

Indonesian Presidential Election 2019

Democracy without Conflict?

Wahyu Gunawan, Keri Lestari, Margo Purnomo, Deasy Silvyia Sari

This article aims to explain the ideal construct of Indonesia democracy after the 2019 presidential election which is colored by the conflict of two blocks known as cebong vs kampret. This shows that democracy cannot be separated from conflict. However, despite the ongoing conflict, is it possible for Indonesia to build an ideal construction of Indonesian-style democracy? Democracy in 2019 Presidential election is an indicator of political development in Indonesia, whereas all state institutions must ensure basic rights of Indonesia peoples. A valuable lesson of Indonesia democracy is diversity as a blessing of Indonesian human life with Pancasila as democracy system. In this system, deliberation (musyawarah mufakat) and majority voice ensure direct presidential election based on people's will. The dynamic of 2019 presidential election is the emergence of the tightness and uniqueness of supporters of candidate pairs. At the end, this dynamic was coloured by flowing tears of the motherland mourning.

Keywords: democracy, presidential election, Indonesia.

Democracy originated from Athens, Ancient Greece in the 5th century BC. It comes from the word, demos means people, and kratos or cratein means government, so that it is defined as government of the people, or government of the people, by the people and for the people.



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ple. The amount of chaos, conflicts, frequent changes of government, and periods of tyranny, made the Greeks give a lot of speculative legal thinking about legal issues and society. According to Plato (in Thalhah, 2009), the state must be run by state authorities that do not discriminate against people or society, the position of all people before the law is equal and balanced. Aristotle Plato's pupil (in Thalhah, 2009) made an essential distinction of the legal concept of distributive justice and corrective justice. Distributive justice is the concept of justice concerning the distribution of goods and respect to each person according to their place in society. Whereas corrective justice, in carrying out the law, there must be a single and common standard of a general nature, as a consequence of an action taken by a person in relation to others around him. These standards must be balanced and applied without looking at people, must be objective (Thalhah, 2009). The law does not only regulate the behavior that already exists in society and maintain existing habits but has led to a tool or means, as an expression or will manifested in society (Thalhah, 2009).

State institutions in exercising state power need to be limited, so that they are not arbitrary, do not overlap authority and there is no centralization of power in one institution, it is necessary to have a division or separation of powers. This is intended solely to guarantee the human rights of its citizens so that the authorities (Montesquieu, Philosophers of France - 1748 in Yulistiyowati et al, 2016) do not treat them arbitrarily. The concept of Trias Politica is a normative principle that power should not be handed over to the same person to prevent abuse of power by the ruling party, meaning that state life by separating power is expected to be separated from each other in an equal position, so that they can control and balance one another each other (checks and balances), other than that limiting power so that there is no centralization of power in one hand which will give birth to arbitrariness (Yulistiyowati et al, 2016).

In the system of government of the Republic of Indonesia implicitly, both before and after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, applying the Trias Politica Montesquieu concept, but its application is not absolute. The division of power based on state functions in the Indonesian republic's government system based on the 1945 Constitution before the amendment turned out to be not only Legislative (MPR, DPR), Executive (President) and Judiciary (MA), but apart from the 3 (three) functions, it was still divided again into Consultative Power (DPA) and

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Examinative Power (BPK). After the amendment it turned out that not only was the Legislature (MPR, DPR, DPD), Executive (President) and Judiciary (MA, MK), but it was still divided into Examinative Power (BPK) (Yulistyowati et al, 2016).

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In order to fill those who occupied these state institutions, Indonesia held an election. In this case, simply put, the election is one of the pillars or the hallmark of democracy (Mesfin, 2008). However, the elections held were generally not free from conflict. Conflicts in elections occur when elections as a democratic process are considered unfair, unresponsive, corrupt by those who prioritise interests rather than norms and public needs (Fischer, 2002). In Africa, for example, electoral conflicts often lead to violence including competition between elites, ethnic politics, land conflicts, which even involve military forces in the conflict (Kovacs & Bjarnesen, 2018). In Indonesia, the 2019 presidential election had divided the Indonesian nation into a conflict of two tadpoles versus shucks. Cebong is a designation for bearers of presidential candidate 01 Joko Widodo-Ma; ruf Amin and Kampret are the names of supporters of 02 Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. This labeling-based conflict is getting sharper even after the presidential election is over (Triwibowo, 2019). This labeling shows that participant's fanaticism is a malaise from each opponent that tear motherland.

Valuable lessons from democracy in Indonesia: difference is a blessing for Indonesian human life

Indonesia has gone through at least four periods of democracy: liberal democracy (during independence), guided democracy (when President Soekarno dissolved the constituent), Pancasila democracy (President Soeharto) and transitional democracy. It turned out that liberal democracy at that time could not make a meaningful change for Indonesia, the various cabinet-build-ups at that time had shown a variety of personalities along with their brilliant thinking in leading but easily overthrown by parliament with a vote of no confidence. While the guided democracy declared by Sukarno (seeing the length of the constituents issuing a new constitution) has strengthened Sukarno's position absolutely (Nihaya M, 2011).

Pancasila democracy has a rational and specific basis for thinking compared to both liberal democracy and popular (communist) democracy. Liberal democracy puts individual freedom as the basis for imple-

menting democracy. The philosophy used is humans as free individuals. People's democracy puts the foundation of society as the pattern of implementing democracy. The philosophy used is that humans live in a commune structure. Pancasila Democracy places wisdom (common sense) as the basis for implementing democracy. The philosophy used is humans as creatures of thought. Considering that in a democracy opening the space for dissent, the difference must be seen as a basic capital for the development of human life. Therefore, in managing differences requires common sense, not free individuals or individuals who are shackled by society. With common sense, the difference will be a blessing for human life in realizing justice and welfare of life and human life and their natural environment (Prabowo, 2011)

The concept of Pancasila democracy does not originate from the understanding of individualism that developed in the West, although it cannot be denied the liberal values that shape democracy in the West such as equality of citizens' rights, freedom of opinion as the main pillar of democracy, strongly influences the enrichment of Pancasila democracy. Pancasila democracy that is raised is democracy based on the understanding of togetherness and kinship, the substance of this model democracy is a critical attitude towards the policies of the authorities, deliberation to reach *mufakat* in political decision-making and the habit of helping or helping each other. Pancasila democracy in Indonesia is characterised by religious nationalism rather than secular nationalists. The first precept Pancasila acclimated the divine values in the State ideology as the foundation of the nation and state (Agustam, 2011).

The collapse of communism in 1989 became a crucial momentum for democracy as a political system to spread its influence throughout the world. Democracy has broad meaning and also its own complexity, especially the debate between liberal democracy and social democracy. The practice of democracy in Indonesia after the 1998 reform era shows the problems faced by this country in creating a democratic society. Democratization in Indonesia is still in the process and there are still many things that need to be addressed (Nugroho, 2012).

Basically, Pancasila Democracy System consist of Consensus and Majority Discussion. Democracy presents the common interests of the community. By using all infrastructure and supra-structure, community interest can be contested as government policy. Government policies, in Indonesia, have been produced in two mechanisms: Con-

sensus-building and Majority votes. Both are based on Pancasila values. With problems in the form of space and the number of people in democracy, consensus agreement is sometimes replaced in other processes such as majority votes, for example, the most votes are general elections, both on a national and local scale. On the other hand, consensus was held to make policies at the legislative level. In some cases, the issue of governance was decided by consensus agreement. So, deliberation and consensus majority vote the same in the democratic system, has a fundamental reason as the national value of the implementation of Pancasila (Permatasari and Cahyo, 2014)

Direct presidential elections based on the will of the people

Direct election is the process of choosing the representation of the aspirations of the people to achieve all their dreams and hopes to those who want to be able to maintain the mandate and become their trust to always voice the conscience of the people who chose it. According to Hamza (2003) the direct election of the president is based on the will of the people who determine the heirs of the national leader himself, with the provisions and mechanism of the election implementation.

Indarja (2018) explains, the regulation of the Election of the President and Vice President in Indonesia changes from time to time, starting from the period 1945-1950, the President and Vice President are chosen by the PPKI by acclamation. Period 1950-1959 President and Vice President are chosen by agreement between the RIS countries and RI. After the period of 1959 until now, the people through general elections elect the President and Vice President. After the issuance of the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14 / PUU-XI / 2013 Concerning Judicial Review of Law Number 42 Year 2008 Regarding the Election of the President and Vice President, the 2019 General Elections shall be held simultaneously both the Legislature and the Executive. Tamrin (2013) stressed the importance of the provisions of the Direct Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections in the Reformation Era. The direct presidential and vice-presidential elections have begun in 2004 under Law Number 23 of 2003 and renewed with Law Number 42 of 2008. The importance of this provision is that the president and vice president-elect reflect the choice of the majority of people. In addition to preventing problems in Parliament, this provision also aims to maintain the sustainability of the President as head of government and head of state. Therefore, it is not easy for him to be moved or impeached.

Democratic elections and the presidential election illustrates that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, where the government comes from the people, by the people, and for the people. In elections, there are political contestations that encourage the candidates for leaders to make efforts to win the general election. This has caused different reactions in the community regarding their views on the efforts made by the contestants. The current warm situation in Indonesia is the presidential election held in 2019, but the atmosphere of tight competition has been felt since 2017. Tightness between supporters of the two pairs of candidates causes the 2019 presidential election to have its own uniqueness compared to previous presidential elections. This presidential election is a rematch of competition 5 years ago in 2014. There are interesting things about the phenomena that occur prior to the 2019 presidential election, namely competition between two camps of candidate pairs has caused various reactions among the public. In fact, differences in principles and points of view are what make the emergence of patterns as if there is competition to seep into the layers of society and are vulnerable to disunity in the middle of Indonesia is a country that upholds the values of pluralism (Huda, et al: 2018).

The presidential election is a series of activities to elect a president in accordance with the aspirations of his people, which are mediated by the election organizer safely and peacefully. The 2019 presidential election is the process of selecting the president of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. In the series finally colored very high dynamics and even bleeding mixed with the aroma of death. Should the 2019 democracy party be full of endless bloody conflicts? The reality of the 2019 presidential election is not only competing in a healthy manner, but also raises a very high contradiction resulting in a very open conflict. What's wrong with my people, red and white half-pillar fluttering gaping wounds, torn hearts of the nation's children, making the tears of the motherland grieving flowing.

Democracy: Community (Without) Conflict (?)

In the realm of democracy, community conflict becomes a necessity. Democracy cannot be separated from the existence of conflict but through the 2019 Election is expected to be an effort to manage the conflict towards a good, especially constructive Conflict that is able to mediate pragmatic negotiations of the interests that exist in the motherland.

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The dynamics that occur in society will determine the existence and sustainability of democracy in a community context. The tendency that democracy emphasises the existence of autonomy for individuals related to their equal rights in society makes the presence of democracy has created a meeting room of various differences from each individual or community group that makes conflict as a matter that will always be present in the space of democracy (Sukri, 2016).

At present, there is a tendency to view conflicts in the era of democracy as negative excesses of the existence of democracy. The assumption that democracy is a good system and will bring good to human life is interpreted by a society without conflict. This understanding seems to mask the fact that the freedom and equality of each individual offered by the democratic system means providing space for conflict, because human nature as creatures that always have differences. Conflict tends to be considered a non-democratic phenomenon as something that actually makes sense in a democratic context. Through election as one of the main pillars and indicators of democracy that seems to be a criticism of the rejection of conflict as an important element in a democratic society (Sukri, 2016).

Although democracy is understood as a method that can benefit the community, its presence cannot be separated from the existence of conflict between individuals and community groups. This understanding is due to differences in interpretations, preferences and goals of each individual and even groups of people who live together in a social life context even though the interpretation of how people will rule and in what form then produces various perspectives on democracy. As the essence of social change, including changes that are progressive in a community structure. A conflict can be constructive or destructive that arises when two or more people or groups of people believe that they have different goals (Sukri, 2016).

If every decision will be taken as part of human life, then the decision taken in the election can be said as an attempt to manage the conflict towards a good. Thus, both the winners and losers must submit to and obey the decisions made in the election as an agreement taken by the community together to resolve conflicts over differences in choices and desires to whom and what policies are expected to become policy makers (Sukri, 2016).

Elections must be understood as a way to find a decision between many conflicting differences in society but on a temporary basis. Elec-

tions become a process that is always done periodically considering the form, type and model of conflicts that occur in society due to differences make conflict as a part of the reason for the presence of democracy. Disclaiming conflict in the existence of democracy can be seen as an effort to deny the existence of democracy itself (Sukri, 2016).

Elections as a form of democracy provide space for peaceful competition between political ideas, personalities, and political and social debates to remain in the arena of constructive conflict, so the efforts are made not only on Election Day but even before. This requires attention to the processes that occur in the dynamics of elections outside Election Day. Elections must be seen as a space of conflict that is part of a cycle of social change and community life that links matters that have an influence before and after the election (Sukri, 2016). In the end all differences and conflicts that exist in society due to various differences that are intrinsic can be stabilized or sought a solution but only temporarily through a pragmatic negotiation between the interests that form certain forces against others (Sukri, 2016).

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Washing the Tears of Indonesian Motherland: An Effort to Indonesian Unity

Efforts to wash away the tears of grief of the motherland after the 2019 elections in the framework of knitting the unity of Indonesia are still on the national track that unity and justice in diversity are the political ideals of the nation's children, the importance of multiculturalism discussion in increasing social cohesion, and the need for democratic transformation to establish citizen communication and make social integration policies. There is ongoing support from the mass media in enhancing national identity; Obligations of the world of education in supporting national unity and diversity; Building nationalism based on cultural diversity.

Unity and justice in diversity are the political ideals of the nation. Many countries put unity and justice in diversity as national political ideals. David, P (2016) gives an example of India which views unity as a political ideal in the context of India's post-colonial profound diversity and on this political ideal from the perspective of justice. Another case in Ethiopia, Adamu, AY (2013) discusses ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity, which are the distinguishing features of this country, despite failing to properly handle the issues of diversity, but there are efforts to overcome them by maintaining a balance between unity and diversity.

Another example (Brewster, K.: 2004) is the twentieth century Mexico offers a brilliant example of a country that is able to overcome its ethnic divisions. After a decade of brutal civil war (1910-2020), the country developed a series of reforms designed to incorporate previously marginalised sectors of society.

Nurturing the Spirit of Asia Africa 1955, there is commitment to diversity, independence and cooperation. Indonesia's normative leadership at the 1955 Asia-Africa Conference was based on anti-colonialism that was part of the 'Spirit of Bandung'. However, Indonesia's recent form of leadership, following extraordinary Democartisation, is more difficult to understand. Indonesia shows a great embrace of diversity alongside substantial illiberality - a pattern that produces a flexible form of liberalism that presents difficulties, but also shows special opportunities for Indonesian leadership. Taking into account the navigation of Indonesia's unity with diversity enables a better understanding of Indonesia's current and potential future forms of leadership than analyse s that rely on macro-level expectations of Democartisation taken from the dominant liberal understanding of democracy and political order. This is partly due to the importance of ongoing commitment to diversity, independence and cooperation articulated in Bandung in 1955 (Brigg et al, 2016).

Clearly, there is a need for multiculturalism discussion by increasing social cohesion. Multiculturalism discussions are urgently needed to increase social cohesion, for example in the UK after 11 September 2001, economic determinism and structural and cultural racism, with European government rhetoric and public policy almost exclusively aimed at Muslims. Then the ruling labor party held a discussion by exploring the changing concept of multiculturalism with special reference to British Muslims and emerging debates related to identity, nation and civil society (Abbas, T.: 2005). Nigeria also considers multiculturalism as the best way to deal with diversity in the emerging (fragmented) nation-state in Africa, by demonstrating the adoption of a federal government system designed to encourage 'interactive pluralism' which ultimately promotes 'fragmented pluralism' (Adebanwi, 2018). In Norway and the Netherlands, one can observe a general shift away from multiculturalism and an increasing emphasis on citizenship and social cohesion (Akkerman & Hagelund, 2007). For this reason, it is important to have a "group" for politics and the relationship between political action, multiculturalism, and socio-economic integration (Bloemraad, 2007).

The need for democratic transformation aims to establish citizen communication and makes social integration policies. The postwar Second World War is an example of a country that is changing social integration policies, especially the policies and philosophies of social integration of the Labor Government that specifically represent the post-multiculturalism discourse for social integration. The Labor Government seeks to build social integration by introducing abstract shared identities, which can be accepted by both majority and minority groups and in accordance with various cultural or religious conventions and teachings (Adachi, 2011).

In Malaysia as a multi-ethnic country, diversity is considered a challenge for national unity. Various ethnic groups in Malaysia have expressed different ideals about inter-ethnic unity and differed in their ideas about how this can be achieved. The results show that different ethnic groups have the same problem perception in terms of problem recognition, involvement, recognition of constraints, and not significantly different in terms of their social position on the problem. The findings of Azlan, A. A., Kee, C. P., & Abdullah, M. Y. (2018) suggest that different ethnic groups may be equipped differently to deal with the issue of inter-ethnic unity in Malaysia. Communication and policy efforts to build an integrated country will benefit by considering these differences to ensure effective implementation.

In the case of Turkey, Boyraz, C., & Turan, Ö. (2015) focuses on democratic transformation that demands more social integration through internalising participation through promoting active communication between citizens by increasing claims of active participation in the social and political fields and by making identities visible in various socio-cultural aspects.

A Support can come from Mass Media in enhancing national identity. Good things can be seen from the role of the Saturday Evening Post which mediated the nation in constructing the popular culture of American nationality between 1942 and 1969. As a medium, where the idea of shifting American identity is articulated, promoting a united American image, providing a real connection with countries that seek to integrate readers into in the sense of national community, the United States is defined as a united state by summarising internal differences, articulating a country where unity is expressed through a shared democratic political beliefs where differences and diversity reside (Appleton, 2002).

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Educational support is needed for unity and diversity. Malaysia is an example of how to promote unity in society starting from school education from a young age through arts education, unity and harmony among children in a multicultural society can be developed and strengthened. Art education is used among students of different school systems and races to foster unity and harmony between them. Strengthening unity among children in multicultural societies can bring harmony and peace in the future. Art education as a tool in achieving the national agenda to strengthen unity and harmony among elementary school children in Malaysia who come from various races and school systems (Balakrishnan, 2017).

According to Ben-Porath, S. (2011) the idea of citizenship as a common destiny is a productive lens for use in national affiliation analysis and for use in the educational process for citizenship. Muttaqin (2014) added, Nationalism Values and Norms manifested in culture or in the Indonesian National subculture were built from core values in the form of local culture-based education laden with life skills as a provision for survival in community life.

Indonesian society need building nationalism based on cultural diversity. Nationalism was built from the integration of all elements of the nation and state, the result of the people's integrity. Social integrity and social cohesiveness are built from the cohesiveness of the people in carrying out solidarity with fellow nations. Solidarity refers to a state of relationship between individuals and / or groups based on shared moral feelings and beliefs that is reinforced by shared emotional experiences (Durkheim, 1895 in Johnson, 1986). The basis of social solidarity is the existence of dynamic social relationships through good mass communication and face-to-face friendship between citizens.

The principles of nationality and humanity that Emphasise the importance of inter-national relations or the real basis of independence and justice in Socio Nationalism on a daily basis can be realised in mutual cooperation behavior. Institutionalisation and internalization of cultural values Nationalism in the form of mutual cooperation as a local wisdom of the people, according to Durkheim (1895 in Ritzer, without years) is a cultural values that are coercive to everyone, which is obtained through observation and experimental.

According to Syamsuddin (1989), the process of observation and experimental nationalism of the nation will differ in its level; however, inheritance through socio-cultural integration is an alternative answer

to the diversity of the nation's children. Integration is mixing to become a unified whole. Dienaputra (2018) added, the value of local wisdom about socio-cultural integration can be extracted from written sources both inscriptions and ancient texts as well as from the daily habits of society both oral traditions, manuscripts, customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, art, languages, folk games and traditional sports.

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Conclusion

The 2019 presidential election teaches us many things, especially the tightness and uniqueness of the supporters of the pair of candidates who have shed tears of grief to the motherland. For the sake of creating tolerance, about the differences and conflicts created by the democratic process, all Indonesian citizens need to understand that democracy will not be separated from conflict. By upholding the five precepts listed in Pancasila, it should be considered that blessing in Indonesia is a blessing for all its people, be it differences in race, class, thought or even choice.

In addition, for the sake of creating a more conducive situation, efforts from all elements are needed to perfect democracy while upholding the value of deliberation / representation, so that the presidential election is based on the will of the people. All state institutions must do their best to guarantee the human rights of their citizens. Political elites should negotiate pragmatic interests in order to create goodness with constructive conflict. For the sake of knitting nationality and maintaining the unity of Indonesia, the role of the mass media is needed in improving national identity and educational support for all Indonesian people on the understanding of unity and justice in diversity as the political ideals of the nation. Then the need to increase nationalism based on cultural diversity, including the Spirit of Asia Africa 1955 as a commitment to diversity, independence, and work that is well maintained. Finally, multiculturalism and democratic transformation discussions need to be held to establish citizen communication and create a policy of social integration.



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