communication. In a narrower sense, political communication is defined as one of the functions of political parties, namely channeling a variety of opinions and aspirations of the people and organizing them in such a way - "aggregation of interests" and "formulation of interests" (interest articulation) to be fought to be public policy. (Budiardjo, 1982).

Identity politics are usually used by leaders as political rhetoric as we call "native people" who want power and those for "newcomers" who have to give up power. So, in short, identity politics is only used as a manipulation tool - a tool to mobilize politics - in order to fulfill its economic and political interests. Which is usually used as a manipulation tool - a tool to mobilize politics for economic and political interests.

Cultural conflicts can spread to the political arena, as well as specifically: to religion, language, and school uniforms for example, or equality in obtaining

education; or acts of discrimination committed by one group against another; or whether the government should support religion or religious institutions, and if so, which ones and how; or actions carried out by one group which for other groups constitute acts that are highly offensive and should be prohibited, such as abortion, slaughtering cows or "indecent" clothing; or how and whether political and territorial boundaries should be adjusted to the desires and demands of society.

Cultural is only true to a certain extent, but to say Indonesia as multi-ethnic and multi-religious is not unique and need not be proud of, there are some notes. According to him, the largest and widest nation and island nation in the world is only one, namely Indonesia, a young nation that is not yet 100 years old (Maarif, 2010). The number of islands is more than 17,000, local languages and ethnicities are in the hundreds, religion also varies: Islam, Christianity / Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and local beliefs that are not included in the official government list. Islam which is embraced by the majority of the population (around 88.22%), in the faith system is relatively single, but as an expression of intellectual culture, religious understanding and even more politics, it turns out that Islam is very diverse. The same phenomenon also applies to other religions. In a Catholic theological environment which looks more compact theologically, the political expression of Indonesian Catholics is not single, but plural, especially Protestants consisting of various sects.

The SARA issue that occurred in the 2019 election was also inseparable from the issue or conflict that occurred when the DKI Jakarta Election which brought Basuki Tjahaja Purnama into a criminal offense that brought the issue of SARA increasingly got spotlight during the election. At that time the issue of SARA also emerged, many leaflets on the streets and also in mosques, containing verses from the Koran, which asked not to elect non-Muslim leaders. The leaflet contained Sura Al-Maidah verse 51, Sura An-Nisa, and Sura Al-Hujurat verse 13, which advocated not choosing non-Muslim leaders. At that time, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) said that the people who presented the leaflets were not ulamas (islam preachers), but politicians who sought

power behind religion. The SARA issue is the easiest tool to be used in political marketing, especially through online media such as social media during the 2017 Jakarta Governor and Deputy Governor Election, not only because of the presence of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) who came from ethnic Chinese and Christians. On the 2004 Presidential Election, the issue of SARA to the mother of the President and Vice President was also used, even though they both had clear religious backgrounds, but then there was still debate about the religious identity.

Quoted from the mindrakyat.com, Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy Titi Anggraini assesses the use of this issue in time can make the public bored instead of making a choice on one candidate. Titi did not dismiss, the polarization which split the 2019 presidential election did make the issue that was taken sometimes very far from the ideas and programs. Provocation is easy to appear with the aim of changing voter confidence. Issues relating to SARA sentiment are usually raised to get public sympathy.

The elections held aim to elect representatives of the people and regional representatives, as well as to form a democratic, strong government, and obtain popular support in order to realize national goals as the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. General elections constitute one form of political education for the people that is direct, open and mass, which is expected to be able to educate political understanding and increase public awareness about democracy (Muhtar, 2012). Article 1 paragraph (1) of Law No. 11 of 2011 concerning the holding of general elections mentioned and explained about the meaning of elections, hereinafter referred to as elections, are: Means of exercising popular sovereignty which are held directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly and fairly in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the Law The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

When leaders are only seen from the factors of ethnicity, religion, race and class, we will close the possibility of electing leaders from a variety of diversity that exists in Indonesia and close the competition on the ability and integrity of the

candidates themselves. To minimize the issue of SARA, what needs to be done is political education for the whole community where there is rationality in choosing, intelligent and wise in choosing election participants who carry out campaigns without SARA emblems. Elections / elections with smart voters and a good sense of nationalism will give birth to a leader who has the capability and 167 good integrity which will be able to provide progress for the people who voted for him/her. Political education is not only a state task, but a joint task where the civil society must play an active role in building a strong foundation to work together to change the mindset of the community in exercising their right to vote, so that all candidates have the same chance of winning and opening up a variety of diverse choices for the advancement of Indonesia.

Conclusion

As a country that adopts a democratic and electoral system is one way to implement democracy in Indonesia. With the diversity that exists in Indonesia, the election should be kept away from the SARA issues that often occur at this time. tolerance that should be applied in daily life and in politics to create honest, fair and confidential elections. All citizens are entitled to the votes they have to elect the nation's leaders going forward. Identity politics also still cannot maintain a sense of tolerance for society and the interests of political elites. Nationalism that must be possessed by us is not only limited to defending the country, but also in the elections and elections, when we eliminate identity politics then that is an intelligence of choice. Looking at the name of the Indonesian people not on ethnicity, religion, race and class. Political education must be given to everyone involved in elections / elections so that together building a fair election foundation without negative campaigns that attack the issue of ethnicity, religion, race between groups (SARA) Unity in Diversity as a symbolic unifying the nation so that there are no divisions that occurred in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The hopes that in the leadership of President Joko Widodo the second time, Indonesia can be free from

SARA problems and can become a peaceful and prosperous country, not only as a country ruled by leaders who are thirsty for power.

Suggestion

Objectively this research examine social phenomena that occur in the midst of society as a result strengthening the orientation of identity politics, ethnic and religious primordial. Indonesia is a country that adopts a democratic system and all people have the right to choose and use their voting rights as individual political rights. However, it is the game of political elites who identify people with identity politics as their political tool, the phenomenon of the General Election in 2019 was also colored by the representation of identity politics. Ethnicity and religion have always been the orientation of victory in political battles such as elections. It can be remembered that politics based on identity can be dangerous, especially using ethnic identity and also religion can divide politics and democracy. It is hoped that elections and other political activities do not refer to identity politics. The government must be able to neutralize and political elites so as not to create divisions between the people. Democratic process that has been tainted by that kind of thing will resulting in loss of function democracy itself.

References

- Budiardjo, M. (1982). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Gramedia.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. (1st Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* Sage Publications Inc. Washington, DC, United State. pp 1–43.
- Erfianto, T. (2017). *Kampanye Tanpa SARA dan Politik Identitas di Media Massa*. Retrieved from <http://jurnalintelijen.net/2017/06/13/kampanye-tanpa-sara-dan-politik-identitas-di-media-massa/>, (accessed 1 February 2020).

- Feith, H. (1957). The Indonesian elections of 1955: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program. Cornell University New York, United State: Equinox Publishing.
- Harahap, H. I. (2010). Robert A. Dahl dan Studi tentang Fenomena Demokrasi di India. *Politeia: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 2(1), pp 21-32.
- Irfan, M. (2019). Pemilu 2019 Isu SARA Bisa Turunkan Animo Pemilih. Retrieved from <https://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-01304851/pemilu-2019-isu-sara-bisa-turunkan-animo-pemilih>, (accessed 1 February 2020).
- Maarif, A. S. (2010). Politik Identitas dan Masa Depan Pluralisme Kita. Jakarta, Indonesia: Yayasan Abad Demokrasi.
- Muhtar, H. (2012). Menguatnya Politik Identitas di Ranah Lokal. *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*, 3(1), pp 120-134.
- Marzuki, S. (2008). Peran Komisi Pemilihan Umum Dan Pengawas Pemilu Untuk Pemilu Yang Demokratis. *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum*, 15(3), pp 493-412.
- Sari, E., Amin, M., & Warjio, W. (2020). Influence of Voting Behavior on Political Participation in North Sumatera Governor Election Year 2018 Particularly in Stabat Sub-District. *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 7(1), pp 671-678.
- Sugiarto, E. (2017). Menyusun Proposal Penelitian Kualitatif: Skripsi dan Tesis: Diandra Kreatif (pp 1-228). Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Suaka Media.
- Suryowati, E. (2017). Prihatin Fenomena PILKADA DKI KPU Atur Soal Isu Sara dalam Dua Peraturan. Retrieved from <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/10/27/22221201/prihatin-fenomena-pilkada-dki-kpu-atur-soal-isu-sara-dalam-dua-peraturan>, (accessed 1 February 2020).
- Syaifuddin, A. F. (2006). Membumikan multikulturalisme di Indonesia. *Jurnal Antropologi Sosial Budaya Etnovisi*, 2(1), pp 3-10.