



Civil Societies and Issues of The Decline of Democracy in Indonesia

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Abstract. There are several indicators from the 2020 Democracy Index, including electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture, and civil liberties. Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, the government has passed several laws that do not involve public participation. One of them is the Omnibus Law. Besides, the government raises three terms of the president under the constitution. This decline of democracy can be prevented by strengthening civil society as a force connecting people's interests with power. Therefore, this study analyzes the role of civil society in issues of democratic decline, namely legal and human rights issues such as civil liberties, human rights, justice, and tolerance/intolerance; and political issues such as identity politics, dynastic politics, oligarchy, the Omnibus Law, and the issue of a three term president. It is qualitative research with documentation and FGD data collection techniques. Data analysis with NVivo Plus and artificial intelligence software. Documentation data from journals, news in 3 national media, namely Tempo, Kompas, and Detik, and social media accounts from several religious organizations, NGOs, and professional associations. The results showed that civil society carries more legal and human rights issues than political issues. Due to the prevailing influence of oligarchy and robust government alliances, civil society's capacity to serve as a counterbalance in democratic governance is hindered by its relatively limited impact on political matters..

Keywords: Civil Society, decline of democracy, law, politics, Indonesia.

1 Introduction

The development of global democracy in Indonesia has its ups and downs. As Huntington points out, the Third Wave shows the dynamics of the ups and downs of democracy. During the third wave of democratization, Indonesia was still in the shackles of authoritarianism. The dynamics of democracy in Indonesia during the reform period, referring to Power and Warburton, there were three periods of democratic dynamics in Indonesia, namely the first period (1999-2009), which was the period of the spring of democracy. The second period (2009-2019) is a period of stagnation/democratic fallout season, and the third period (2019 to present) is a period of democratic

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regression or democratic decline [1]. This period of democratic decline is in line with data from The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), which shows indicators of the decline of democracy in Indonesia.

The practice of democracy in the world is not uniform, with varying degrees of intensity. Variants of democracy also vary with the terms liberal democracy, limited democracy, democracy-authoritarianism, and -regime. Based on the implementation of democracy in the world, there are four categories of democracy: countries that carry out full democracies, *Flawed democracies*, Hybrid regimes, and *authoritarian regimes* [2]. Hybrid regimes are a blend of democracy and authoritarianism. Regarding the indicators of democratic consolidation Diamond, there are at least three indicators [3]. First, elites, whether leaders of governments, state institutions, or political parties, believe democracy is the best form of government. This behavior of elites who believe in democracy is demonstrated by respecting each other's rights and competing for power peacefully, obedience to the law and political norms, and avoiding violence. *Secondly*, organizations, which include politically significant political parties, interest groups, and social movements, support the legitimacy of democracy through rules and budgets. It is shown by the absence of organizational behaviour that seeks to overthrow democracy, commit violence or commit fraud. *Third*, The masses and the public believe that democracy is the best form of government. This is manifested by the absence of anti-democratic behaviour, the use of force, and unconstitutional means of pursuing their interests.

The consolidation of democracy has not been achieved. There is even a tendency for a decline in democracy in various countries. There are several indicators of the decline of democracy, namely seen from the electoral *process and pluralism*, the implementation of government functions, political participation, *political culture*, and civic *liberties* [4]. Daly defines the decay of democracy as the gradual degradation of the structure and substance of constitutional democracy [5]. The decay of democracy refers to the structure of democratic institutions such as courts, human rights commissions, state commissions, and political parties. The democratic substance refers to the democratic material, the norms of democratic government, including the public trust and the willingness of actors to submit to the Rules of the game. The decline of democracy is also caused by several factors, namely the design of an electoral system that perpetuates *the barrier to entry*, political polarization, the strong influence of oligarchs, and the weakening of civic culture in Indonesia [6]. Furthermore, the decline of democracy in Indonesia is inseparable from the development of an illiberal democratic order [7].

The growing democracy in Indonesia strengthened the oligarchy of power. The strengthening of this oligarchy is carried out through a democratic process, one of which is to create and strengthen political dynasties both in the legislature and executive, central and regional. It can be seen that favouritism in politics gives rise to a scheme for the inheritance of power within the sphere of elite relations, whether family relations or others. In the development of politics in Indonesia, there is a paradox of democracy where democracy aims to provide equal rights and opportunities to vote and be elected; in fact, it tends to tend to there is an autocracy or oligarchy [8].

From another point of view, the decline of Democracy can be mitigated by the existence of polarization in a structure of society, such as the existence of political polarization that penetrates aspects of Ethnicity, Race and Religion became a movement of Populism. The populism movement is a problem in democracy because the populism movement reinforces nativism, which distinguishes indigenous peoples from foreign communities. It is also considered a counter-democratic movement that has an impact on the running of the democratic process in a country [9]. Political competition does not only reach the dimension of reality but also in the virtual world, such as social media. Social media is one of the *public spaces* free from political interests [10]; besides that, it is one of the places for the younger generation to voice their grievances. Its validity relates to socio-political life using specific means such as *memes*, *satire*, and other works [11].

The decline of democracy is also due to the lack of involvement of civil society. This civil society has an important position in democracy because it plays a role in voicing people's concerns and providing services to the society. Strong civil society oversight is an important factor in building and strengthening democracy. Therefore, in building democracy, it is necessary to strengthen civil society.

This research will analyze how civil society plays a role in media issues related to issues of democratic decline. There are two groups of issues that arise during the pandemic which are the phenomenon of democratic decline, namely legal and human rights issues (civil liberty, rights and obligations of citizens, tolerance / intolerance and justice) and political issues (omnibus law, 3-term presidential discourse, oligarchy, identity politics, political culture and also issues about dynastic politics).

2 Literature Review

The character of the decline of democracy varies because the conditions and degree of democratization in those countries are different. According to Larry Diamond [3], there are four categories of democratic decline or democratic recession, namely the deepening of authoritarianism in non-democratic countries, the acceleration of the fall of democratic regimes, the decline in the stability or quality of democracy in younger democracies, and the decline in the strength of long-established democracies. Alternatively in other words, a way of analyzing the decline of democracy can be done in liberal democracies, electoral democracies and autocracies (Mechkova et al., 2017). The process of democratic decline in developed countries includes three stages [13], namely first; The polarization of class or identity divisions weakens support for centrist political power and opens the door to the appeal of the majority or autocratic elections. Second, the reversion process centers on how the electoral victories of the autocrats are transformed into a dominant legislative majority that agrees on the concentration of executive power. Third; Executive power is used gradually to weaken the institutions of horizontal accountability, opposition, and political and civil liberties.

The decline of democracy is not a single concept, since the decline of democracy is seen from the extent to which indicators are applied in analyzing democratic practices. The decline of democracy is also influenced by the strictness of the indicators used to

analyze democratic practices. Therefore, there are many terms that have emerged that reflect the decline of democracy, such as the decline of democracy [13] [14], decay democracy (Daly, 2019a), deficit democracy [17] and regression of democracy [6], democratic backsliding [19] [20], illiberal democracy [21]. The decay of democracy is interpreted as the degradation of democracy from the structure and substance of liberal constitutional democracy. The degradation of democracy in terms of structure refers to the decay of democratic institutions such as the courts, The National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas HAM), Ombudsman, political parties, media and NGOs. Whereas degradation of substance refers to the weakening of the norms of democratic government, public trust in democratic government and the willingness of actors to submit to the rules democratic play.

The decline of democracy is shown by increasing authoritarianism or calls it authoritarian innovation [24]. This authoritarian innovation degrades the quality of democracy and benefits incumbents and elites. Indonesia is a country with authoritarian innovation is developing in electoral democracy [24]. The implementation of procedural democracy through elections on the one hand, but on the other hand has not implemented the principles of substantive democracy, known as illiberal democracy. Fareed Zakaria first introduced illiberal democracy in 1997 [25]. The decline of democracy in various countries tends to be an authoritarianism. It raises various terms Hybrid Regime. They are authoritarianism competitive, electoral autocracy, illiberal democracy and majoritarian autocracy.

In Indonesia, the era of electoral democracy is precisely an opportunity for elites and incumbents to build oligarchs through dynastic politics and party cartels. The ruling political elite is precisely an element in the decline of democracy in Indonesia. Political elites are actors who accept democracy but at the same time tend to be more authoritarian (Aspinall et al., 2020b). This is understandable because democratic mechanisms are the way for elites to gain power.

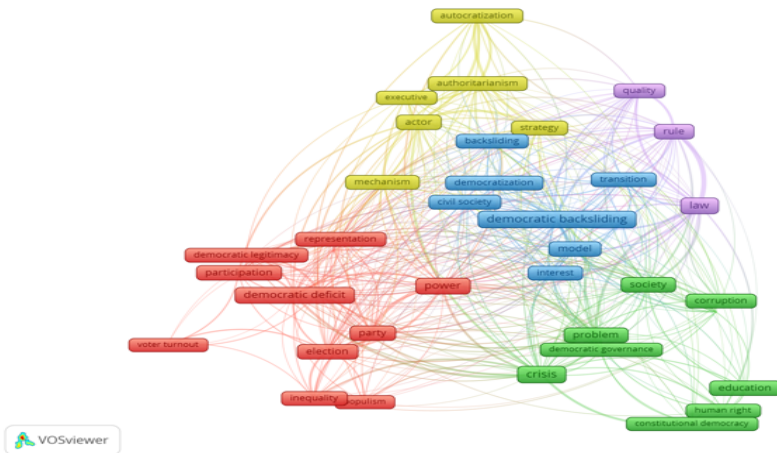


Fig. 1. Maps of Literature Review on Decline of Democracy

From the literature, it shows several terms in the decline of democracy, namely democratic deficit, democratic decline, democratic backsliding. All studies of the decline of democracy are related to the study of civil society. Civil Society has a broad meaning. Along with the development of the concepts of democracy and governance, civil society is a force outside the state and market. Civil society is a formally registered civic institution and NGO as well as associations that seek to regulate people's lives [27]. Pinckney is more specific that civil society is a non-governmental organization and interest group [28]. These nongovernmental organizations and interest groups play a role in representing people's participation in criticizing the government and improving the quality of democracy. Social movements are part of civil society. These institutions bridge between the individual and power [29].

Democratization needs to be driven by critical attitudes or resistance campaigns from groups or social organizations from below. These organizations need to mobilize strong support to be able to encourage democratization. Therefore, it is necessary to have a non-governmental organization that has a strong and stable network. Some of these organizations include trade unions, religious organizations and professional organizations. Therefore, this study analyzes the role of civil society, in this case religious groups, professional groups and social movements in the issue of the decline of democracy in the mass media.

3 Methodology

This is Qualitative research. Where in data collection using secondary data which is in the form of digital media data, previous research data and also data related to social media. In the data analysis technique used is Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS), in this study using the use of applications from NVivo 12Plus. In this study Using Descriptive and Visual data to provide comprehension assistance to readers in understanding the flow and results of this study. Data collection techniques from documentation and FGD data with experts in the field. Analysis of the decline of democracy during the pandemic uses the NVivo 12Plus application, more precisely Word Cloud Analysis to find out the narrative related to the retreat of Democracy during the Pandemic. The Digital Media data that is available on 3 medias are: Detik, Kompas and Tempo in the period of March 2019 to January 2022, and Social Media is also in the same period of the covid-pandemic.

4 Result and Discussion

This section will analyze issues in the media regarding the decline of democracy in Indonesia. There are three national media, namely Tempo, Detik and Kompas which are the three major media at the national level. The issues of democratic decline that have arisen in the past two years include those related to two categories; law and human right (civil liberties, the rights and obligations of citizens, justice and tolerance/intolerance issues), politics (identity politics, oligarchy, the establishment of the Omnibus

law, political culture, the strengthening of dynastic politics, the issue of a three-term president)

4.1 Decline of Democracy's Issues in the National Media

From the three national media Kompas, Tempo and Detik, using the Crosstab Query analysis, the following analysis results were obtained.

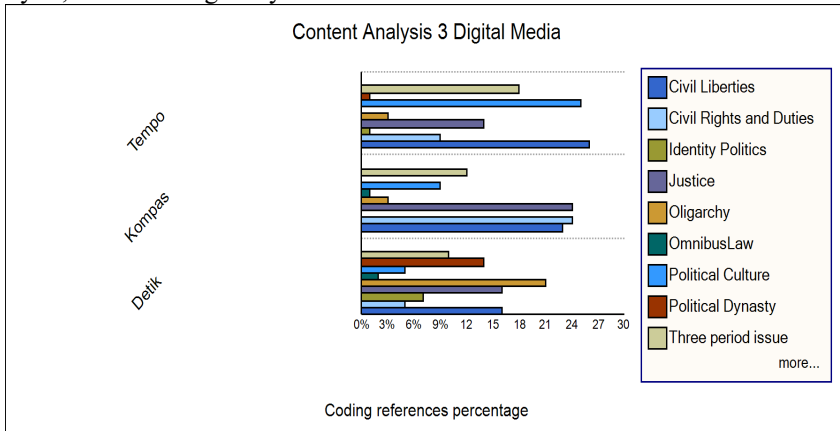


Fig. 2. Analysis of Decline of Democracy Issues in Three Digital Media

Figure 2. It shows that in total the three digital media have a concentration on civil liberties with 21.59%. In the covid-19 pandemic, civil liberty is very restricted. In addition to the policy of limiting individual mobilization there are also restrictions on community activities in the passage of laws that restrict the freedom of the community at such as the policy of the Ministry of Communication and Information On the Implementation of Electronic System which resulted in the blocking of some sites and also restrictions on people's digital activities. Of the three media, Detik reported on various issues of democratic decline, both issues related to law and human rights and political issues. Of these various issues, Detik carries the most political issues, namely oligarchic power, dynastic politics and omnibus law issues.

4.2 The issue of the decline of Democracy from Religious Institutions

There are several religious institutions that are the object of analysis of this study, namely: Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama, PHDI, Matakini, KWI, KAJmChurch, Indonesian Catholicism, & Permabudhi. Based on Crosstab Query analysis, the issue of democratic instability in religious organizations is reflected in the following figures and tables:

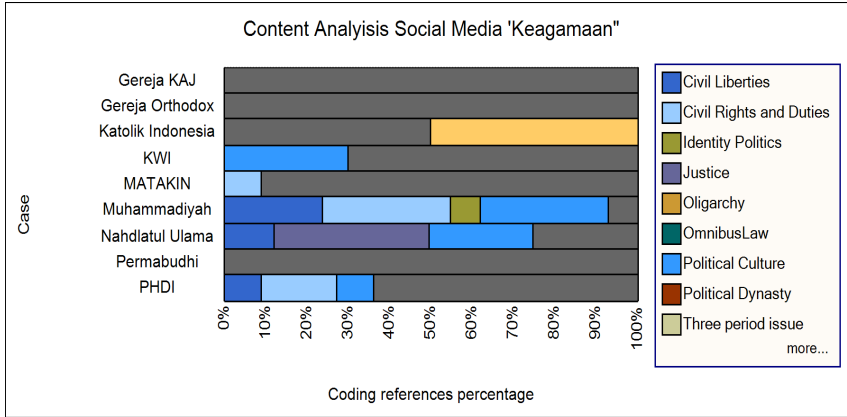


Fig. 3. The Issue of the Decline of Democracy in Religious Institutions

The picture above shows that all religious organizations promote the issue of tolerance. The issue of tolerance is more about the saying of the great religious celebrations, both for their religion and for other religions.

Some religion organization also talk about other themes. Muhammadiyah also talked about Civil Rights and Duties (score 30.77%), especially during the pandemic, Muhammadiyah plays a role in the implementation of policies that are the fulfillment of rights for the community such as the right to health with Covid-19 vaccination. In relation to political issues, Muhammadiyah also talks about issues related to identity politics and political culture. The issues raised by Nahdhatul Ulama are tolerance, justice, political culture and the rights and obligations of citizens. In relation to political issues, Muhammadiyah also talks about issues related to identity politics and political culture. The issue of political culture carried out by Muhammadiyah is more about the issue of political education as an effort to increase people's political knowledge. The issues raised by Nahdhatul Ulama are tolerance, justice, political culture and the rights and obligations of citizens. NU and Muhammadiyah, the two largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia, reject the Omnibus Law. According to NU, in addition to the issue of justice, the Omnibus Law does not open public participation, must provide protection for workers' rights, protection against environmental damage and must not sacrifice food security and farmer independence. Muhammadiyah's disapproval of the Omnibus Law was carried out by supporting judicial review of the Omnibus Law. Judicial Review of the Omnibus Law was granted by the Constitutional Court, but afterwards the President issued the Government Regulation in Lieu of the Omnibus Law. It also shows the decline of democracy in which the power of the executive and its alliances is so strong and ignores the objections of various community organizations and religious organizations to it. In addition to Muhammadiyah and NU organizations, Parisaha Hindu Dharma Indonesia also carries quite diverse issues, namely tolerance, rights and obligations of citizens, political culture, and civil liberties.

4.3 The Issue of Decline of Democracy in NGOs

There are several accounts studied from NGOs including: The Mobile People's Alliance, Amnesty International Indonesia, The Indonesian People's Faction, Green Peace Indonesia, KontraS, and Milk Tea Alliance Indonesia. The results of the analysis of the 6 accounts are as follows:

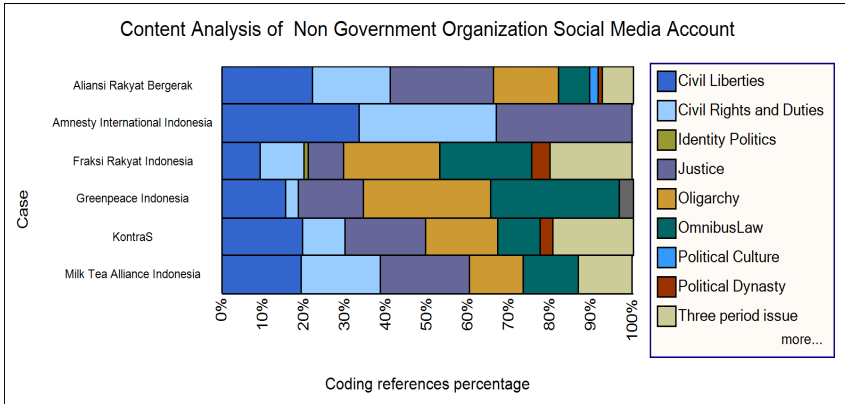


Fig. 4. Issues on the Decline of Democracy in NGO accounts

The issue of the decline of democracy promoted by NGOs is more diverse than religious groups. Because NGOs are engaged in political and societal issues, only Greenpeace carries the issue of tolerance. The issue is also celebrity-related to religious celebrations. Indonesia's international amnesty focuses more on international issues such as civil liberties, the rights and obligations of citizens, and justice. The Milk Tea Alliance (MTA) is an alliance of several countries, namely Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Indonesia that formed an online democrat solidarity movement from netizens across countries. The MTA is active in the national protest movement that emphasizes human rights issues in Southeast Asia. There are several issues promoted by the MTA, namely justice, civil liberties, rights and obligations of citizens, omnibus law, 3-term presidential issues, dynastic politics and politics identity.

Greenpeace as an organization engaged in the environment, speaks out on issues of democratic decline, especially regarding omnibus law, justice and civil liberty. Greenpeace criticizes in criticizing the Omnibus Law not only from the perspective of the environment, namely the threat of environmental damage, but also the rights of the people with the strengthening of the oligarchy. Greenpeace also carried out its actions at the Indonesian Parliament Building by making an oligarchic octopus symbol (greenpeace.org). According to Greenpeace, the Omnibus Law also weakens the enforcement of forest and land fire laws.

The issues of democratic decline promoted by KontraS include civil liberties, justice, 3-term issues, oligarchs, citizens' rights and obligations, omnibus law, oligarchy and dynastic politics. KontraS, which is the Commission for Missing Persons and Acts of Violence, is clearly committed to issues of justice, civil liberties and human rights. In addition, KontraS also addressed the issue of 3 periods which they said was

collusion between elites. KontraS also demanded Jokowi to remove his minister who raised the issue of a 3-term President. In the Omnibus Law issue, KontraS plays a role in assisting demonstrators who reject the Omnibus Law and opening complaints for violent acts from demonstrations against the Omnibus Law. Meanwhile, the Mobile People's Alliance as a social movement criticizes the implementation of democracy from various aspects, namely justice, civil liberties, human rights, omnibus law.

4.4 The Issue of the Decline of Democracy in Professional Association

There are 6 association accounts that are the object of analysis, namely the Association of Independent Journalists (AJI) Indonesia, the Press Council, the Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI), the Indonesian Advocates Association (IKADIN), and the Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia (PGRI). By using Crosstab Query analysis which is displayed with images and tables as follows:

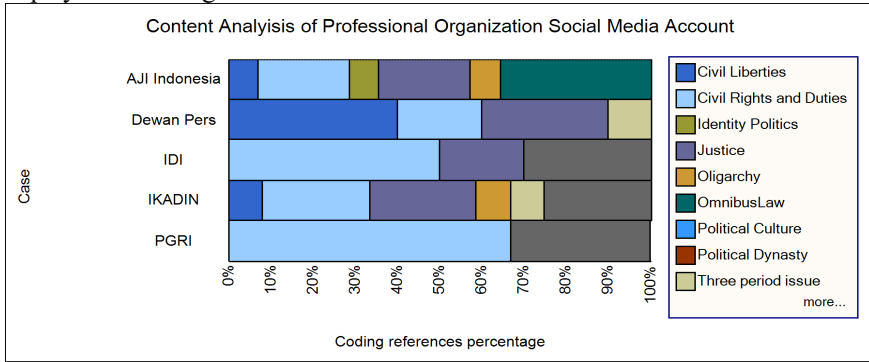


Fig. 5. The Issue of the Decline of Democracy in Professional Associations

In the analysis, it can be seen that AJI Indonesia's account focuses on Omnibus Law with a value of 35.71%. The press council focused on Civil Liberties-related content with a proportion of 40%. The IDI account focuses on Civil Rights and Duties which has a percentage of 50%. The IKADIN account has a concentration on the theme of Justice, Tolerance- Intolerance and Civil Rights and Duties with a value of 25%. PGRI accounts focus on Civil Rights and Duties with a proportion of 66.67%. With the total number of dominations on the theme of Civil Rights and Duties content which has a concentration of 34.55%. This can be a sign that the content concentration in the professional Association account as a whole focuses more on the theme of the theme to call on rights-related content as well as the obligations of the civil society.

On the other hand, it can also be seen that each account has a certain reference in accordance with the spirit of its Professional Organization, and IKADIN has a focus on the theme of Justice, Tolerance- Intolerance and Civil Rights and Duties with a value of 25% this indicates the area and discussion of the advocates' association is indeed intersected with the Law and the Rule of Law. Meanwhile, another example in the IDI account focuses on Civil Rights and Duties which have a percentage of 50%, which is related to the doctor's profession related to the rights of doctors, patients and the rights

of the communication in access to health. Of the five professional organizations. AJI, IKADIN and the Press Council are more diverse in highlighting issues of democratic decline, due to their professions relating to law, civil liberties and justice.

In this case, it can be seen that the Issue raised is dominated by the Omnibus law Issue and three period of the president, this shows that both cases have received great attention from various parties. In addition, some actors tend to discuss on certain themes, for example in supporters only support or discuss on the theme of postponing the 2024 elections and 3-term issues.

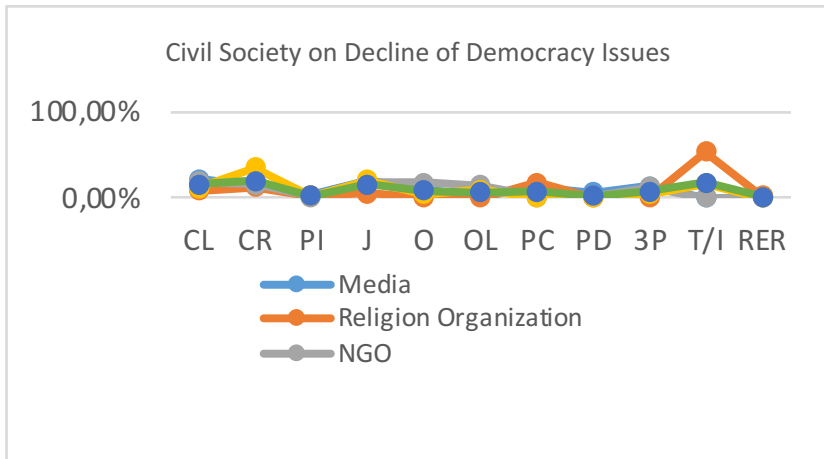


Fig. 6. Picture 5. Civil Society on the Issues of the Decline of Democracy

Figure 6. shows issues with the decline of democracy of civil societies. There are no issues regarding identity politics and political culture that have shown during the covid pandemic, issues of identity politics have received little or no attention from civil society. Nevertheless, the issue of identity politics arises in the issues. This is related to the polarization of civil society which Mietzner divided into two groups, namely liberal and Islamic groups [21]. Issues of identity politics are raised by liberal groups to Islamist groups. The issue of tolerance is precisely the issue that arises from civil society which is more expressions of mutual respect and respect between religions by congratulating each other in the celebration of religious holidays.

Between legal and human rights issues, legal issues such as civil liberties, civil rights, and justice are the most raised issues by civil societies. The issue of civil liberties is mainly the decline of civil liberties during the Jokowi era. Civil liberties during Jokowi's second term were minimized by repressive measures by suppressing groups that criticized the government. In political issues, the issues raised are oligarchs, the Omnibus Law, the issue of a three-term president and dynastic politics. These political issues are interrelated, where the Omnibus Law, the issue of the 3-term President and dynastic politics lead to the strengthening of the power oligarchy in Indonesia. However, judging from the government's policies, these issues did not receive attention from the government. The Constitutional Court's decision on conditional unconstitutionality in the Omnibus Law was followed up with a Government Regulation in Lieu of the

Omnibus Law. This shows that the substance as stated by NU and Muhammadiyah related to labor protection, environmental protection and the lawmaking process that does not provide opportunities for public participation does not receive attention from the government. The role of civil in balancing the governments is weak. It is because the movements of civil society are also polarized, and do not gain public support. Society as an element of civil society is also torn between supporters of the government and those who are criticized the government, with a strong first group more supported by the power of the media and information.

5 Conclusion

The analysis conducted on civil society groups consisting of the media, religious organizations, NGOs and professional organizations, it shows that the issues raised are more about the issue of civil liberties and human rights. There has been a decline in civil liberties and human rights, with the strengthening of repressive actions carried out by the government against groups that oppose or criticize the government. On political issues, the issues that arise are more related to the strengthening of oligarchs, the Omnibus Law, the issue of a three-term president and dynastic politics. Of these various issues, it is not an issue that can influence government policy because of the polarization in civil society and unconsolidated society.

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6 First Section

6.1 A Subsection Sample

Please note that the first paragraph of a section or subsection is not indented. The first paragraphs that follows a table, figure, equation etc. does not have an indent, either.

Subsequent paragraphs, however, are indented.

Sample Heading (Third Level). Only two levels of headings should be numbered. Lower level headings remain unnumbered; they are formatted as run-in headings.

Sample Heading (Forth Level). The contribution should contain no more than four levels of headings. The following Table 1 gives a summary of all heading levels.

Table 1. Table captions should be placed above the tables.

Heading level	Example	Font size and style
Title (centered)	Lecture Notes	14 point, bold
1 st -level heading	1 Introduction	12 point, bold
2 nd -level heading	2.1 Printing Area	10 point, bold
3 rd -level heading	Run-in Heading in Bold. Text follows	10 point, bold
4 th -level heading	<i>Lowest Level Heading.</i> Text follows	10 point, italic

Displayed equations are centered and set on a separate line.

$$x + y = z \tag{1}$$

Please try to avoid rasterized images for line-art diagrams and schemas. Whenever possible, use vector graphics instead (see Fig. 7).

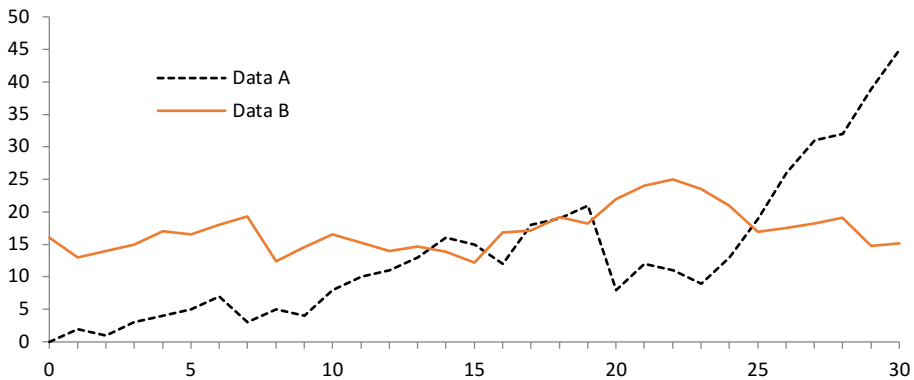


Fig. 7. A figure caption is always placed below the illustration. Short captions are centered, while long ones are justified. The macro button chooses the correct format automatically.

For citations of references, we prefer the use of square brackets and consecutive numbers. Citations using labels or the author/year convention are also acceptable. The following bibliography provides a sample reference list with entries for journal articles [1], an LNCS chapter [2], a book [3], proceedings without editors [4], as well as a URL [5].

References

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