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## The Dynamics of the Opposition and Coalition Parties within the Indonesian Pancasila Democratic System

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### Abstract

Pancasila democracy places the people at the center, focusing on the ideology of democracy and Pancasila as the state's guiding principle. In the current era of political openness and transparency, various dynamics have emerged, including changes in the democratic system over time in Indonesia and conflicts experienced by political parties, ranging from opposition as government watchdogs to coalitions as policy-makers. These dynamics have given rise to numerous theories regarding the function of state institutions. One of the most prominent theories is Montesquieu's trias politica, which divides power into the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary, serving as a balancing mechanism for democracy and the dynamics within the Indonesia. This study utilizes normative legal materials, namely books, legal journals, and online sources, to examine the background of the problem. Within this research, it was discovered that the dynamics of democracy

in Indonesia are influenced by historical factors deeply ingrained in its fabric. Furthermore, the state ideology has undergone several transformations, starting from the shift from guided democracy to Pancasila and subsequently the reformation era, ultimately culminating in the present. There have been numerous disputes in the pursuit of becoming a sovereign democratic nation in accordance with the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila.

**Keywords:** *coalition; opposition; pancasila democracy; political party.*

### 1. Introduction

Democracy is a system embraced by the Indonesian nation. Democracy, with its roots in ancient Greek civilization originates from the combination of the words "*demos*" and "*kratos*," – with people and power as the meaning for the former and the latter, the etymological meaning of both signify power, which in turn, governance by the people. According to Amien Rais, democracy serves as the foundation for the overall functioning of a state, highlighting the significance of public participation in shaping crucial matters within the governmental structure of a nation. Ultimately, the people play a pivotal role in providing insights and provisions regarding key issues, while the government assumes the responsibility of leading the country and formulating policies.<sup>1</sup>

Democracy, influenced by prominent thinkers like John Locke and Rousseau, ensures freedom, justice, and equality for individuals across various margins. Within a democratic system, participatory values and sovereignty are emphasized, and said freedoms become the responsibility of both the citizenry and state institutions to uphold

<sup>1</sup> Amien Rais, *Pengantar Dalam Demokrasi dan Proses Politik*, LP3ES, Jakarta, 1986 hal. 5.

them.<sup>2</sup> In countries that adheres to democracy, such as Indonesia, general elections and a representative system serve as key state instruments, as expressed by Moh Harmaily Ibrahim in 1983. Indonesia follows Pancasila Democracy, introduced during the early stages of the New Order era with the aim of promoting human rights progress and curbing widespread corruption prevalent during the tenure of President Soeharto.

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the achievements of this era came at a high cost. It witnessed the emergence of large-scale corruption and repression of dissenting voices, resulting in severe restrictions on freedom of expression. Even press and media outlets require licenses and must obtain a Publication Permit (SIT). These circumstances led many to view President Soeharto leadership as highly authoritarian. In response, numerous students and activist figures emerged, leading movements to overthrow President Soeharto. Their actions were fueled by discourses of change and efforts to establish a robust executive, drawing upon ideas presented during the drafting of the 1945 Constitution and documented in Prof. Supomo writings, included in Moh Yamin book, the preparatory text of the 1945 Constitution. These ideas encompassed the concept of an integralist state, cooperative relationships, consensus-based deliberation, opposition to individualism, and the primacy of societal rights and interests over individual ones. As a result, they have become significant components of the political agenda moving forward.<sup>3</sup>

In the realm of societal dynamics, two distinct streams emerge. The first, known as the inward-looking perspective, emphasizes the use of Indonesia as a reference point in discussions on human rights, rooted in the belief that these rights have been known since ancient times. On the other hand, the outward-looking stream advocates adopting the Western countries' viewpoints on human rights within the Indonesian government system. Moreover, democracy has expanded and taken root in numerous Western nations and countries. However, contemporary challenges pose a potential threat to the democratic system within the social order of states. Indonesia itself has witnessed different forms of democracy, including parliamentary democracy from 1949 to 1950, followed by guided democracy and the implementation of Pancasila as the foundation during the reformation period. Presently, Indonesia embraces a democracy based on the Pancasila system. After more than 70 years since proclaiming independence, Indonesia has become an independent and sovereign nation. Nonetheless, numerous social and political problems persist, often colored by diverse political orientations within the country. Among the most fiercely debated topics are the roles of opposition and coalition parties, signifying the ongoing dynamism of law and politics in Indonesia and its parliamentary democracy.

These opposing forces frequently intersect, with the concept of *adversus*, derived from Latin, symbolizing their engagement. The term "opposition," originating in England, emerged when two parliamentary parties faced each other.<sup>4</sup> Tasked with monitoring, controlling, and critically assessing government policies, The opposition plays a pivotal role in upholding the principles of democracy. Conversely, coalitions refer

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<sup>2</sup> Anang Dony Irawan, "Mengembalikan Kedaulatan Rakyat Pada Pemilu 2024," kumparan.com, 2021, <https://kumparan.com/anangdonyirawan/mengembalikan-kedaulatan-rakyat-pada-pemilu-2024-1xDX5UYjY9y>

<sup>3</sup> miriam Budiarmo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Revisi (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Munadi. Oposisi dan Koalisi: Potret Kultur Demokrasi Indonesia Resolusi. "https://Doi.Org/10.32699/Resolusi.V2i1.726" Vol. 2, Nomor 1 (2019): 1–20.

to collaborative alliances formed by multiple political parties and organizations. Displaying unity and coherence, these coalitions often evolve and dissolve based on shared objectives and visions. Broadly speaking, the coalition aligns itself with decisions and regulations formulated by the government or its officials. Reflecting on the current dynamics between politics and law, it becomes evident that polarization is a prevalent phenomenon. Ultimately, politics remains inherently intertwined with human existence, as individuals naturally inhabit and interact within society.<sup>5</sup>

Etymologically, the term "politics" finds its roots in the Dutch language, specifically "*politiek*" or "*belied*," which conveys the notion of political policy. It encompasses a multitude of concepts, encompassing various political ideologies and serving as a framework for occupational performative functions, leadership, and decision-making processes.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the definition of politics remains highly diverse, with some perceiving it in a positive light while others adopt a more negative perspective. This divergence arises from the fact that politics has often been wielded as a tool for power struggles.<sup>7</sup> This paper will therefore explore on the nature and role of the democratic system and its dynamics in Indonesia; Its historical overview in general. Furthermore, this paper will also delve on the issue of how the Pancasila Democratic system influences the dynamics of the electability between the opposition and coalition parties.

## 2. Method

This study utilized a combined research approach, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative aspects. The researcher adopted an inductive approach, utilizing a conceptual theory model, while employing a deductive comparison method to generate numerical data for statistical analysis. The study was characterized by its goal-oriented, process-focused, and holistic nature. Historical research techniques were applied to analyze past events and existing data sources, examining them in a logical manner. Normative legal materials, including books, legal journals, and internet sources, were utilized to explore the background of the problem. Additionally, primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials were incorporated as supplementary sources to enrich the understanding of the existing issues. (Irawan, 2020)<sup>8</sup>.

The research methodology as described above involved the utilization of existing journals, journal articles, and books as primary sources of documentation and literacy. With an evaluative objective in mind, the research aimed to measure the success of a specific program, product, or activity. Moreover, a literature-based approach was applied, drawing insights from relevant journals, articles, and books. The research primarily

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<sup>5</sup>Anang Dony Irawan and Banu Prasetyo, "Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial Keberagaman Pancasila Sebagai [12](https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v7i1.2448) Landasan Politik Hukum Kebangsaan," *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial Keberagaman* 9, no. 1 (2022): 1–7, <https://juridiksiam.unram.ac.id/index.php/juridiksiam>.

<sup>6</sup>Muhammad As Hikam, "Demokrasi dan Civil Society". Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia, anggota IKAPI Juni, 2015.

<sup>7</sup>Dony Irawan And Prasetyo, [12](https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v7i1.2448) "Jurnal Pendidikan Sosial Keberagaman Pancasila Sebagai Landasan Politik Hukum Kebangsaan". 2022. <https://juridiksiam.unram.ac.id/index.php/juridiksiam/article/view/293/84>.

<sup>8</sup>Anang Dony Irawan, "Pendidikan Pemilih [19](https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v7i1.2448) Umum Serentak 2019," *Jurnal Hukum Replik* 7, no. 1 (2020): 55, <https://doi.org/10.31000/jhr.v7i1.2448>.

focused on the social sphere, encompassing aspects of politics, law, and economics.<sup>9</sup> Qualitative analysis of the primary data was conducted using a deductive approach, while the ensuing discussions were tailored to the subject matter at hand, ultimately leading to conclusive findings on the research questions under investigation. (Putra Samudra & Dony Irawan, 2022).<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Results and Analysis

#### 3.1. The Dynamics of Indonesian Democratic System

##### 3.1.1. Parliamentary Democracy (*Demokrasi Parleментар*) Era

Indonesia, over the span of more than 70 years since gaining independence, has undergone significant social, political, and economic transformations. Throughout its history, Indonesia has consistently embraced democratic systems. Democracy fundamentally recognizes the power of the people, allowing them to shape rules that promote their welfare and safeguard their rights.<sup>11</sup> Indonesia and its democratic journey began with parliamentary democratic system, which also signifies an era of the namesake, said system and era laid the groundwork for the social, political, and economic framework of a nation. During this period, particular attention was given to human rights, culminating in the formulation of crucial laws such as the 1945 Constitution, as well as subsequent legislation in 1949, 1950, and the constituent assembly from 1956 to 1959. However, the draft legislation of that time faced considerable public criticism concerning the protection of human rights in a democratic society. Certain groups argued that it deviated from the principles laid out in the *Declaration Des Droit De l'homme At Du Citiyon* (1789).<sup>12</sup>

In relation to individualism and liberalism, these concepts are seen as contradicting the principles of mutual cooperation and kinship. Drs. Moh. Hatta further emphasized the importance of defining citizens' rights within the context of a familial state to prevent the emergence of a power-driven state (*maachtsstaat*). Moreover, many individuals argue that human rights extend beyond mere liberal ideals, as evidenced by their incorporation into the drafting of other laws in 1949 and 1950. Although these rights are relatively limited and concise, they offer a sense of reassurance as they encompass collective rights not explicitly stated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), such as the right to self-determination for nations. During the early struggle for independence and the advent of parliamentary democracy, the discourse surrounding human rights was relatively subdued. Nonetheless, several armed conflicts, such as the PRRI/Permesta and Darul Islam, and their subsequent settlements resulted in numerous victims with indication of human rights violations. Despite these instances, the existence of many civil societies was widely regarded as democratic, with some even perceiving it as excessively so. The

<sup>9</sup>MSi. Prof. Dr. Suryana, "Metodologi Penelitian : Metodologi Penelitian Model Praktis Penelitian Kuantitatif Dan Kualitatif," *Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia*, 2012, 1–243, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2>.

<sup>10</sup>Putra Samudra & Dony Irawan, 2022, Bentuk Pengukuhan Identitas Nasional Di Tinjau Berdasarkan Sudut Pandang Hukum, <https://journal.universitaspahlawan.ac.id/index.php/jp/article/view/6885/5207>

<sup>11</sup>Cora Elly Noviati, "Peran Kemampuan Berpikir Positif Dalam Mencapai Penerimaan Diri," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 10, no. 3 (2018): 350.

<sup>12</sup>Hartuti Purwaneni, "Demokrasi Indonesia: Dari Masa Ke Masa," *Jurnal Administrasi Publik* 3, no. 2 (2013): 118–31.

situation took a turn when President Soekarno issued the Decree in 1959, reverting back to the 1945 Constitution, marking the beginning of the guided democracy era.

### **3.1.2. Guided Democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*) Era**

When exploring the issues within this paper under the historical purview of guided democracy, it becomes vident that numerous significant events contributed to the commencement of this era. These events encompassed various aspects, including the struggle for independence, the development of the constitution of a nation, and the discourse surrounding human rights within the prior democratic system, namely the parliamentary democracy system. Throughout this journey, the nation experienced a multitude of ups and downs, encompassing social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions. Several factors played a pivotal role in giving rise to guided democracy, including:

- a) The sentiment of discontentment arises due to the perceived disparity between the achieved outcomes since 1945 and the lofty ideals and aspirations laid out in the proclamation. Key concerns include the persistent issues of inadequate prosperity and unequal dispensation of justice, which have not been effectively addressed and resolved. Furthermore, certain regions still grapple with remnants of Dutch colonialism, and the frequent turnover of cabinets, having changed 17 times, adds to the instability. The occurrence of rebellions in various areas further compounds these challenges.
- b) The perceived inability of the parliamentary democratic institution in addressing and realizing the mandate on the alleviation of public suffering.

In brief, upon the return to the 1945 Constitution, the scope of human rights once again became constrained and circumscribed. This transformation occurred under the stewardship of President Soekarno, whereby various measures were implemented to curtail citizens' freedom of expression and criticism towards the government. Notably, numerous newspapers faced prohibition, while political parties like Masyumi and PSI were forcibly dissolved, resulting in the detention of their leaders, namely Moh. Natsir and Syahrir. Lamentably, one of the most glaring shortcomings of the guided democracy period pertained to the absence of lucidity concerning economic human rights. The lack of well-defined contours regarding economic policies only served to exacerbate the situation. Consequently, Indonesia plummeted to its nadir economically, prompting the eventual demise of the guided democracy era and paving the way for the emergence of Pancasila Democracy, also known as the New Order.<sup>13</sup>

### **3.1.3. Pancasila Democracy (New Order) Era**

Pancasila democracy emerged following the conclusion of the guided democracy era. It is an alternative term used to describe the New Order system, which is officially implemented in Indonesia and enshrined in the 1945 Constitution. The constitutional foundation for Pancasila democracy has been established, even predating the year 1965. Pancasila democracy represents a democratic system that operates on the principles of Pancasila, which have become an integral part of the Indonesian way of life. Its primary objective is to address and rectify the deviations from the provisions of the 1945 Constitution that occurred during the guided democracy period, aligning them with the

<sup>13</sup>Ajat Sudrajat, "Demokrasi Pancasila Dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *MOZAIK: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 8, no. 1 (2016): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.21831/moz.v8i1.10763>.

core values of Pancasila.<sup>14</sup> The term "Pancasila Democracy" originated as a response to the Sukarno and his administration implementation of Guided Democracy. The concept of Guided Democracy was codified through MPRS Decree Number VIII/MPRS/1965. This decree pertains to the principles of deliberation for consensus in guided democracy and serves as a guiding framework for deliberative and representative institutions.<sup>15</sup> the formulation of Pancasila Democracy received legal recognition through MPRS Decree Number XXXVII/MPRS/1968. This decree provided the initial regulations and guidelines for the implementation of Pancasila Democracy. It was later superseded by Decree Number V/MPRS/1973

The decree as listed above held far greater significance than a mere simple procedural techniques, as it has provided a comprehensive framework for the establishment of Pancasila Democracy. During the early years of the New Order era, there was a prevailing sense of optimism surrounding the democratic process. Intellectuals and scholars organized numerous seminars to explore the future of Indonesia and the protection of human rights. Regrettably, this period of intellectual discourse was short-lived, as the military gradually assumed a dominant role in governance. In his seminal state address on 16 August 1967, President Soeharto proclaimed that "Pancasila democracy entails the democratic sovereignty of the people, intricately interwoven with other guiding principles." This statement emphasized the inseparable connection between exercising democratic rights and maintaining a profound sense of responsibility to the divine. Furthermore, the interpretation of crucial concepts such as "public interest," "public security," and "national stability" appeared to be confined to those in positions of power within the political and economic spheres. To shed light on the implementation of economic and social human rights, the following comparative table illustrates said key aspects :

Table 1. Comparison of Economic and Social Rights, by Decades

Year	1980	1990	2000
Total Population	147.490.000	179.379.000	203.456.000
Unemployment Rate	2.136.127	1.951.684	5.813. 231
Economic Growth	3 <sup>rd</sup> 5 Years Plan (REPELITA III) 6,1%	7,4%	4,77%
Illiteracy Rate	27,9%	15,83%	10.08%

Source: Central Statistical Bureau (BPS): 2008 <sup>16</sup>

Notes:

1. Statistics Excluding the Province of Moluccas
2. Statistics Excluding Growth by Oil and Gas, 5,24 %
3. Statistics Excluding Aceh and the Moluccas

During this period, the effective and practical power gradually shifted into the purview of the armed forces (ABRI), which semi-directly lead to the establishment of a repressive regime. Within the realm of politics, elections became synonymous with the

<sup>14</sup>Kawan Hukum.ID. Selasa, 28 Maret 2023. "Potret Historis Demokrasi di Indonesia". Anang Dony Irawan.

<sup>15</sup>Sudrajat, "Demokrasi Pancasila Dalam Perspektif Sejarah." Page 1 – 17. 2016.

<sup>16</sup> MIRIAM BUDIARJO, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*.2008.

legislature. In the New Order era, the first elections were held in 1971. The Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police (Polri), collectively known as ABRI, did not exercise their right to vote. Instead, ABRI was compensated with a fractional share in the People's Consultative Assembly (DPR/MPR) consisting of 100 members, as well as in regional legislative bodies (DPRD).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, an obscene occupation strategic positions within the cabinet, bureaucracy, and even the economy happened during this era. The New Order formed a symbiotic relation with the armed forces, the government heavily relied on military force, significantly constraining the operational space for political parties and pro-democracy organizations. This era witnessed a highly centralized presidency, which undermined the optimal functioning of the DPR/MPR. The President enjoyed substantial authority and received unwavering support from ABRI and representatives of Golkar, the ruling party. Power distribution was undemocratic, as individuals loyal to the New Order regime were selected as party representatives, while those deemed disloyal to the military, bureaucracy, or influential political families faced obstacles in their attempts to assume party leadership positions. Under President Suharto regime, Indonesia and its international reputation suffered greatly due to human rights violations and rampant corruption cases. However, the ruling elites and political authorities consistently dismissed the significance of human rights concerns. Eventually, the repressive actions of President Suharto regime led to his downfall. On May 21, 1998, President Suharto resigned, transferring power to the then-Vice President B.J. Habibie.<sup>18</sup>

#### 3.1.4. Reform (*Reformasi*) Era

During the reformation period, President Habibie led the government from May 1998 to October 1999. This period marked the beginning of the reformation movement, which triggered the formulation of a national human rights action plan (RAN-HAM) spanning from 1998 to 2003. However, the implementation of this plan has been limited thus far. Nevertheless, Indonesia achieved significant milestones in ratifying crucial human rights conventions during this reform period. These include the conventions against torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, as well as the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Freedom of expression played a pivotal role in the success of the reform movement. The environment allowed for open criticism of the government, with various groups organizing seminars where government policies could be freely scrutinized. The mass media also played an active role in talk shows, providing a platform for discussions and critiques. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and various independent talkshows and other independent discourse avenues actively participated in shaping public discourse. The reform era seemed to propel the development of democracy in Indonesia.<sup>19</sup> Within these times, the military and bureaucracy were gradually disengaged from practical politics. The military was restricted from holding political positions and was primarily focused on defense matters. Furthermore, the responsibility of organizing

<sup>17</sup>Ni'matul Huda, "Hak Politik Tentara Nasional Indonesia Dan Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia Pasca Reformasi," *Jurnal Hukum Ius Quia Iustum* 21, no. 2 (2014): 203–26, <https://doi.org/10.20885/iustum.vol21.iss2.art3>.

<sup>18</sup>Purwati, "Demokrasi Indonesia: Dari Masa Ke Masa".2004. <https://journal.unpar.ac.id/index.php/JAP/article/view/1532>

<sup>19</sup> Sudrajat, "Demokrasi Pancasila Dalam Perspektif Sejarah." Page 1 – 17. 2016.



general elections was transferred from the Ministry of Home Affairs to the independent General Elections Commission (KPU). These reforms aimed to ensure a more democratic and accountable political system.

The government system underwent a significant transformation from a centralized to a decentralized model with the enactment of Law Number 22 of 1999. This law emphasized the principle of real and responsible autonomy, shifting the focus from rights to obligations. Subsequently, the law was revised and replaced by Law Number 32 of 2004, which introduced the principles of decentralization, co-administration, and deconcentration as the basis for governing regional and central governments. In the Reformation Era, the press was granted the freedom to provide information without government intervention or interference from security forces. However, the practice of democracy during this period did not always lead to peace and prosperity for the people. In fact, some criticized democracy as "democracy," highlighting the challenges and complexities it brought. The era was marked by widespread demonstrations in society, often escalating into violence. These demonstrations ultimately resulted in the forced departures of President Habibie in 1999 and President Abdurahman Wachid in 2001.

The tenure of President Megawati Soekarnoputri also faced the tide of upheavals during her presidency. The first years of the *Reformasi* movement was marred by horizontal conflicts in Poso, Ambon, and Kalimantan, where community groups themselves committed human rights violations. The period was also characterized by various setbacks and especially economic decline, influenced by both external and internal factors. Externally, global economic downturns and international reactions to the Bali bombing incident and anti-terrorism efforts impacted the Indonesian economy. Internally, challenges such as corruption eradication, banking system management, and regulation of various economic aspects contributed to the economic downturn. Furthermore, conflicts in various regions had adverse effects on the education sector, leading to an increase in the number of refugees and necessitating extensive reconstruction efforts.

### **3.2. The Role of Opposition Parties and Coalitions in Indonesia's Pancasila Democracy System: Dynamics of Checks and Balances**

Political parties serve as a means for citizenry to participate in governing a country. They have become familiar institutions in our society today. While the history of political parties is relatively short, they emerged as a response to the recognition that the public and their voices had been overlooked in the political process. Political parties act as intermediaries between the people and the government. They first originated in Western European countries and gradually developed into important entities that connect citizens with their governing authorities. During the late 19th century, and especially on the leading days towards the Great War, political parties began to be classified based on ideology and economic perspectives, commonly known as the "left" and "right" parties. Although this classification has undergone various interpretations and formulations, it has become widely accepted in society and cannot be disregarded in political analysis politik.

Political parties stem from the belief that through organizational structures, individuals who share similar perspectives are able to form a union, consolidate their ideas, and exert a greater influence in the decision-making and implementation within a governmental process. In essence, a political party can be defined as a cohesive group of individuals who share common orientations, values, and ideals. The primary objective of

such a group is to attain political power and secure constitutional positions enabling them to pursue their program, vision, and mission. As articulated by Sigmund Neumann in his book on *Modern Political Parties*, political parties serve as vehicles for collective action and representation in the realm of governance (*A political party is the articulate organization of society's active political agents; those who are concerned with the control of governmental polity power, and who compete for popular support with other group or group holding divergent views*).<sup>20</sup> In addition to the previous, political parties serve the following functions within a democratic country:

- a) As a means of political communication
- b) As a means for the dissemination of political ideas
- c) As a means of medium for political
- d) As a means for conflict management medium

The term "separation of powers" was initially introduced by John Locke, a prominent figure in constitutional history. Locke categorized power into three distinct functions: legislative, executive, and federative. Building upon Locke's concept, Montesquieu further developed the idea in the 18th century by dividing government power into three branches: the legislative branch, responsible for making laws; the executive branch, primarily focused on law implementation and foreign policy matters; and the judicative branch, tasked with adjudicating law violations.<sup>21</sup> Montesquieu emphasized the importance of separating these powers, both in terms of the responsibilities and structures of the governing institutions. This concept is commonly referred to as the *trias politica*. However, the practical implementation of power separation, as outlined in the *trias politica*, posed challenges due to the inherent interdependence of the branches. Consequently, the theory of *power distribution* emerged as a more refined approach, widely adopted in various countries. This development eventually led to the establishment of the theory of checks and balances, which aims to ensure accountability and prevent any single branch from exerting excessive control.

In the course of its development, the constitutional system in Indonesia has evolved towards a system of checks and balances, exemplified by the amendment made to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This amendment introduced a framework wherein state institutions oversee and balance one another. In Indonesia, governmental power is divided among the executive, legislative, and judicial sectors. During the New Order era, the history of Indonesian constitutionalism largely lacked checks and balances between state institutions, as power was predominantly centralized in the President. However, the amendments to the 1945 Constitution established a functional balance by creating equivalent institutional forms. It can be observed that the mechanism of checks and balances, following the constitutional amendment, can be seen as a subtle adaptation of the doctrine of separation of powers.

In the mechanism of checks and balances among the three separate branches of the *trias* – the legislature, executive, and judiciary – it is crucial to have the support of law enforcement and civil society oversight. Though as a conjecture and counterexample, in

<sup>20</sup> Miriam Budiarjo. *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. 2008.

<sup>21</sup> Richard Oliver (dalam Zeithml., dkk 2018). "Rejuvinasi Sistem Checks And Balance Dalam Ketatanegaraan Di Indonesia" *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952., 2021, 2013–15.

longstanding democracies like Australia, the *trias politica* is not always strictly segregated, but checks and balances are upheld through a well-established tradition of opposition. On the other hand, in the case of Indonesia and its democratic establishment, the challenge lies in the dysfunction of the *trias politica* and its respective chambers, resulting in a lack of checks and balances. Additionally, the mindset of political elites within the three state institutions contributes to the disruption of check and balance functions, where parties under scrutiny may feel their independence is being compromised.<sup>22</sup> This can be observed in several cases, including:

- a) The dispute between the DPR (People's Consultative Assembly) and the President regarding the Pilkada Law took place on September 26, 2014. Through a voting process, the DPR passed the new Pilkada Law. The supporting fractions in favor of regional elections, including PAN, PPP, Gerindra, PKS, and Golkar, emerged victorious with 256 votes, while the opposing faction lost with only 135 votes. In response, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) issued a Government regulation in-lieu-of-law to nullify the newly enacted local election law and preserve direct regional elections with certain amendments.<sup>23</sup>
- b) The cases surrounding Budi Gunawan nomination as National Police Chief, along with the subsequent criminalization of Abraham Samad and Bambang Widjajanto, have garnered attention. In a report by Kompas, Jimly observed and stated, "Presently, the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) is unable to proceed with the Budi Gunawan case due to the rejection of its cassation" Furthermore, the KPK is also prohibited from submitting a review. Consequently, the Budi Gunawan case is currently on hold. Given these circumstances, it is crucial for the National Police to release Bambang and Abraham from the looming threat of criminal charges. This is because the determination of the non-active status of these two KPK leaders as suspects is inseparable from the determination made by the KPK against Budi Gunawan." This complex situation reveals a conflict between the DPR and the President, involving elements from the Polri (Indonesian National Police) and the KPK.<sup>24</sup>

In this case, the theory of the division of state power, credited to Montesquieu, has undergone further development and expansion over time. Van Vollen Hoven expanded upon this theory, proposing a division of state power into four categories: *recthpraak/justitie* (dispute resolution), *politie* (regulation), *regeling* (supervision), and *bestuur* (government).<sup>25</sup> These principles were subsequently incorporated into the 1945 Constitution and state constitutions, emphasizing the importance of distributing functions rather than institutions. Another key concept is the theory of checks and balances, which underscores the need for mutual supervision and control among various state agencies. The aim of checks and balances is to optimize the performance of state institutions while curbing their potential for arbitrary actions. These principles are not limited to coalition

<sup>22</sup>Richard Oliver (dalam Zeithml., dkk 2018). "Rejuvinasi Sistem Checks And Balance Dalam Ketatanegaraan Di Indonesia" *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952., 2021, 2013–15.

<sup>23</sup> Prihandoko, SBY Siap kan Perpu Batalkan UU Pilkada (2014).

<sup>24</sup>Sabrina, Asril. Jimly: "Kasus Budi Gunawan Berhenti, Abraham Samad dan Bambang Widjojanto 24 ga Harus Dihentikan". Kompas.com, 2015. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/03/01/19475521/Jimly.Kasus.Budi.Gunawan.Berhenti.Abraham.Samad.dan.Bambang.Widjojanto.Juga.Harus.Dihentikan>.

<sup>25</sup>HR. Ridwan, "Hukum Administrasi Negara" (Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, 2007), 14.

state institutions alone. The presence of opposition is crucial in monitoring and overseeing the functioning of government, even within coalitions themselves.<sup>26</sup>

The movement to empower communities and involve them in the governmental and decision-making process has gained traction in various nations, including Indonesia with its democratic system. Consequently, the discourse on public participation in government decision-making is an integral aspect of the democratic process in Indonesia.<sup>27</sup> A coalition, in essence, is an amalgamation of individuals working collectively to address conflicts that exist within a country. Typically, it comprises multiple political parties and organizations. These coalitions often form *incidentally*, driven by specific goals. Once these goals are accomplished, it is common for coalition parties to dissolve or splinter.<sup>28</sup> The establishment in power and navigate within a multi-party majority systems face a fundamental challenge. They must engage in cooperative partnerships with other political parties to consolidate political influence. However, this pursuit often leads to a deviation from democratic principles, as many tasks or functions of state institutions are influenced and steered away from the full control and participation of the people. Consequently, the opposition emerges as a counterbalance to government policies and the decisions made by coalition parties.

In essence, the opposition plays a crucial role in the political system by offering diverse ideas and alternative perspectives. It serves as a vital force in evaluating and filtering government policies, thereby contributing to the development of a robust democratic system. The primary purpose of the opposition is to ensure that the government does not abuse its power. Contrary to simply opposing those in power, the opposition acts as a loyal and steadfast guardian of the nation and the state, providing a necessary counterbalance.<sup>29</sup> There are 3 main pillars within the opposition and its respective spheres, they are:

- a) The Press, which plays a crucial role in critically evaluating authorities, particularly in countries that uphold democratic principles. In such nations, press freedom enables journalists to report news related to political elites with a greater degree of neutrality, resulting in more independent and unbiased news coverage.
- b) Student Movements, with its political sincerity – has tendencies and motives to gain power, this student movement has produced more results compared to other opposition elements.
- c) Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM), with its advocacy function in addition with pressure politics.

### **3.3. The Role of Pancasila Democracy on Opposition and Coalitions Parties: On Electability**

Pancasila Democracy, as a prevailing ideology, is rooted in the values encapsulated within it. It is an enduring ideology that has been embraced in the past and continues to

<sup>26</sup>Richard Oliver (dalam Zeithml., dkk 2018). "Rejuvinasi Sistem Checks And Balance Dalam Ketatanegaraan Di Indonesia" *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 6(11), 951–952., 2021, 2013–15.

<sup>27</sup>Sahaya A. 17. g. ara, "Buku Sistem Politik Indonesia.Pdf," *Sistem Politik Indonesia*, 2015.

<sup>28</sup>Yusrijal Abdal. 10. Koalisi Partai Politik Dalam Uu No 10 Tahun 2016," *Jurnal Hukum Magnum Opus* I, no. 10 (2018): 53–60, <https://doi.org/10.30996/jhmo.v0i0.1769>.

<sup>29</sup>Munandi."Oposisi Dan Koalisi : Demokrasi Sebagai Potret Indonesia". 2019. Vol, "https://Doi.Org/10.32699/Resolusi.V2i1.726."

find relevance in the present. The essence of Pancasila Democracy originates from the philosophical foundations of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila. Pancasila serves as a representative embodiment of the character of the Indonesia as a nation, spanning from its historical roots to the contemporary era. A comprehensive understanding of Pancasila Democracy holds significant importance.<sup>30</sup> Particularly in guiding the direction of the nation, its goals, and aspirations across various domains. This is particularly relevant for government institutions that are presently characterized by a focus on the division between coalition and opposition parties. Within this context, the electability of political parties from these two camps becomes a prominent topic of discussion in society. Electability refers to a candidate and his ability to influence opinions of the voters and secure voters support during elections. Political parties themselves can be deemed electable if they possess a strong voting base that aligns with the established criteria and popular sentiment. In a democracy, political parties must acquire a mandate from the people in order to assume governance and wield power within a nation, as emphasized by Abramowitz (1989).<sup>31</sup>

When discussing party electability, it is worth noting that globally, observers, particularly in the West, contend that the influence of political parties is waning. This decline can be attributed to the skepticism surrounding the credibility of parties and parliaments, as they are seen as disconnected from the concerns of the typical voters. Said perception is evident in the complexities of modern political life, driven by the rapid growth of globalization in economic and various other spheres, both national and international.<sup>32</sup> When discussing party electability, it is worth noting that globally, observers, particularly in the West, contend that the influence of political parties is waning. This decline can be attributed to the skepticism surrounding the credibility of parties and parliaments, as they are seen as disconnected from the concerns of the people. This perception is evident in the complexities of modern political life, driven by the rapid growth of globalization in economic and various other spheres, both at the national and international levels. Furthermore, modern political and parliamentary systems tend to prioritize their own interests over those of the public, often becoming preoccupied with centers of power. This global decline in electability is further compounded by the presence of civil society organizations, interest groups, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), predominantly composed of young individuals. These entities exert significant pressure on political parties and have successfully fostered an anti-party sentiment. The following table presents the electability of coalition and opposition political parties from 1890 to 2000:<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Artha Dwi Shafira Pawestri, "Artha Dwi Shafira Pawestri S1 Farmasi Iik Strada Indonesia" Safiraarta664@gmail.com Abstrak," 1945.

<sup>31</sup>Eka Adhi Wibowo, "Akuntabilitas Partai Politik Dan Elektabilitas Partai Politik: Studi Kasus Pada Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu Di Propinsi Diy Tahun 2014," *Jurnal Riset Akuntansi Dan Keuangan* 14, no. 1 (2018): 31, <https://doi.org/10.21460/jrak.2018.141.297>.

<sup>32</sup> I Setiawan, "Implikasi Kebijakan Politik Ekonomi Partai Terhadap Tingkat Elektabilitas Partai Dalam Pemilu (Studi Kasus Pada 5 Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Di Indonesia Dari ...," *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 7, no. 1 (2016), <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/politika/article/view/12568>.

<sup>33</sup> Miriam Budiarjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*.2008.

Table 2. The Decline in the Membership of Political Parties, 1980 – 2000

Countries	Period	Percentage of Partisanship to Eligible Voters, Late 1990s	Changes in Percent	Changes in Number of Memberships	Changes in Membership Number in Comparisons with Original Membership Number
France	1978 – 1999	1.6	- 3.48	-1,122,128	-64.59
Italy	1990 – 1998	4.0	-5.61	-2,091,887	-51.54
USA	1980 – 1998	1.9	-2.20	-853,156	-50.39
Norway	1980 – 1997	7.3	-8.04	-218,891	-47.49
Czech Rep	1993 – 1999	3.9	-3.10	-225,200	-41.32
Finland	1980 – 1998	9.6	-6.09	-206,646	-34.03
Netherlands	1980 – 2000	2.5	-1.78	-136,459	-31.67
Austria	1980 – 1999	17.7	-10.82	-446,209	-30.21
Switzerland	1977 – 1997	6.4	-4.28	-118,800	-28.85
Sweden	1980 – 1998	5.5	-2.87	-142,533	-28.05
Denmark	1980 – 1998	5.2	-2.16	-70,385	-25.52
Ireland	1980 – 1998	3.1	-1.86	-27,856	24.47
Belgium	1980 – 1999	6.5	-2.42	-136,382	-22.10
Germany	1980 – 1999	2.9	-1.59	-174,967	-8.95
Hungary	1980 – 2000	2.1	+0.04	+8,300	+5.02
Portugal	1980 – 2000	3.9	-0.29	+50,381	+17.01
Slovakia	1994 – 2000	4.1	+0.82	+37,777	+29.63
Greece	1980 – 1998	6.8	+3.58	+375,000	+166.67
Spain	1980 – 2000	3.4	+2.22	+808,705	+250.73

Source : Mair and van Biezen (2001), on Barrie Axford et al, 'Politics : an introduction' p. 365.<sup>34</sup>

Previously observed that electability has been consistently declining in Western countries over the years, leading to significant shifts in the position of political parties. However, it is important to note that political conditions and the state of political parties vary greatly in developing countries. Despite these variations, there is an overarching expectation for political parties to fulfill their functions, akin to those observed in developed nations. In the context of Indonesia, party electability is typically evaluated during general election periods. The following data presents the outcomes of general elections and party electability, spanning from the era of Pancasila Democracy through the period of *reformasi* to the present state:

Table 3. Pancasila Democracy Era General Election Results, 1977 – 1997

Party	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997
Golkar	232	242	299	282	325
PPP	99	94	61	62	89
PDI	29	24	40	50	11
Total	360	360	400	400	425

Source: *kompas.com*. 30/05/2022.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup>Van Biezen, I., Mair, P., & Poguntke, Th. (2011). "Going, going... gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe". *European Journal for Political Research*, 51, 24-56. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2011.01995.x.

Table 4. Top 6 Positions in 1999 General Election

Party	Total Votes	Percentage	Parliamentary Seats	% in Parliament
PDIP	35.689.073	33,74	153	33,11
GOLKAR	23.741.749	22,44	120	25,97
PPP	11.329.905	10,71	58	12,55
PKB	13.336.982	12,61	51	11,03
PAN	7.528.956	7,12	34	7,35
PBB	2.049.708	1,93	13	2,81

Source: Indonesian General Election Commission.<sup>36</sup>

Table 5. Top 7 Positions in 2004 General Elections

No	Party	Total Votes	Percentage	Seats
1	GOLKAR	24.480.757	21,5%	128
2	PDIP	21.026.629	18,53%	109
3	PKB	11.989.564	10,57%	52
4	PPP	9.248.769	8,15%	58
5	DEMOKRAT	8.455.225	7,45%	57
6	PKS	8.325.020	7,34%	45
7	PAN	7.303.324	6,44%	52

Source: Kompas.com.<sup>37</sup>

Table 6. 2024 General Election Parties Electability Survey, March 2023

NO	Party	Percentage
1	PDIP	24%
2	GERINDRA	14%
3	GOLKAR	10%
4	DEMOKRAT	9%
5	PKB	8%
6	NASDEM	6%
7	PKS	6%
8	PERINDO	2%
9	PPP	2%

Source: GoodStat. 23 April 2023 38.

Should one examine the dynamics of party electability, it becomes apparent that it has fluctuated over time. A survey conducted in 2023 on the accountability of political parties in Indonesia suggests that there may be an increase in both the percentage of votes

<sup>36</sup>Idi Sudipyo, "Hasil Pemilihan Umum Era Demokrasi Pancasila 1977-1997," 2022, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/05/30/14201821/hasil-pemilu-1977-1997-dari-partai-politik-peserta-hingga-pemenang>.

<sup>37</sup>Komisi Pemilihan Umum RI, "PEMILIHAN UMUM TAHUN 1999," n.d., <https://www.kpu.go.id/page/read/11/pemilu-1999>.

<sup>38</sup>Serambi/M Ashar, "Hasil Pemilu 2004, Perolehan Suara Parpol Dan Kursi DPR," KOMPAS.COM, 2022, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/05/30/06160071/hasil-pemilu-2004-perolehan-suara-parpol-dan-kursi-dpr>.

<sup>38</sup>Rihan Hasya, "Elektabilitas Parpol Di Indonesia Maret 2023, Siapa Tertinggi?," GoodStat, 2023, <https://goodstats.id/article/indikator-politik-rilis-survei-elektabilitas-parpol-periode-maret-2023-pdip-masih-perkasa-di-puncak-Rjfwv>.

and the number of party choices. These parties often fail to fulfill their functions due to power abuse and a lack of concern for the common good. Additionally, the electability rate tends to decline. Interestingly, this phenomenon is not unique to Indonesia. Western countries have also experienced a decline in electability for similar reasons discussed earlier. Both coalition and opposition parties frequently compromise their moral values when it comes to defending the public interest and addressing public grievances.<sup>39</sup> Consequently, the decline in electability may be attributed to one of the primary factors causing this downward trend. To enhance the electability and reputation of political parties, measures should be taken that target the internal structure of these parties:<sup>40</sup>

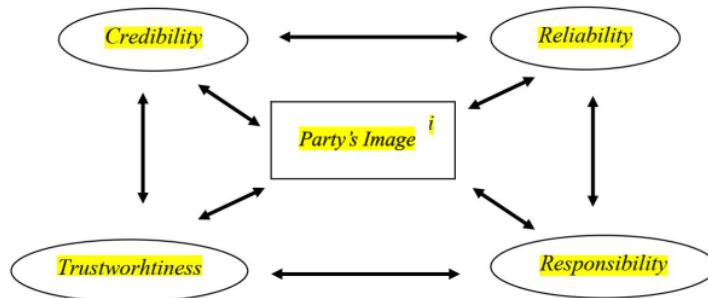


Figure 1. Schematic for Political Parties Images Building

By understanding the schematic as provided previously, political parties ought to focus on cultivating a positive public perception and fulfilling their roles and responsibilities without engaging in power abuse. Building a favorable reputation becomes paramount as it directly influences the *credibility* of parties in the eyes of the public. Additionally, parties should be able to implement *reliable* and well-executed programs, thereby instilling *trustworthiness*. Taking *responsibility* for their actions is equally important. These measures are vital in restoring the electability of political parties, aiming to establish a fair and balanced relationship between the coalition and the opposition. It is crucial that there are no restrictions on providing suggestions and criticism to the government, as this fosters a healthy democratic environment. By embracing open dialogue and constructive feedback, political parties can regain public trust and ensure equal representation for all.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4. Conclusions

In conclusion, the dynamics of democracy in this country are shaped by historical factors and changes in the state ideology over time, from guided democracy to Pancasila and through the era of reformation to the present. The aspiration to become a sovereign democratic nation, as outlined in the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila, has faced numerous challenges. Despite the roles assigned to political parties and state institutions

<sup>39</sup>Kiki Mikail, "Pemilu Dan Partai Politik Di Indonesia: Menanti Kebangkitan Partai Politik Islam Di Tahun 2019," *Tamaddun* 15, no. 1 (2015): 107–48.

<sup>40</sup>Agus Triyo, "Citra Partai Politik Dalam Framing Media," *Komuniti2* 1, no. 1 (2010).

<sup>41</sup>Setiawan, "Implikasi Kebijakan Politik Ekonomi Partai Terhadap Tingkat Elektabilitas Partai Dalam Pemilu (Studi Kasus Pada 5 Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Di Indonesia Dari ....". 2016.



in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, based on the theory developed by Montesquieu and van Hollen Hoven regarding the division of institutional functions, the impact on the lives of the general public has not been fully realized. Issues such as corruption, collusion, and nepotism, as well as human rights, economic, and environmental problems, have hindered progress. These challenges have also affected the electability of political parties, whether they belong to the coalition or the opposition. The weakening of the opposition and its pillars has led to a sense of disorder and unresolved issues in the country. Therefore, the opposition plays a vital role as a counterbalance to the coalition in governing Indonesia. By enhancing the public image of political parties, it is hoped that their electability will improve once again, allowing for a more effective democratic system.

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