



# The Study of Pancasila Democracy on the Undecided Phenomenon of Voters in the 2019 Presidential Election

Dwi Putra<sup>(✉)</sup>, Muhammad Sainul Fadlan, and Sri Untari

Universitas Negeri Malang, Malang, Indonesia  
dwi.putra.2107116@students.um.ac.id

**Abstract.** Indonesia is a unitary republic with a form of democracy based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Pancasila democracy is a form of democracy that takes place in Indonesia. The election is one form of democracy in Indonesia, the most awaited election is the Presidential Election. The problem that arises during the Presidential Election is that many people choose not to use their voting rights or are undecided voters. This is due to various factors. The purpose of writing this article is to explain the concept of Pancasila democracy as a guide in understanding the undecided phenomenon of voters in the 2019 Presidential Election. The research method used is a qualitative research study of literature, by collecting various research literature, books of figures on Pancasila democracy, as well as secondary data from the official website of the Indonesian KPU. The study of Pancasila democracy in understanding the undecided phenomenon These voters are one of the benchmarks in reducing the number of undecided voters in the upcoming 2024 presidential election so that Indonesia can become a democratic country that is sent and by the principles of Pancasila Democracy.

**Keywords:** Pancasila democracy · undecided phenomenon voters · presidential election

## 1 Introduction

A State speech delivered by President Suharto on August 16, 1967, formulated that “Pancasila Democracy means Democracy, People’s Sovereignty which is inspired and integrated with other precepts”. The meaning of the speech is that every time we exercise our democratic rights, it should be accompanied by a sense of responsibility to God Almighty by our respective beliefs, upholding human values with dignity and worth, guaranteeing national unity, and being useful for realizing social justice. Pancasila democracy was formulated in MPRS Decree No. XXXVII/MPRS/1968 was later revoked in Tap No. V/MPR/1973, Pancasila democracy was popularized after the New Order was born in 1966 (Sudrajat, 2016). Before knowing more about Pancasila Democracy, the first thing that must be understood is the concept of democracy in Indonesia.

Democracy is a predicate that is synonymous with the word modern, thus a country will feel proud if its country uses the predicate of democracy. Etymologically, democracy

is a sovereignty that is in the hands of the people, while in general and universally the concept of democracy will return to each country by the object in question (Tjarsono, 2013). Therefore, democracy has a cultural nuance, not an ideology. In Indonesia, the prevailing democracy is Pancasila, as a system of government or way of life refers to the values of Pancasila.

In the state foundation, namely Pancasila, which is stated at the opening of the 1945 Constitution, it is used as an ideology because it contains a political philosophy, at that time the founding father made Pancasila a context in the life of the state, as for some views that make Pancasila a legal ideal, which has broad dimensions both to be used as the text of the 1945 Constitution and beyond that written or unwritten so that Pancasila is considered to be a force that can bind the moral ties of every individual. Legal objects in Indonesia (Suaila & Krisnan, 2019). The urgency of Pancasila as the nation's ideology is to show the role of ideology as a moral guide in the life of the nation and state in the hope that any threats that come quickly will be prevented. This is because, Pancasila is an ideology that is open during the times (Fadilah, 2019).

The principle of Pancasila democracy is interpreted by Pancasila as a cognitive structure. The cognitive structure of Pancasila contains knowledge about basic norms in measuring and determining authenticity in administering the state as well as policies used in the government process (Tjarsono, 2013). According to Jimly Asshiddiqie in Gandamana (2017), the democratic principles of Pancasila are freedom or equality, people's sovereignty), and open and responsible government.

Indonesia as a democratic country will conduct a general election or what is often known as an election. Elections are not the initial goal, but elections, are a tool to balance democratic life. However, balancing democratic life through elections is not the only tool (Sihombing, 1984). The form of a sign of people's sovereignty in a democratic system in a country is the holding of General Elections as a bridge to the aspirations of the people. The general election conditions in Indonesia which were carried out in 2004, 2009, and 2014 were carried out separately, namely between the elections for members of the DPR, DPD, DPRD, and the election for the President and Vice President, so that the implementation of the election also applies Threshold. or threshold (Andi Kurniawan, 2018). The legal basis for the implementation of the 2019 Presidential Election refers to Law Number 24 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President. The important point of the existence of the Law is that pairs of candidates are proposed from political parties or a combination of political parties participating in the general election who have met the requirements for obtaining seats of at least 20% of the total number of DPR seats or obtaining 25% of nationally valid votes in the general election for members of the DPR. In the end, the decision resulted in two pairs of candidates for the 2019 General Election, namely the Prabowo Subianto–Sandiaga Uno pair and the Joko Widodo–Maruf Amin pair (Syahputra, 2020).

Undecided phenomenon voters are something that can't be avoided, even though it's undecided Voters themselves are a right to vote, where they are undecided because indeed the candidates in the general election did not match the aspirations of the people, the people they supported did not pass as candidates, and there were failures of the two candidates during the work program debate ahead of the Presidential Election. In addition, this phenomenon can also be interpreted as a form of disappointment in the

community. On the other hand, it is also due to the existence of candidates from certain political parties who did not pass the time of nomination, giving rise to political apathy by political parties that have an impact on politics in society (Subanda, 2009). The low level of public participation assumes that the public does not pay attention to state problems and low public confidence in the results of the general election. This phenomenon is often called undecided voters who can be a threat to democracy (Syahputra, 2020).

Based on the description above, it is the conception of Pancasila Democracy which clarifies the statements contained in the 1945 Constitution concerning the Indonesian nation in carrying out national life. Therefore, by interpreting Pancasila democracy, we can understand the phenomenon of undecided voters or golput in the 2019 Presidential Election. The purpose of this paper is to explain the Pancasila Democracy Concept as a guide in understanding the phenomenon of undecided voters in the 2019 Presidential Election.

## 2 Methods

The research method used is a qualitative research literature study. The stages carried out in this research are collecting various forms of library sources (Darmalaksana, 2020). This study uses some research literature, the works of figures on Pancasila democracy, news about the undecided phenomenon of voters, and secondary data from the official website of the Indonesian KPU. The data used in this study is the result of classification and analysis that have been carried out. The data used includes secondary data. The data processing stage and citing references are presented as a form of research findings and abstracted to obtain clear information and interpreted to gain knowledge as conclusions.

## 3 Results and Discussion

### 3.1 The Basic Concept of Pancasila Democracy

Indonesia is a democratic country, where democracy comes from the word “demos” which means the people, and “Kratos” which means government so that democracy can be interpreted as government by the people. Pancasila democracy is based on the character of the Indonesian nation itself, which is not merely rational but religious, and does not prioritize individual interests but also social interests, which are not only quantitative (the majority) but also qualitative (wisdom) (Tjarsono, 2013).

Pancasila democracy also refers to the 4th precept, namely “people who are led by wisdom in representative deliberation” which must also be inspired and adapted to other precepts. Although philosophically what has been clarified by Notonagoro’s theory written by Frans Bona Sihombing, namely Pancasila, although it consists of five elements, all of them remain unified, and each part is not contradictory, each part is also a whole that cannot be separated. The meaning of the 4th precept itself is:

1. Democracy is essentially an attitude, behavior, and action that prioritizes the interests of the people as a whole while still recognizing individual rights, based on openness, freedom, kinship, a sense of togetherness, the spirit of cooperation, and the equal rights and obligations of every citizen.

2. Democracy in the administration of state government with the sovereignty of the people is carried out through representatives. The determination of the administration of government and state life is carried out by, from, and for the people. All activities and efforts to organize the state are oriented to the interests of the people at large.
3. Decision-making for the common good is carried out through deliberation to reach a consensus, based on common sense following conscience and noble character.
4. Decisions resulting from deliberations or agreements must be of high quality, and morally accountable to God Almighty.

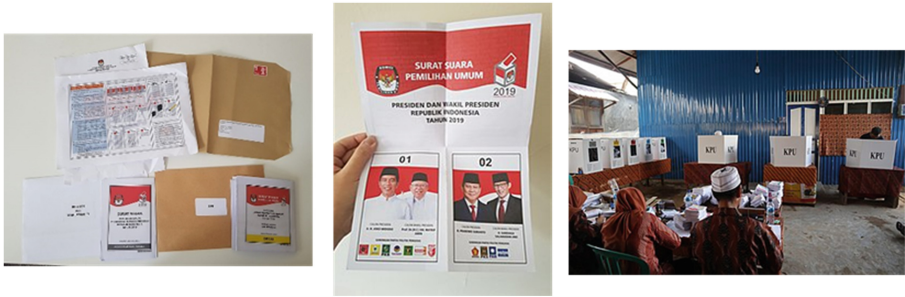
Pancasila democracy principles Among them are (1) Freedom or equality is the basic form of democracy. Freedom contained in Pancasila democracy is not the same as free fight liberalism that grows in Western countries but is a form of freedom that does not interfere with the rights and freedoms of others, (2) People's sovereignty, a policy made based on the will of the people and for the benefit of the people. Another form of the concept of sovereignty is supervision by the people. This is done because democracy does not believe in the kindness of the rulers, and (3) open and responsible government (Agustamsyah, 2011).

### 3.2 Implementation of Pancasila Democracy

In the development of Indonesia, several democracies have been implemented, namely: (a) the period 1945–1959 Indonesia implemented parliamentary democracy a month after independence was proclaimed. (b) In the 1959–1965 period, Indonesia replaced it with a guided democracy where in this democratic period there were many violations of the Constitution and at this time the president was dominating. (c) the 1965–1998 period was marked by the dominant role of ABRI, the bureaucratization of centralized political decision-making, the monolithization of state ideology, government intervention in political parties and public affairs, and the incorporation of non-governmental institutions (Tarigan, 2013).

Pancasila democracy has a concept that is excavated from the original values of the Indonesian people and the values that continue to be attached to them, for example, democratic villages, collective meetings, conducting deliberation and reaching consensus, helping each other, and so on that the community continues to do in their daily lives.. The sociological empirical basis is the goal of the concept of democracy that is following the nature of the life of the indigenous people of Indonesia, no longer something foreign that comes from western culture and is forced to be carried out realistically in the life of the Indonesian nation. The indigenous people in question are people who have lived continuously on the islands of the archipelago for centuries and are composed of simple and different units of life, such as villages in Java, Nagari in West Sumatra, a village in Lampung, and subak in Bali. (Agustamsyah, 2011).

This metamorphosis of democratic values originating from local wisdom of Indonesian culture undergoes a periodization in the implementation process as a form of necessity and stages of democracy in Indonesia which are divided into five periods starting in 1945 and until now.



**Fig. 1.** Portrait of the 2019 Presidential Election Conditions at TPS

### 3.3 Conditions for the 2019 Presidential Election

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election is a democratic process to elect the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019–2024 period. Candidates in the 2019 presidential election are the Joko Widodo–Ma'ruf Amin pair with Prabowo Subianto–Sandiaga Uno. The political parties that carry the two presidential and vice-presidential candidates look unbalanced in terms of the number of parties. The political parties supporting the candidates for Joko Widodo–Ma'ruf Amin include PDI-P, Golkar, PKB, NasDem, PPP, Hanura, PKPI, Perindo, PSI, and PBB, while the political parties supporting Prabowo Subianto–Sandiaga Uno include Gerindra, Demokrat, PAN, PKS, and Berkarya. The difference in the political parties that carry this impact on the percentage of votes, where the presidential candidate Joko Widodo and vice-presidential candidate Ma'ruf Amin received a vote requirement of 63.62%, and presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto and the vice president Sandiaga Uno received a vote requirement of 36.39%. The two figures show a significant difference.

In the period leading up to the presidential election, there will be things that are contradictory between one camp and another, which also triggers negative things that are used by one party to make the public have no confidence in the two candidates. For example, several things happened in the 2019 presidential election: as written on the BBC.com website in 2019 it was stated that ahead of the presidential election the number of HOAKS increased sharply and exacerbated the situation, while there were other phenomena as written on the coil.com blog, stated that as a result of the prolonged campaign period, political gimmicks continued to emerge, besides that, because the vice presidents from other camps, who were clerics, made identity politics so that society became compartmentalized. In this condition, a controversy emerged in the form of a hashtag war. The first hashtag that was coined by PKS politicians was the hashtag #2019ChangePresident, the existence of the hashtag became a problem because of the form of declarations in various regions. After that, the form of responding to these hashtags appeared with new hashtags such as #Jokowi2Periode, #2019TetapJokowi, and #2019PrabowoPresiden (Fig. 1).

### 3.4 The Undecided Voters Phenomenon in the 2019 Presidential Election

In this study, the implementation of the assessment is in the form of a formative assessment and the results of a trial for MAN. Therefore, this assessment only aims to obtain the level of media feasibility. However, this assessment is very important to determine media feasibility when applied during learning activities.

In general, the meaning of abstention or undecided Voters are people who have met the requirements and are allowed to participate in the General Election and are registered in the DPT (Permanent Voters List) but do not exercise their voting rights during the general election or abstain (Syahputra, 2020). In other words, undecided Voters are a form of response to the inability of several parties or authorities in carrying out their duties as representatives of the people who have received the mandate (Putra & Fauzi, 2020). Indicators in the undecide phenomenon Voters are not only ideological considerations, but there are various logical reasons, for example, problems during administration (not getting an invitation to vote, being seriously ill, traveling, or choosing to be apathetic to political rights).

In the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential elections in Indonesia, the numbers are undecided voters reached 22.5% with the 2019 General Election participation target of 77.5%. This means that there are still registered Indonesians who did not participate in the election. Here's the undecide data voters in Indonesia during the 2019 Presidential Election are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Undecided Data Voters in Indonesia in the 2019 Presidential Election

No.	Region	Total DPT	Number of Votes <sup>a</sup>	Number of Undecided Voters
1.	Aceh	3,523,774	2,804,834	718,840
2.	North Sumatra	9,785,753	7,524,301	2,261,452
3.	West Sumatra	3,718,003	2,896,494	821,509
4.	Riau	3,863,193	3,224,000	639,197
5.	Jambi	2,475,655	2,062,858	412,797
6.	South Sumatra	5,877,575	4,820,768	1,056,807
7.	Bengkulu	1,399,108	1,169,487	229,621
8.	Lampung	6,074,137	4,809,274	1,264,863
9.	Kep. Bangka Belitung	932,569	783,964	148,605
10.	Kep. Riau	1,229,424	1,016,203	213,221
11.	DKI Jakarta	7,761,598	6,345,684	1,415,914
12.	West Java	33,270,845	26,828,014	6,442,831
13.	Central Java	27,896,902	21,769,958	6,126,944

(continued)

**Table 1.** (continued)

No.	Region	Total DPT	Number of Votes <sup>a</sup>	Number of Undecided Voters
14.	In Yogyakarta	2,731,874	2,397,655	334,219
15.	East Java	30,912,994	24,672,915	6,240,079
16.	Banten	8.112,477	6,597,038	1,515,439
17.	Bali	3,130,288	2,564,472	565,816
18.	NTB	3,667,253	2,962,561	704,692
19.	NTT	3,391,616	2,674,569	717,047
20.	West Kalimantan	3,687,159	2,973,653	713,506
21.	Central Kalimantan	1,753,224	1,368,086	385,138
22.	South Kalimantan	2.869.166	2,294.102	575,064
23.	East Kalimantan	2,480,741	1,965,288	515,453
24.	North Kalimantan	450,108	354,401	95,707
25.	North Sulawesi	1,907,841	1,580,209	327,632
26.	Central Sulawesi	1,952,810	1,621,242	331,568
27.	South Sulawesi	6,159,375	4,926,984	1,232,391
28.	Southeast Sulawesi	1,723,539	1,397,781	325,758
29.	Gorontalo	812.801	714,932	97,869
30.	West Sulawesi	865,244	738,932	126,312
31.	Maluku	1,226,034	992,397	237,637
32.	North Maluku	803.983	655,371	148,612
33.	Papua	3,541.017	3,333,065	207,952
34.	West Papua	742,245	637,729	104,516

<sup>a</sup> Two Presidential Candidates for 2019

Source Processed Data

Based on the data above, it can be seen that the level of participation of the Indonesian people during the 2019 Presidential Election has increased, although there are still those who do undecided. Voters. However, the undecided number of voters in 2019 was better than in 2014 with undecided percentage voters by 30.24% and becoming an undecided number highest voters. In 2019, the number of undecided voters in the 2019 Presidential Election was the highest on the island of Java.

The cause of Indonesian people doing undecided Voters is certainly very diverse. Two factors that cause undecided voters are external factors and internal factors. These internal factors can be in the form of technical factors (illness and being out of town) and work factors (voters' daily work), while these external factors are administrative factors and political factors (Putra & Fauzi, 2020). In addition, psychological factors also cause the phenomenon of undecided voters in Indonesia. Psychological factors focus on the

level of behavior or behavior that encourages one's soul and mental self to carry out activities, one thing that affects one's psychology is one's closeness to other people (Walgito, 2019). Psychological factors that are often found in the community are people who are not close to the candidates for President and Vice President and do not know the two candidates for President and Vice President. Why does this happen? The public is not well received to political socialization, and the campaigns of the two presidential and vice-presidential candidates are not conveyed to the public.

### 3.5 Efforts to Reduce Undecided Numbers Voters in the Next General Election

Undecided conditions voters or non-voters' behavior in Indonesia has become a culture. This is because in every general election there are people who continue to be undecided voters. However, this condition can be a threat to the quality of democracy in Indonesia. Undecided numbers of voters in Indonesia are a form of error from various parties. We can't abolish the undecided culture voters who are ingrained in society, but the government and society can work together to reduce the number of undecided voters. The hope is for institutions that have a role in General Election activities, namely the Indonesian General Election Commission (KPU) and Political Parties to be able to be more active in conducting socialization and providing understanding to the public that voting is a form of obligation for all Indonesian citizens. The solution to overcome undecided voters are as follows: (a) simplifying the rules for voters to exercise their voting rights, (b) improving the voter data collection and registration system so that it is more effective and efficient, and (c) changing the statement of the right to vote into mandatory voting, (d) a system that is easy for the public to understand (Putra & Fauzi, 2020).

## 4 Conclusion

The concept of Pancasila democracy did not grow from the understanding of individualism that developed in the west but originated from the local wisdom of the indigenous people of Indonesia. Indonesia is a country that has the ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as a way of life for the nation and state. One form of democracy is the presidential election. In 2019, Indonesia held presidential elections with the presidential and vicepresidential candidates being Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amiin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, and the winner of the 2019 presidential election was Paslon 1. Registered as voters exercising their right to vote, many are undecided voters. The factors that cause people to make undecided voters are very diverse, ranging from external factors, internal factors, and psychological factors. Efforts to reduce the number of undecided voters in the 2024 presidential election are by intensifying socialization by the KPU and political parties, as well as understanding the public about Pancasila democracy so that it becomes a guide for people to be aware of voting when the presidential election takes place.

## References

- Agustamsyah, Agustamsyah. Konsep Dan Implementasi Demokrasi Pancasila Dalam Sistem Perpolitikan Di Indoensia. *Jurnal Tapis: Jurnal Teropong Aspirasi Politik Islam*, 7.1: 79–91. 2011
- Kurniawan, Andi. “Presidential Threshold Dalam [Enyelenggaraan Pemilu Presiden Ditinjau Dari Demokrasi Pancasila Dan UUD NRI 1945. *Jurnal Ilmiah*, 1–21. 2018
- Fadilah, Nurul. Tantangan dan Penguatan Ideologi Pancasila dalam Menghadapi Era Revolusi Industri 4.0. *Journal of Digital Education, Communication, and Arts (DECA)*, 2.02: 66–78, 2019
- Gandamana, Apiek. Memaknai Demokrasi Pancasila. *JURNAL HANDAYANI PGSD FIP UNIMED*, 7.1: 109–115, 2017
- Putra, Ferdian Ardani; FAUZI, Ahmad. Komunikasi KPU Dalam Menekan Golput di Jember. *Jurnal Al-Hikmah*, 18.2: 199–210, 2020
- Sihombing, Frans Bona, et al. Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Nilai-nilai Politik (Suatu Analisa Kebudayaan Politik Indonesia). 1984.
- Suaila, Agna; Krisnan, Johny. Menggali kembali peran Pancasila sebagai ideologi bangsa dan dasar negara dalam pembangunan hukum nasional di era global. *Law and Justice*, 4.1: 46–55, 2019
- Subanda, Nyoman. Analisis kritis terhadap fenomena golput dalam pemilu. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 2.1: 60–72, 2009
- Sudrajat, Ajat. Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Perspektif Sejarah. *Mozaik: Kajian Ilmu Sejarah*, 8.1, 2016
- Miranda Syahputra, Rico. Golongan Putih (Golput) di Kota Palembang Pada Pilpres Tahun 2019 (Analisis Faktor Penyebab Dan Strategi KPU Kota Palembang Dalam Mengurangi Angka Golongan Putih). PhD Thesis. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik. 2020
- Tarigan, Pitiadani Br. Implentasi Demokrasi Di Indonesia. *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling*, 53.9: 1689–99, 2013
- Tjarsono, Idjang. Demokrasi Pancasila Dan Bhineka Tunggal Ika Solusi Heterogenitas. *Transnasional*, 4.2: 876–888, 2013
- Walgito, B. *Pengantar Psikologi Umum*. Penerbit Andi (2019).

**Open Access** This chapter is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits any noncommercial use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this chapter are included in the chapter’s Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the chapter’s Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

