



Democracy, Direct Presidential Election and Challenge of Deep Divide State: Politics in an Age of Distrust

Chusnul Mar'iyah
Universitas Indonesia
Depok, Indonesia
cmariyah2004@gmail.com

Abstract — When Indonesia's President Soeharto step aside from the government in 1998, we believe Indonesia was changing into democratic regime. In 2004, it was the first time, Indonesia conducted direct presidential election. The changing of election system from MPR (People Consultative Assembly) into direct system with one vote, one person, one value (OPOVOV) would bring the transformation into representative and democratic form of government. After 25 years of reformation era and 5 times period of elections, democracy as a form of more legitimate representative government has not been accompanied by genuine effort to tackle the problems of transformation of social structure in the divided nation. Direct presidential elections brought many gap in society economically, socially and political issues. This article present some of crucial gap of democracy from theory into practice, especially democratic elitist and liberal. In theory, democracy is established as a generally uncontested ideal. In practice, there is a steady erosion of confidence in the presidential election in Indonesia. Amid this challenge, the paradox between the majority votes for President in election and day to day politics, has resulted the unpopular policies such as many regulations on IKN, Omnibus law on employment and – now on Draft UU on Health which is more alliance to the big corporations rather to the interests of the people of Indonesia. Therefore, it suggest a way to rethink democracy direct presidential election in the age of distrust.

Keyword — Direct presidential election, the age of distrust, divided state

I. INTRODUCTION

After the 2019 election held simultaneously on 17 April, 2019, namely the direct presidential election and elections for the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD, it is necessary to conduct a thorough evaluation. Both the evaluation of the presidential election itself and the evaluation of the implementation of the legislative elections are needed. All of this is within the framework of building the state of the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. The purpose of being a state is to educate the nation's life, prosper the people, protect Indonesia's bloodshed and participate in world order for justice. Amendments to the Constitution, carried out four times since the 1998 reformation, have resulted in a new political system in Indonesia. The most important political change in politics in Indonesia is electing the president from the presidential and vice-presidential elections through the MPR before the reform to the direct presidential election after the reform. In addition, the presidential office is limited to only two times.

The main demand for reform is to limit the president's term of office. Even though it was very clear that there was a 2-term limit in the amended 1945 Constitution, the desire of a group of palace supporters emerged to demand an extension of the presidential term and also to support the president due to the 2019 election being extended to 3 terms. Among them is a 3-period campaign from a relatively massive survey institution.

In the development of politics in Indonesia, especially during the 2014 presidential election, the role of conventional media (TV and print) and continued social media development dominated the discourse of the presidential election. At the same time as global political developments with the fall of communism in the USSR and since *Glasnot and Perestroika*, democracy is considered the winner. Even President Carter, when he visited the KPU in the 2004 presidential election,¹ stated that Islam and democracy are compatible, while in an interview in America, he stated that Democracy has won in Islamic countries or from Islam. The third wave of democracy, written by Huntington, and continued with his book *The Clash of Civilizations*, shows that the democracy project is the focus of the West [1]. After that, 9/11 came, Washington's Axis policy on the War on terror. USA President Bush (junior) stated that all countries that do not participate in the war against terrorists are considered terrorists. To what extent is this also the shape of domestic politics in Indonesia? After the reformation, Indonesia was faced with conflicts in the regions which often revealed elements of religion, ethnicity and also regional central conflicts, such as conflicts in Ambon, Ternate, Tidore, Galela, Tobelo, Sambas, Singkawang, Sampit. Meanwhile, the conflicts in Timor Timur, Aceh and Papua can be said to be centre-regional conflicts. With this political change, then the process of political change in 1999 was through elections. Since the 1999 election, government succession has been carried out periodically every five years. In the 1999 election, the succession of government, namely the presidential election, was still carried out by the MPR. After that, with the 4th amendment, the government succession was carried out through direct presidential elections. Since then, the first direct presidential election was in the 2004 election, followed by the 2009, 2014 and 2019 presidential elections.

Various issues emerged accompanying the presidential election process, especially since the DKI regional elections in 2012, 2017 and especially in the 2019 presidential election.

¹ Writer member of the KPU during the first presidential election in 2004, accompanying the chairman of the KPU to receive President Carter and his wife; apart from explaining the election process, President Carter also

looked specifically at the model for sending the 2004 election results in the KPU IT room.

The 2019 presidential election left many issues of the nation divided, which in turn questioned the extent of the development of democracy in Indonesia. This text discusses the simultaneous direct presidential election in 2019 and the political conditions leading up to the 2024 presidential election. How is the development of democracy in the era of distrust? To what extent are electoral integrity matters?

II. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Direct Presidential Election

The amendment to the 1945 Constitution is a demand from the 1998 reform movement to correct a more democratic governance and establish a presidential system with checks and balances. In the history of the presidential election, there has been a change in regulations from presidential elections through the MPR to direct presidential elections. Something is interesting in the history of the President's authority. From the beginning of independence until the Presidential Decree 5 July 1959, the head of state was in the hands of the president, while the head of government was in the hands of the prime minister. Since the presidential decree, Sukarno has held power as head of state and head of government. In the New Era, Suharto continued this model of power. Since the 1971-1999 election, the presidential election was carried out by the MPR. A direct presidential election was held through the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, namely through the 4th amendment to the Constitution. The direct presidential election was held for the first time in 2004. Five pairs of candidates attended The direct presidential election, which was carried out in two rounds, the first on 5 July 2004 and the second on 20 September 2004, to get support 50 Percent plus one. Changes to the Constitution and laws after the first presidential election 2004 focused more on issues related to the requirements for support for presidential candidates; presidential elections were held simultaneously with legislative elections, support for political parties, issues of money politics, and the role of the media. Meanwhile, the issue of electoral integrity has received less attention in the electoral process. The requirements for a presidential candidate that can be measured directly are high school graduates. Meanwhile, morality/ethics as a potential leader and knowledgeable of the nation's problems, which is needed as a nation's leader, does not receive special attention.

The public is only guided by a propaganda model through survey results ranked periodically and continuously. The capability and capacity of the candidate's leadership are defeated by electability as measured by survey institutions only. Another issue that needs attention is the extent of electoral integrity matters. Studying the integrity of the election administration includes all the implementation processes. At least starting with how the legal and political rules of the game. Rules of law in the administration of elections. For example, the presidential candidate nominated by the party or coalition of parties is a rule in the 1945 Constitution which has been amended. In its implementation, this rule was developed in the Election Organization Law, which stipulates that a presidential candidate must be nominated by a party or coalition of parties with 20% of the seats or 25% of the vote. What's the impact? When the law was drafted, how many parties had 20% of the seats in the DPR? To what extent has the Election Organizing Law

provided justice for all election participants (political parties)? The election procedure is an important part of holding elections. Thus the combination of the interests of each political party (more pragmatic interests), the absence of ideology in formulating these interests, plus the problem of national interests; then the developed model will always converge with the choice of two presidential candidates. What's the Impact?

Other indicators are electoral districts, campaigns, voter data collection at TPS, about additional voters, vote counting, and detailed errors in the vote counting process, such as C1 Plano being different from C1 IT KPU. The same goes for the process of counting and determining votes as well as the process of disputes over election results. The issue of changing ballot boxes from aluminium materials since the 2004 election was replaced with padlocked cardboard boxes, contributing to public trust in election organisers. Do we have a trust?

One of the most important is the DPT, the number of voters is a very important variable. According to Rose, a fair and effective election administration process is a necessary condition for producing free and fair elections ('Fair and effective administration of the electoral process is a necessary condition for free and fair election' (Rose, 2000:6). Therefore, to implement the free and fair principle, KPU election organisers must be able to hold elections fairly, because if the election administration is chaotic, then the election is difficult to be labelled free and fair; therefore it is an indicator of free and fair elections. Often the political elite state that the important thing is a safe election. If the election organisers are fair, the implementation of the election should be safe by itself. Unfortunately, we often only talk about safe elections, but it turns out that there is much fraud at every stage of the election. The principle of elections is not "safe" but free and fair. In implementing elections that are considered safe, extraordinary election crimes occur. Elections are considered safe, but many vote buying, DPT inflation, transactions by changing the results of the vote acquisition, and ballot papers have been punched for the victory of certain election participants.

In the 2019 election, simultaneous elections were held for four direct legislative bodies and the presidential election. This simultaneous election was marked by 700 deaths (official and exact data on the number of dead is unavailable). In addition to the May 21-22, 2019, Bawaslu tragedy with information, according to volunteers, as many as ten people were shot dead, and 500 were detained², and some have been released while others are in the process of trial. The process of making decisions on the results of the legislative elections became very lengthy (even the information in August had not yet been finalised on the vote-counting decisions at the central level) [3].

On the other hand, the implementation of simultaneous elections is focused on the presidential election, not on the legislative elections at every level. Money politics also became uncontrollable because it was thought that there was a package for the presidential and legislative elections. From the results of the 2019 simultaneous elections, there seems to be an anomaly because the difference in turnout between the legislative and presidential elections is quite large, up to 15 million (you need to check the latest KPU data). The question is, where did the difference in the turnout of voters occur?

How is it spread? To what extent can the voter turnout data be trusted? The management of the 2019 simultaneous General Election (Pemilu) is considered the worst in Indonesia so far by various groups, namely because there are claims that some 740 (the exact data is unknown, in the FGD of the Ministry of Home Affairs, it is said that 1000 died), while 11000 were hospitalized.²

They are election workers at the TPS level to the Regency/City level and the state apparatus POLRI and TNI who died. In addition, in the context of protesting against the implementation of the election, which was considered not free and fair, the people staged a demonstration in front of the RI Bawaslu on 21-22 May 2019. The protest resulted in the loss of 10 lives (including those in their early teens and around 500 residents who were arrested, detained and imprisoned [4]. In the history of elections in Indonesia in the reform era, this is the first-time election workers died in large numbers. However, to this day, there is no clarity from the government or the KPU election organisers and no independent team was formed to find the facts of the causes of death, which are evenly distributed in many provinces throughout Indonesia. Except for the statement from the health ministry, which stated that death was due to exhaustion. Although the indications often conveyed in the media are headaches, nausea, vomiting, and coma and then dying or being treated in a hospital. The question is why these symptoms are the same in each region?

The holding of elections, the DPT, the neutrality of state apparatus such as the bureaucracy, the TNI, POLRI, and BIN, and the monopoly of media ownership by political parties (the Thaksinian and Berlusconi models) need to be considered. The emergence of survey institutions directing the survey results is suspected as a model of propaganda or guiding opinions to create winning opinions. In addition, there is also the issue of logistics for holding elections. Among them was the ballot box, replaced from aluminum to cardboard. In the end, it could be used to legitimize that the final results were in accordance with the survey results even though there was massive fraud. Community citizens are forced to accept these results from the QC? for example, in the implementation stage on D-day. After that, after voting, the counting of election results is tiered from TPS, PPS (not counted), to PPK and to, Regency/City, to Provincial KPU and RI KPU. For transparency and accountability, the KPU also presents calculations through the KPU's IT with a scanning system. Do we have trust?

Studies on elections often pay less attention to integrity in administering elections. This integrity concerns the whole process of holding elections. As a result, in the last three presidential elections, namely 2009, 2014, and 2019, the issue of organizing elections that could lead to TSM (Structured, Systemic, and Massive) fraud became a discourse. In the end, the KPU, Bawaslu, and presidential election courts at the Constitutional Court ignored the various phenomena of fraud, which became issues that affected the integrity of the election administration. Even in the 2019 simultaneous elections, the Constitutional Court's decision stated that TSM was the authority of Bawaslu.

The presidential elections held in the 2009, 2014, and 2019 elections were carried out in only one round. During the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, the dominance of media power in promoting presidential candidates, city power – economic oligarchy – and survey institution power. The holding of the 2019 simultaneous elections was marked by several tragedies, including the death of around 1,000 election workers, according to the Ministry of Home Affairs at the 2019 election evaluation meeting.³ Meanwhile, it is very important to see the role of survey institutions which function more as opinion drives or propaganda. This was due to the lack of transparency about who funded the survey. At the same time, there was still the tragedy of 21 and 22 May 2019, with the shooting of 9 or 10 citizens (dead) and 500 demonstrators at Bawaslu who were detained.³

The presidential election and a divided nation: the criminalization of Islamic political identity

The 2019 elections cannot be separated from the political conditions in the capital city of Jakarta ahead of the 2017 regional elections. At that time, the governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahya Purnama alias Ahok, used an issue known as QS Al Maidah 51. This verse indicates choosing an Islamic leader. Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world. Why did Islam become a global enemy after glasnost and perestroika happened in the USSR? Huntington's argument in his book *The Clash of Civilizations*.⁴ Huntington's views - more like political doctrine than academic studies, as Harvard University scholars - emphasize serving the United States foreign policy more. Thus, the analysis of scholars in the USA also gets an extraordinary place for US foreign policy interests. At the same time how the Western media sees Islam, the writings of Edward Said, a Palestinian Christian who honestly writes about Islam in the eyes of the Western media in his book *Covering Islam*, in 1981.⁸ In this case, Said sees how the Western media sees reality in the Muslim world after the 1979 Iranian revolution. Said questions the media's objectivity and discusses the relationship between knowledge, power, and Western media [6][7][8].

However, to what extent do these works look objectively at Islam and its people or become propaganda to marginalize the power of Islam? After 9/11 in 2001, the Washington Administration propagandized the war on terror. Countries that do not carry out the same policy to fight terror, they are considered terrorists themselves [10][11][12][13]. This policy changed during the Obama administration with a soft approach, namely counter violence extremism, by operationalizing the approach in programs such as deradicalization. Unfortunately, in Indonesia, deradicalization is only aimed at Islamic groups. Again, global politics influences politics in Indonesia. How do we read politics? Can we seize the political interpretation of Islam as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad SAW with the government in the Medina agreement model? To what extent can we be more honest in looking at the phenomenon of Islam and politics today, especially in the 2014 and 2017 DKI regional elections and the recent 2019 simultaneous elections? How to build democracy without getting stuck in

² The author is one of those invited in the evaluation.

³ The author spoke directly with HRS during a visit to the HRS residence in Makkah, 2019. HRS and his team stated that they were taking care of their lawyers.

⁴ See, Read in full Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations: And the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002. Read in full Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See The Rest of The World*, Vintage Book, 1997.

political views that lead to Islamophobia? Apart from that, is there a false narrative about the discourse on the Khilafah?

In the concept of Political Science, the Khilafah can be interpreted as leadership; it can also be interpreted as governance [14]. With this concept, it can be explained that there is a contestation about the Khilafah, for example, the Protestant Christian Caliphate (a model of democracy in the United States and in Western Europe); The Catholic Caliphate (model of the Vatican government); The Confucian Caliphate (style of the Chinese state) and the Islamic Caliphate (back to the history of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina). What is meant by the view of the Protestant Caliphate is the view of the separation between the state and the church or, in other words, the separation between religious politics. Meanwhile, in the view of the Catholic Khilafah, it relates to citizenship. According to (a former Catholic nun) they explained that Catholic citizens have two nationalities: Indonesian citizens and Vatican citizens. Citizenship is the main element in a country. These various models of the caliphate need to be discussed as basic knowledge so that we don't easily give a negative connotation or use a pejorative tone to the recent Islamic Khilafah discourse. Concept contestation is very useful for the development of knowledge, especially in the field of Political Science. How is the concept of a modern nation-state more directed towards secularism and a single legal system, which can be contested with Islamic thought related to Islamic governance? Islamic governance, in which sovereignty is in the hands of God, is often confronted with democracy in which sovereignty is in the hands of the people. The sources of law in Islamic governance are the Qur'an and Hadith and the Ulama's thoughts. In building the Pancasila state, Islamic thoughts should be able to enrich how the nation and state are. But the opposite happened; there was fear among the political elite with the emergence of an awareness of Islamic groups, most of whom were economically and politically marginalized. Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, but most of its Muslim citizens are poor.

In addition, Indonesia is a country that is rich in natural resources. Meanwhile, the ruling regime continued the Snouck Hurgronje model of political policy in the Dutch colonial era, which separated religion and state. The political awareness possessed by the Islamic Ummah (people) will disrupt the interests of the new colonialists, the capitalists who have enjoyed material benefits through power. Another issue of Islamophobia is the issue of the caliphate. The narrow understanding of the caliphate, considered divisive for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, shows our lack of understanding of state and politics. Identity politics is a common thing that falls into the sociological category. Moreover, a person's identity is inherent in a person as a human right. Choices based on religious principles, social groups, age, gender, and urban/rural areas are normal political preferences. In a democracy, these political preferences are protected by the Constitution and laws in Indonesia. The issue of identity politics and the battle of ideas to corner Islamic identity strengthened in the 2012 DKI Pilkada (The district election). However, scholars and socio-political observers

often argue that identity politics -especially Islamism- has won the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada.

The monolithic opinion about prejudice against Islamic identity is quoted in social media, popular scientific opinion, and written about in scientific journals. The identity of political Islam was accused of the defeat of the non-Islamic governor during the 2017 DKI regional election. Even though the incumbent has been imaged as a figure who excels and can fix Jakarta by the media owned by economic oligarchs. Since then the Islamophobic sentiment has greatly strengthened. A student from an Islamic university is very confident that Islamic identity politics is a mistake.⁵ These statements were also justified through several survey results that BTP's defeat was caused by strengthening sentiments of Islamism and the assumption that what happened in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada was the politicization of religion. Similarly, foreign media use headlines with provocative tones, such as the guardian.com, which makes the title Muslim candidate beats Christian in divisive Jakarta governor vote; [5] nytimes.com raised the title Jakarta Governor Concedes Defeat in Religiously Tinged Election; usatoday.com [9] reports on Muslim voters oust Jakarta's Christian governor. This does not include the opinions that are easy to find on the social media statuses of netizens, especially the supporters of the incumbent pair who feel their defeat was caused by the politicization of religion. This discourse is still strengthened by the President's speech in parliament which prohibits not using religious identity politics. The problem is that Islam is being accused, especially with the condition that the government banned HTI and FPI, the arrest of HRS and his lawyer Munarman, and the continuous use of buzzers in preaching the regime's views which incidentally are Islamophobic.

They believe elections are democratic if they are only based on rational elections. Rational voters make their own choices based on rational criteria such as vision, mission, achievements, and a good track record of a candidate. All of these negative tones toward Islamism fall into the category of Islamophobia. In the model of political thought and practice in democratic countries, voters can be categorized into four models. First, the psychological model is the attachment of voters to candidates. Second, the sociological model in which people choose based on gender, ethnicity, age, urban/rural area, socioeconomic level, and religion. The third model is rational choice because of the vision and mission policy. The fourth model is ideological. Voting for various reasons or the possibility of intersecting reasons is legal in democratic life. Thus voting for reasons of religious belief is legal, it will not destroy a just and dignified democracy.

Presenting Halal Elections, Not Disaster Elections: Toward the 2024 Election

Democracy has historical roots in the modern state. After independence from colonialism and forming the new state of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945, it is the foundation of modern state democracy. The Indonesian nation's construction is culturally diverse based on language, ethnic groups, and religious groups. Indonesia has the

⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/19/world/asia/jakarta-election-ahok-anies-baswedan-indonesia.html>
[https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/19/divisive-](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/19/divisive-campaign-for-jakarta-governor-sees-muslim-candidate-elected)

[campaign-for-jakarta-governor-sees-muslim-candidate-elected](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/04/19/election-jakarta-indonesia-governor-anies-baswedan/100646116/)
<https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/04/19/election-jakarta-indonesia-governor-anies-baswedan/100646116/>

strength of these differences with the history of the colonial struggle carried out by nationalist figures, by the kingdoms, and the Islamic sultanates that have existed since ancient times have always fought against the Dutch. The construction of a plural nation, apart from being the nation's strength, has also caused many issues to arise in contemporary political developments. The imbalance of development in Java Island and outside Java Island, the dense population in Java and the less dense population outside Java, has caused the construction of representative democracy to be different, such as the number of representatives of members of the DPR who are more numerous from provinces-2 in Java Island. This is because the DPR is a representative representing the people/population.

Furthermore, this diversity can also be a source of conflict between minority groups and majority groups. However, it is quite different from experiences in other countries; in the economic context in Indonesia, minority groups control wealth, land, and natural resources in Indonesia. Diversity has become a political jargon to marginalize certain groups in contemporary politics. The post-independence political history of the Soekarno era, the Soeharto era during the New Order era, and the current reform era require active citizens and a participatory political system. Civil society and democratic traditions developed very slowly. After the Soekarno era, with its guided democracy, it continued with the Soeharto era; the role of civil society was up and down. Regime makes more use of civil society as a support group as an active citizen group. The role of Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU, for example, is often used to brand the ruling regime's legitimacy. At the start of Suharto's early political changes, there was hope for change for Political Islam. However, in the 1971 elections, the fusion of political parties, which were part of building the New Order political system, placed Islamic political parties within a box of the United Development Party. It was only after the reformation that the grouping of political Islam through political parties emerged, from the 1999 election to the recent 2019 election. To what extent is Islamic political power in the course of politics in Indonesia, on the one hand, it becomes a political force that cannot be ruled out. Islamic political power is always dealing with the political power of the ruling regime. Unfortunately, the power struggle through the election after the 2004 election was colored by the issue of the liberal Machiavellian election. What is meant by this concept is an open election but full of deception. Among them money politics, the use of state apparatus to win elections for certain political forces. The issue of fair elections, or the concept of halal elections, is a challenge for the Republic of Indonesia, a Muslim-majority country.

Issues after the 2019 election, which coincided with the Covid-19 Pandemic, can measure how the challenges to democracy in Indonesia are today and in the future. The process of making the Covid 19 Law; IKN; Bill on HIP/BPIP; and the issue of the Omnibus Law on Manpower; Health Bill. The three discussions on the draft law perfectly show the relationship between political oligarchy and economic oligarchy in the political process in Indonesia. As in the discussion of the Health Bill, which is more directed towards capitalist industry, health issues are removed from the state's responsibility. The executive and legislative regimes have demonstrated a political model that is increasingly far from the expectations of democratic political life. The voices of the

people who oppose the authorities must be faced with detention (activists KAMI Syahganda and Jumhur) and handcuffs displayed in public spaces, especially in the cases of HRS and Munarman and also the dissolution of HTI and FPI by the government. It has become an important issue that challenges the development of democracy in Indonesia.

At the same time, in this era of globalization, Indonesia's challenges to Islam and politics include the war on terror policies, deradicalization, and the process of democratization. In a global position, the problems that arise are often related to neo-colonialism. Mastery of existing natural resources is not for the welfare of all Indonesian people as in the Fifth Precept of Pancasila, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, a country that is rich in natural wealth, a country with a large area and a large population. Indonesia became a struggle for global power. Mastery of wealth in small groups due to policies since the Dutch era and continued by Soekarno and Suharto have impacted contemporary politics. The Suharto regime did not provide space for political participation for the Chinese group but provided broad space for building economic power by building collusion and nepotism. As a result, currently, politics is very open; unfortunately, it is more towards liberalism with economic power. These economic oligarchies are directly involved in political contestation, often seen as unholy alliances. Money politics more color elections. Elections and Pilkada are carried out using a buying vote transaction model compared to free and honest contestation.

Besides that, the power of the media is controlled freely (no cross-media ownership policy), as an unequal campaign model. The function of the media as a public intelligence is faced with the interests of investors. In the digital era, the use of social media in campaigns cannot be limited. Friedman stated that the combination of economic and political power on one hand, would make the recipe for tyranny easy. The national hegemony between political oligarchy and economic oligarchy, and social oligarchy becomes very complete in the liberal electoral model and leads to disaster. The meaning is that a handful of elites control the economy, politics, and social affairs. What about global powers? Data on economic domination in the last two hundred years has made economic liberalism the only economical option to bring people welfare. The data in Indonesia shows that 74% of land ownership is owned by only 1% of the Indonesian population, and 49% of Indonesia's wealth is controlled by one percent of citizens (see Paradox Indonesia). Even though colonialism, at least the Islamic kingdoms from Sabang to Tidore, have been colonized for 350 years, have not produced a better civilization and people's welfare. Colonization is the development of capitalist politics.

This nation must consider the context of building competition between political forces, especially political parties. Political parties are very important institutions in the life of the state. However, political parties are often hated, corrupted, build dynasties, unable to work, etc. The problem is, first, the problem of internal party democracy; in the theory of organizational oligarchy, the power of the general chairperson still determines, the democratic succession of party management is still heavily colored by money politics, the regime in power is often anti-competitive with a divide et impera strategy for managing political parties. Political parties themselves are still very strong depending on the "political bookies" who finance these political parties so that

political parties are trapped in rent-seekers. The function of political parties is to recruit political positions, political education, and political communication, and what often gets less attention is policy formulation and policy implementation. Political parties eventually recruit those with capital. Thus political parties become pragmatic to be in power (power struggle/power over not power to do). Political parties are only used as political vehicles to gain power.

There are many terminologies in reading election administration. In Political Science, it is known as the liberal Mahiavelian election, which is open but full of deception, for example, the rise of money politics crimes by bribing voters and giving voters necessities, headscarves, which election participants carry out. There is also a kong-kali-kong model (unholy alliances) between election participants and organizers at every level through models including traded votes, shifting votes, DPT lots of "ghost" voters, election disputes that are not resolved fairly, lack of clarity about the death of election workers who are quite much like in the 2019 Election. In addition, what is usually done by incumbents is use state facilities, the State Budget, and the Regional Budget to win himself or a particular candidate. There are also what are known as fabricated elections, which appear to be democratic, but violations and even extraordinary election crimes have occurred.

These election violations are usually included in the category of easy to detect, but many election violations are quite difficult to catch. Some violations are very difficult to explain and catch. The TSM violation is how electoral politics has been regulated by economic oligarchs or called by dealers. The collusion between the political oligarchy, namely the elite politicians from political parties, and the economic oligarchy, namely the dealers, can influence election results in a TSM, structured, systematic, and massive way. This is not only supported by the existence of national hegemony but also by the existence of global hegemony.

In the upcoming 2024 elections, the conditions for transactional elections will still be seen if no political actors are committed to fixing them. If you don't get attention and present a halal election, it can lead to a disastrous election. An example of regulations such as demands for zero per cent support for the presidential candidate. The requirement for political party support of 20 per cent to nominate a presidential candidate was confirmed by the Constitutional Court's decision. Meanwhile, the KPU and Bawaslu election organisers are being recruited; voter data issues, election campaigns; the D-day of holding the election; and the role of the Constitutional Court. Will the voters then understand this condition? Will the activists remain silent, frustrated, and give up before the *bancana* election? Is the media also silent about the conditions of the election? The Constitutional Court has opened a conflict between state institutions, namely the DPD, against the DPR/President. The DPD brought the presidential election law to the MK and was refused support for the zero per cent requirement.

Lessons from Turkey's history are the abolition of the Ottoman Empire on 3 March 1924, and Erdogan's victory in the second round of presidential elections on 28 May 2023, after one hundred years of the fall of the Turkish Caliphate. In this case, secularism replaces Islamic governance in building the Turkish caliphate. Islam as a system cannot be secularised and liberalized. It is interesting to learn lessons

for the development of democracy in Indonesia. The modern nation-state whose essence is secularism, how far is it in understanding Pancasila Democracy. Seizing the state's interpretation of Pancasila, which is religious, is very important. Elections are a consolidation of democracy which can be seen from several aspects. Elections are an excellent opportunity to elect representatives and, simultaneously, more representative parties [2]. The emergence of presidential candidates Anis Baswedan, Ganjar Pranowo, and Prabowo Subianto is still accompanied by a strong prejudice against Islam. This condition strengthens the condition of a divided nation. Moreover, the President is openly involved with *cawe2* in preparation for the 2024 election, further strengthening the divided nation.

III. CONCLUSION

The modern nation-state is built from the foundation of secularism. The building of the state of the Republic of Indonesia is basically not an Islamic state but also not secularism. However, the face of Islam will still be the face of political power in Indonesia and will even become a solution to the socio-political-economic system of various problems of the nation today. The failure of the liberalism model system with the Western model and the end of communism in Eastern Europe is a sign of the need to re-examine the Islamic political system. Democracy is not a monolithic model—it required a contestation of thought between theory and practice. Presidential election products that are considered "democratic" through elections but produce policies that serve the people are less fortunate, but corporations, such as the products of the Covid-19 Law, IKN, the Omnibus Employment Law, and the Health Bill are ongoing processes. Therefore, intelligent political debate is needed to build a democratic building with the unique interests of Indonesia. For this reason, a joint commitment is needed to hold fast to the sacred agreement of the nation's founders, whose concept was contained in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution in building the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. We are presenting the values of nobility, godliness, justice, civilized humanity, unity, deliberation, and just prosperity for all Indonesian people, to achieve the goal of becoming a state, sovereign and dignified. Academic institutions such as UIN Wali Songo need a school of thought to develop Islamic politics from theory and practice, from Eastern and Western thoughts. In particular, there are differences in the principle of the majority concept in democracy, while many warnings in the Qur'an use the word "akstaruhum" mostly with connotations that are not true and good. *Wallahu'alam*.

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